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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1844.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

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REV. THOMAS E. BOND M. D.

Editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal

F.E. Tompkins

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1844.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—1. *Lectures on Justification.* By J. H. NEWMAN, B. D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Pp. 443. London: J. G. & F. Rivington. 1838.

2. *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism.* By Rev. EDWARD B. PUSEY, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. (Oxford Tracts, No. 67.) Pp. 400. London: 1839. New-York: 1841.

3. *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification Investigated, &c.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B. D. Pp. 514. London: Seely & Burnside. 1839.

4. *Oxford Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches, with a special View to the Illustration of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, &c.* By the Right Rev. C. P. M'ILVAINE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio. Pp. 546. Philadelphia: J. Whetham & Son. 1841.

"IN the whole range of divine truth," says a modern divine, "there is no subject of greater importance than the one here discussed. It is one of the most prominent doctrines of the New Testament, and affects both the present happiness and everlasting safety of every human being;" a sentiment and opinion in which none will hesitate to unite. To teach fallen man how he may be accepted of God is the purpose contemplated in giving him a revelation;—the matter of revelation is the instruction necessary to that end. The way of salvation is exclusively a matter of revelation, for human wisdom could neither make the original discovery of the way, nor, when discovered, could it add anything to the knowledge thus gained further than is therein expressly taught or evidently implied.

The Scriptural doctrine of justification is also the distinguishing feature of Protestantism, for the Reformation was only a return from following the traditions of men to the teachings of the Bible.

Hence Luther speaks of this doctrine as *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*—the article of a standing or falling church; and Calvin asserts that "if this one head were yielded, safe and entire, it would not pay the cost to make any great quarrel in any other matters in controversy with Rome." "The great question," says Hooker, "that hangeth in controversy between us and Rome is about the matter of justifying righteousness. We disagree about the nature and essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number and power of means which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our souls' comfort." Such is the Reformation in its doctrine, as stated by its most eminent ministers—justification by faith alone, in opposition to the Romish doctrine of justification by infused righteousness, attained by the use of real or fictitious sacraments.

The vital importance of the subject here discussed is our only apology for its introduction; the well-being of the church, relative to both theoretical and practical faith, is intimately implicated with orthodoxy on this point. Temporary circumstances seem too to call for its consideration just now: for the doctrines of the Reformation are again brought into question; not, however, by the open aggressions of Papal minions, but by the silent and stealthy movements of the learned dignitaries of the Anglican Church—the boasted bulwark of the Protestant faith. It would seem that the faith that sustained the martyrs of the sixteenth century, and defied the fires of Smithfield, is now counted so vile a thing by their degenerate sons, that it is voluntarily abjured and cordially detested by them. The religious and literary public need not to be informed of the recent development of a hybrid theology in the University of Oxford, generally known, from the place of its paternity, as "Oxford divinity;" which, while it disowns the name and condemns some of the accidents of Romanism, embraces, without material modification, its doctrine of justification—the soul of its heresies. This defection is doubtless extensively diffused, and has greatly corrupted the fountains of instruction in that ancient communion; but though many, perhaps most of the clergy of that Church, and of her American daughter, sympathize with these restorationists, a large and highly respectable body of the clergy, and the great body of the laity of these churches are still found steadfast in the faith once delivered to the saints—and when lost by defection, regained at a great expense by the martyrs and confessors of Christianity redeemed. Among the heresiarchs who lead the Oxfordists are Dr. Pusey and Rev. J. H. Newman,

whose works are named at the head of this article. On the other side prominent places are due to the writings of Mr. Faber and Bishop M'Ilvaine, whose works on justification are now before us.

Of such a controversy no enlightened Christian can be a mere spectator. It is a contest of the gospel of the New Testament against "another gospel," of Christ against antichrist. As Protestants, therefore, our sympathies are with the defenders of the Protestant faith; but we greatly regret that the defenders of that faith have so generally adopted a phraseology which may lead to practical harm, and which gives the doctrine of justification by faith an unscriptural and indefensible expression. We allude to the continual reference to the active obedience of Christ as a meritorious cause of our justification, assuming that his life, as well as his death, was vicarious and propitiatory. To us this appears to be not only an unscriptural position, but also the fruitful source of Antinomianism, and to cause the doctrine to which it is improperly appended to share its odium, and to be rejected as false. We object to the practice of designating any doctrine which is common to all Protestants by the name of some particular school. It is manifest injustice to such reformers as reject the peculiarities of the Genevese theology to designate the leading doctrines of the Reformation by the name of Calvinism; for that name should always distinguish those peculiarities in doctrine which were proper to the school of Geneva, and in which they differ from other schools of theology, especially from the followers of Arminius. These doctrines are those of divine decrees, irresistible grace, and unconditional election and reprobation; these constitute Calvinism proper, and should always be intended when the term is used. It is granted that most of the clergy of the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches, who are decidedly evangelical, are also more or less Calvinistic, whence some have hastily concluded that its peculiarities are inseparable from the evangelical doctrines of the Reformation. This would indeed have a semblance of truth amounting to probability, were there no considerable exceptions to this rule in Protestant Christendom; but it loses all its claims when there are found many illustrious examples, both of individuals and communities, who at once hold evangelical views, and reject the dogmas of Calvinism. The followers of Wesley, both in Europe and America, are strenuous advocates of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and yet they unanimously reject the peculiarities of the Genevese theology, and glory in the name of Arminians. The evangelical Lutheran Church is another example in point.

It is curious to notice the discrepancies on points mutually granted to be fundamental, among the divines of a Church which boasts of its unity, and is presumptuously set forth as an asylum from schism and dissent. Respecting church polity, they embrace extremes. The present archbishop of Dublin bases ecclesiastical right upon "judgment, prudence, and discretion;" while the chaplains to the queen contend for episcopacy, *jure divino*, embracing all the peculiarities of their own Church, with a degree of assurance that might surprise an experienced Jesuit. In this country, the full extent of the Oxford heresy is indorsed by several members of the self-styled apostolic college, while the same doctrines are opposed by others of them with a zeal like that of Moses against the golden calf. One party teaches a way of justification by sacraments *ex opere operato*, the other of justification by faith, through the merits of Christ, without any intervening cause or instrumentality; both appeal to the authoritative teachings of their Church for confirmation of their views, and both profess to be exclusively Churchmen. There is doubtless some uncertainty in the voice of that Church as to justification. Now she seems, as the apostles to the trembling jailor, to say to the inquiring penitent, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved;" then she points to the sacraments as necessary means of acceptance with God. The Oxfordists appear to be highly offended at the name of Protestants, in which sentiment they have many sympathizers on this side of the Atlantic; but it is well known that the early English reformers gloried in that name, and the feelings of the founders of the *Protestant* Episcopal Church in America are indicated by the name they chose for themselves. These discrepancies are not of recent origin, but are the same that have existed, and occasionally manifested themselves in various forms, since the Reformation. The fundamental Protestant article, justification by faith alone, has found a succession of advocates in the Church of England from Cranmer to the present time; while the Popish doctrine of justification has tinged the theology of that Church at all times, and at certain periods imparted its coloring to the whole teaching of her divines.

Justification, according to Romish and Oxford divinity, is identical with sanctification; the term is understood in its proper etymological sense—to render intrinsically just. The Council of Trent decreed that "man is justified before God, not by the extrinsic righteousness of Christ, but by an intrinsic righteousness, which really as much belongs to him as his soul or his body belongs to him, being inherently infused into him by God through

faith in Christ.—Justification is not merely the remission of sins, but also sanctification and renewal of the inward man by his voluntary reception of grace and gifts.—The only formal cause [of justification] is God's justice, not by which he himself is just, but by which he makes us just, wherewith, being endowed by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our minds, and are not only reputed, but are *made truly just*." Mr. Alexander Knox, the precursor of Oxfordism, whose works have received the indorsement of the British Critic, writes thus:—"In St. Paul's sense to be justified is not simply to be accounted righteous, but also, *and in the first instance*, to be made righteous by the implantation of a radical principle of righteousness. What I am impressed with is, that our being reckoned righteous before God, always and essentially implies a substance of righteousness *previously* implanted in us; and that our reputative justification is the strict and inseparable *result* of this *previous* efficient *moral* justification. I mean, that the reckoning us righteous indispensably *presupposes* an inward reality of righteousness on which this reckoning is founded." Mr. Newman's views are in accordance with those of Mr. Knox, which, it will have been observed, are the same as those of the Tridentine doctors. His language is this:—

"Cleanness of heart and spirit, obedience by word and deed—this alone can constitute our justification.—The gift of righteousness [is] not an imputation, but an inward work.—Justification consists in God's inward presence.—Justification and sanctification are substantially the same thing."

These extracts, which might be multiplied indefinitely, at once show the identity of Oxfordism and Tridentine Romanism, and also teach the nature of justification according to their system; that is, that it is acceptance with God, not as pardoned sinners, but as sanctified saints. Upon this point the learned authors, whose works are now before us, (Faber and M'Ilvaine,) join issue with their brethren at Oxford, and dispute their positions throughout. Mr. Faber's book was elicited in answer to the writings of Mr. Knox; and against that writer's Romanism revived, he evokes the voice of the primitive church, disputing and disproving Milner's unwarranted concession, and Mr. Knox's assumption, that the idea of reputative justification was not known in the church from the end of the first century to the Reformation. He finds and shows that this idea, as distinguished from justification by inherent righteousness, is clearly, though not scholastically, set forth in every age, from Clement of Rome to St. Bernard, so that the cry of "novelty," so sneeringly raised by Mr. Newman and others, is

altogether unwarranted. Bishop M'Ilvaine opens the whole field of argument in favor of the Protestant notions of justification, adducing the testimony of Scripture, the fathers, and the authentic standards of the Reformed Anglican Church in proof of those views, in great abundance; so as evidently to make his a clear case, were there no cause to fear contradictory evidence from the two latter sources.

The subject in debate is of the highest possible importance, for it relates to the very being of vital, gospel truth. Whatever, therefore, may be the doctrine of the Anglican Church upon this point is comparatively a small matter; what the Bible teaches is all-important. Still it should not be forgotten that many of the noblest sons of that Church have borne faithful witness to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and that her Articles strongly favor the same doctrine.

The great question turns upon the sense of the word "justify," and others of kindred import—whether they are to be received, when used in Scripture, in their primary and grammatical sense, or in a secondary and figurative sense. By Protestants generally, at least such as are commonly called orthodox, these terms are understood forensically, and signify, not an intrinsic substance of justice or righteousness, but a legal release from condemnation, and the legal relation appropriate to the unoffending: justification is acquittal and freedom from condemnation. Mr. Newman grants that this is the sense of the word as it occurs in the New Testament, and that "but one passage can be produced where it is used for 'making righteous,' and there the reading is doubtful." Such a concession would seem difficult to harmonize with his broad declaration, that "justification and sanctification are essentially the same;" but he does it so far as to deprive the concession of the power to invalidate his favorite theory. This he effects by supposing imputative justification to be an anticipation of a foreseen moral change in the justified person, which, when accomplished, will render him, in fact, what by anticipation he is declared to be, a righteous person. So a physician is said to heal the sick when he changes the patient from a diseased to a healthy state, and in the same manner God is said to justify the ungodly when he frees him at once from condemnation and moral impurity; and as the physician, knowing his power and purpose to cure the diseased, would from the beginning consider him, to all intents, cured, so God, anticipating his own work in the heart of man, imputes to him effects properly consequent upon that work which he then proceeds to accomplish. "In justification," says he, "the whole course of sanctification is anticipated, reckoned, or imputed

to us in its very beginning." Again, he says, "Imputed righteousness is the coming in of actual righteousness.—They whom God's sovereign voice pronounces just forthwith become just.—He declares a fact, and makes it a fact by declaring it."

These extracts sufficiently indicate the views of the author under review. With him justification and sanctification are identical in essence—the imputative character of the former consisting in an anticipation of its intrinsic character, and a legal process upon such anticipation. Its foundation is holiness in the soul justified. He indeed seems to find hard work with the Articles of his Church, and still more so with the Homilies, which appear to have been written when his views were only known to be opposed by the writers of them. But he apparently succeeds in satisfying himself that they mean just what he does; much in the same way that the advocates of a partial atonement make *all* mean a small part, and the world an inconsiderable fraction of the human family, whom God has chosen "out of the world," and who have, before God, renounced the world. That the English Church declares explicitly "we are justified by faith alone," nobody will deny who has read the Thirty-nine Articles; and by "faith alone" every unsophisticated mind will understand, *faith, and nothing else*, or, as is declared in the Homily on the Passion, that "faith is the only mean and instrument of justification." Mr. Newman, however, makes faith *alone* mean faith *accompanied* by, and acting in subserviency to, other "means and instrumentalities." The logic by which all this is accomplished we have yet to learn, and not being of the initiated, we cannot come at the mystery, and must, therefore, consent to "believe that we may understand," or else submit to remain ignorant. But we leave the reverend vicar to settle his war with the standards of his Church, with those to whom an appeal to them would be more authoritative than with us; "we have a more sure word of prophecy."

To us it seems to be very fully taught in Scripture that justification is wholly distinct in its nature from sanctification. The whole of its language seems to imply this, and very many particular texts plainly teach it. Only a few of them can now be noticed by us.

St. Paul declares that "Christ is made unto us *wisdom, righteousness*, (justification,) *sanctification*, and *redemption*." Here we see justification as clearly distinguished from sanctification as either of them is from wisdom or redemption; and since, probably, no one would confound the whole of them, we see no cause why we should confound any two of them. The order in

which these several gifts of grace are enumerated is also worthy of notice; for though order of nomination does not always agree with the actual succession of things named, still here that seems to be the case. All will perhaps acknowledge that the beginning of God's work in man's heart is the gift of *wisdom*, enlightening his understanding to perceive spiritual things; and it is equally plain that the consummation of the work of grace is the *redemption* of the body from the grave, the soul from *hades*—the place of departed spirits—and their reunion in glory, to be no more separated and no more defiled. If, then, the extremes of the four terms under consideration occur in the enumeration of them in the order of time, that is strong presumptive evidence that the means are arranged in the same order. This text, then, proves both the distinction of the two works, and the precedence in order of justification. Again it is said, God "justifies the ungodly"—the obvious sense of which declaration would determine the question in our favor. But Mr. Newman considers this the declaration of a fact which becomes such by that declaration; that is, in justifying the ungodly, God first renders him no longer ungodly, and then holds him guiltless in view of his new character. This may appear ingenious, but it is very far from being ingenuous. To what shifts will not a bad cause impel perverse ingenuity! What relevancy would there be in the whole of the apostle's elaborate argument, according to this interpretation? How would the first part of the fourth chapter of Romans read if for "ungodly" be substituted a term that would fairly express Mr. Newman's notion of the character of the person justified? What would be the sense of the Epistle to the Galatians by such interpretations? There justification by faith is at once set forth as God's method of salvation, and yet as opposed to justification by "the deeds of the law." By this latter expression must be understood a sentence of approval in view of the conformity of character of the person judged to the law by which judgment is measured. It is justification in view of righteousness inherent in the individual justified. Such justification no man can have; justification of sinners is not compatible with it. In St. Paul's language the righteousness of faith is opposed to the righteousness of the law; but the righteousness of the law is spiritual conformity to its nature—is holiness of heart; therefore the righteousness of faith, which is distinctly said to be "without the deeds of the law," must consist in something different from inward holiness. If "justification and sanctification are substantially the same," the opposite sides of the apostle's argument are identical; and he either, schoolmanlike, discriminates where

there is no difference, or, in mere logomachy, multiplies words without knowledge. The position sought to be established by Protestants is not opposed to inherent righteousness, but a rejection of this as a ground of our acceptance with God. That God requires a personal, inherent righteousness, in all who are his, is readily granted by the advocates of imputative justification; (except a few wrong-headed Antinomians;) so that the argument against that doctrine, drawn from the declarations of Scripture which speak of the justified as being always inwardly holy, is upon a false issue. The question is not whether the two gifts are ever separated in any individual, for all agree that they never are; but which of these have precedence in point of sequence—are we justified because we are sanctified? or are we sanctified because we are justified? This is the true issue. We, with all true Protestants, understand the Scriptures to maintain the latter; the Church of Rome and the Oxford divines the former. The Scriptures teach that "being justified by faith, we have peace with God," and being reconciled to God, he hastens, by his Spirit, to "renew us in the image of him that created us, in righteousness and true holiness." Nor can we separate these works of grace, as to the time of their execution. Through the abounding merits of Christ's expiatory passion, imputed to us when by faith we ask it, we receive pardon for all our sins, actual and original, and are thus delivered from condemnation. Consentaneous in time, though subsequent in the order of events and consequent thereupon, God, by his Spirit, creates the heart anew, giving it an inceptive principle or real holiness, which will continue to grow and beautify as long as the life of faith is maintained. "The one," says Wesley, "implies what God does for us through his Son, the other what he works in us by his Spirit." The one delivers us from condemnation, the other renews us in righteousness; the one changes our relations to God's law, the other changes our moral character into the likeness of God. But this intrinsic righteousness which God by his Spirit works in all his children is not the ground of inceptive, continued, or final acceptance with him. The holiest comes far short of the claims of God's holiness, and in his sight shall no flesh be justified. Our continued and final acceptance with God is no less an act of pardoning grace than was our primary justification. It is the doctrine of inspiration not only that "by grace we are saved through faith," but also that "the just shall live by faith," and at length dying in faith shall receive a crown of life.

Having thus considered the nature of justification, according to

the views of Oxfordists and Protestants, we come next to inquire for the instrument or means by which we attain this grace. Here difference of opinion is to be expected among those who differ so widely as to the nature of the thing attained. The distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation is, that the sinner is justified through the instrumentality of faith alone, which is stoutly opposed by the adherents of Romanism. This it is well known was the leading point for which Luther and his associates contended with the Papists of their times, and which the Council of Trent anathematized as a damnable heresy. Protestants hold that justification comes to man only through the medium of faith—that whatever else the Scriptures may prescribe to him, or the church afford, are to be passed by in his approach to the mercy seat. Repentance, contrition, prayers, sacraments, and all other external and internal exercises, are either means for strengthening and confirming faith, or they are the fruits of faith produced in its progress toward full maturity. They allow nothing to stand between the sinner and his Saviour; but call the penitent to approach the mercy seat in all his sins, "to find mercy and grace to help in time of need." The faith in which the sinner approaches and finds favor with God is none other than *a full persuasion of heart of the truth of God's word and promises, and a personal appropriation of them, by embracing the terms of recovering mercy.* Whoever complies with this condition is thereupon accepted of God; and whoever fails in this particular, though all others are scrupulously observed, must fail of divine favor. This is justification by faith alone—the corner-stone of Protestantism.

On the contrary, the Romish doctors teach not only that justification is subsequent to regeneration, and based upon it, but also that faith is only remotely employed in its attainment. With them the sacraments are the means and channels of spiritual grace, and, consequently, of acceptance with God; so that whoever is baptized, is *de facto* regenerated, while all others remain unrenewed, and therefore under the curse.

Faith is included in this system only as it leads the subject to baptism, and though known by the common name, it is with them a very different thing from the faith of Protestants. It is simply an intellectual assent to the gospel history as true, and obedience to the commandment to be baptized. The faith of the Romanist brings him to the baptismal font; that of the Protestant to the mercy seat: it apprehends Christ on the cross, and God in Christ reconciling the world to himself. Here is seen the "great gulf fixed" between the two systems; the difference is funda-

mental, precluding all possibility of reconciliation, and arraying them in eternal warfare. But where shall we find the contending parties of the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches? Are they, as in relation to the nature of justification, divided between Romish heresy and gospel truth, or is the breach so wide as to allow the belligerents to spread their tents and marshal their hosts between the extremes of truth and error? The true position of those churches relative to baptismal regeneration is not clearly defined, not, however, for want of explicit declarations upon the subject, but by reason of the discordant character of such declarations. Most of their divines, however, confess, with Mr. Wesley, that "it is certain our Church supposes that all who are baptized in their infancy, are at the same time born again; and it is allowed that the whole office for the baptism of infants proceeds upon this supposition." Such, no doubt, is the necessary conclusion at which every unsophisticated reader of that office would arrive, but such a conclusion is utterly irreconcilable with the teachings of the Church elsewhere, as to the office of faith in justification. For if justification is by faith alone, regeneration must be posterior to it in the order of sequence, and baptism must depend for its efficacy, whatever that may be, upon the exercise of faith. To us, the two points of doctrine, (justification by faith alone, and baptismal regeneration,) taught by the national Church of England, appear to be wholly incompatible—the one can be maintained only at the expense of its opposite. All, therefore, that is said by that Church in favor of justification by faith alone, is to its whole extent, by necessary and obvious implication, against a justification based upon baptismal regeneration, or any other foundation than the grace of God received by faith. Her article on baptism (twenty-seventh) declares that "baptism is . . . a *sign* of regeneration, whereby they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church." This sufficiently clearly discriminates between the outward sacrament of baptism and the spiritual grace of regeneration; a distinction acknowledged alike by Romanists, Oxfordists, and Protestants. The point of difference is in relation to the necessary coexistence of regeneration and consequent justification, with "baptism rightly received"—Romanists and Oxfordists affirming, and Protestants denying this. The former make baptism the *infallible*, the latter the *ostensible*, sign of spiritual grace; the former hold that all who are baptized are infallibly, immediately, and, by its certain instrumentality, born again; the latter, that faith is the only means of coming to God, and that without this baptism itself is of no avail. The language of the article quoted

above is indeed susceptible of the interpretation put upon it by the Oxford divines, though that sense is not necessarily, nor indeed obviously implied. And when the same article further says, that in baptism "the promises of the forgiveness of sins, and of adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost, are visibly *signed* and *sealed, faith is confirmed and grace increased* by virtue of prayer to God," the Oxford interpretation is rendered very difficult and far-fetched. For it can hardly be supposed that the same sacrament is at once the visible sign and seal of the gospel promises, and the essential medium of those promised graces; and if, by it, "in answer to prayer to God, faith is *confirmed* and grace *increased*," faith and grace are necessary prerequisites for rightly receiving baptism, and then, of course, it cannot be the medium of this faith and grace. The article, therefore, may be set down as containing an expression of Protestant doctrine, though we confess there is a want of those full and explicit statements of evangelical truth which preclude misconstruction, and silence all cavils.

In the office for the baptism of infants, to which the foregoing extract from Wesley refers, the Church is taught that they "should not doubt that God will receive the infant to be baptized, and make him a partaker of his everlasting kingdom." All this, however, as well as the twenty-seventh article, is susceptible of an evangelical interpretation, since it is no doubt according to God's gracious purposes that in baptism the subject is brought nearer to him, and, by meeting him in his own ordinance, a larger share of spiritual influence is secured. We therefore should not doubt in baptism, just as we should not doubt in prayer, that God will fulfil on his part all that he has promised; and even more fully should we believe, as therein we not merely approach him with a general promise of favor, but with the condition of a covenant confirmed by the oath of the Almighty. So far the Church may be vindicated from heresy; but when, in the close of the same office, she is made to give thanks to God, "that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this child by thy Holy Spirit," such vindication is no longer available. This necessarily supposes that in all cases the baptized is at the same time regenerated; for otherwise the expression of thanks would be presumptuous mockery. Subsequently the baptized child is taught to speak of his baptism as that "wherein he was made a child of God."

The influence of these expressions, thrown back upon the somewhat doubtful language of the Articles, and other portions of the office for baptism, gives an air of consistency to the Oxford inter-

pretation above that of their opponents. A reference to the best-accredited works of the divines of that Church will not remove the difficulty. Two schools of theology have prevailed among them, from near the time of the Reformation to the present; each in turn appearing to predominate, and by turns so far coalescing as to give a mixed and doubtful character to their more popular teachings. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is far from being foreign from the more evangelic portion of English Church divines; the Oxford Tractators, in their famous "*Catena Patrum*," have placed this in a strong light. At their call, even those old thorough-going reformers, Cranmer and Ridley, speak strongly on the same side, though, by Bishop M'Ilvaine's cross questioning, they favor what we hold incompatible with it, justification by faith alone. Whether these eminent men, and their worthy successors, are not somewhat inconsistent in what they teach, or, at least, in what they subscribe, and what they use in their formularies, as collated with their teachings, we leave for the decision of ecclesiastical judicatories; but we doubt not that at the bar of Scripture and common sense their foundation will be found both upon the rock and the sand.

Bishop M'Ilvaine opposes Dr. Pusey's notions of the efficacy of baptism, by quoting the fathers of the English Church in favor of justification by faith; but Dr. Pusey had already quoted them in favor of his own views. The bishop seems to think that whatever favors the one opposes the other: we agree with him, and yet we see that those venerated men held both. What can we do, then, but acknowledge that they teach contrarieties, and are involved in inextricable inconsistencies? The influence of a cherished creed, and cherished forms, is truly wonderful, so that it requires little short of a miracle to save one from it. None, perhaps, will question the soundness of Mr. Wesley's views of the Protestant doctrine of justification, and yet when he came to write of baptism he seemed to have forgotten all that he had so fully taught, and still to be in the leading strings of mother Church. "This regeneration," says he, "which our Church in so many places ascribes to baptism, is more than barely being admitted into the Church, though commonly connected therewith; being 'grafted into the body of Christ's church, we are made children of God by adoption and grace.' This is grounded upon the plain words of our Lord, 'Except a man be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' John iii, 5. By water, then, as a means, by the water of baptism, we are regenerated and born again, whence it is called by the apostle 'the washing of re-

generation.' Our Church, therefore, ascribes no greater virtue to baptism than Christ himself has done. Nor does she ascribe it to the outward washing, but to the inward grace, which added thereto, makes it a sacrament. Herein a principle of grace is infused, which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God, by long-continued wickedness."* The treatise from which the above is taken bears date 1756, some twenty years after the author had fully embraced the doctrine of justification by faith alone; whether he ever reviewed these early-conceived notions we are not informed, though in his sermon on the New Birth (from which we made an extract in another part of this article) he ascribes the same doctrine to his Church as to infants, but seems to make some exceptions as to adults, and leaves the whole matter in doubt as to his own views of the correctness of this point of the Church's doctrines. The date of this sermon is not given, and as there is nothing elsewhere in his published works upon the subject, this must stand as his recorded opinion upon this highly-important topic. It will have been seen that this statement is on the advance ground of Oxfordism; for Dr. Pusey goes no further than to teach that regeneration and justification, "by a principle of grace infused" in baptism, are always consequent upon the proper administration of that ordinance—that this is the one appointed means of saving grace, and consequently is essential to salvation. But Mr. Wesley's public preaching, and his other voluminous writings, inculcated a very different doctrine, though evidently he was long shackled by his Oxford prejudices. His history is an exemplification of the efficacy of a correct practical faith in rectifying the obliquities of early prejudices and a pernicious speculative creed. From an exclusive prelatist he was led, little by little, and in a way that he knew not, not only to enlarge the sphere of his charity, but at length to strike a blow which is now likely to prove fatal to the English hierarchy itself. From a believer in sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, he became a preacher of the righteousness of faith, and the sinner's privilege to approach the Saviour and the blood of the cross, by its simple instrumentality. According to his early-conceived notions and predilections he was a Churchman at whose feet Pusey, Newman, and Palmer might delight to sit; but by the lessons taught him by the Holy Ghost, through humble instrumentalities, he became a champion of the doctrines of the Reformation, and the leader of a new "sect." His followers, and those who bear

* Works, vol. vi, p. 15, American edition.

his name, both in Europe and America, are among the most strenuous supporters of evangelical doctrines, and as far as any from placing undue confidence in the sacraments. Mr. Watson, who is the best expounder of the doctrines of Wesleyan Methodism, so far from considering baptism and regeneration inseparable, denies to baptized, as well as unbaptized, infants a state of justification, which necessarily excludes them from a regenerate state. But to return.

The ancient church is appealed to with great apparent confidence to sustain the views now taught at Oxford, and evidently not without some good grounds for such expectations. Human authority is not wanting to establish that side of the question, though much has been written by persons equally eminent for piety and sound learning on the other side. The assumptions of the Oxfordists, both as respects the ancient church and the early English Church, are greater than are authorized by the state of the case. But it is a well-known rule among those who have first assumed that they enjoy a monopoly of God's mercies covenanted to mankind, to assume, also, despite of facts to the contrary, as unquestionable, and sustained by the unanimous voice of the church catholic, whatever they have adopted, either as a dogma in theology or a truth in history. In Mr. Faber's learned work the claims of these men to the undivided consent of the ancient church to their notions is successfully contested; though doubtless the "mystery of iniquity," which had begun to work in the days of the apostles, continued to spread until it possessed itself of the strong-holds of the Church, and corrupted the fountains of religious instruction.

Bishop M'Ilvaine labors hard to vindicate his Church from the charge of favoring sacramental justification, and succeeds so far as to show that many of her most eminent divines held another mode of justification; but it is not quite so certain, as he seems to suppose, that they are not somewhat inconsistent with themselves, in holding at once the two opposing doctrines. Respecting that regeneration of which the Church speaks in connection with baptism, there is a mistiness in the writings of the more evangelical of them, which is most painfully suspicious. They talk of a *mystical regeneration* in baptism, and having thus involved the subject in their own mystifications, they there leave it. By some the renewing grace is only spoken of as accompanying the baptism of infants, and all adult sinners are therefore considered backsliders, fallen from the grace to which they attained in baptism. That must, indeed, be a "mystical" regeneration which makes no

manifestation upon the renewed heart—a strange "being in Christ" in which old things have *not* passed away, nor anything become new—for all confess that the baptized infant manifests the same tokens of depravity and the indwelling of the carnal mind that others do. But to pass by these "mysteries," let us consider the counterpart of this notion of the regeneration of infants in baptism. This part of the system has generally been treated by the friends of the doctrine much as the counterpart of the Augustinian doctrine of election—kept out of sight. If by baptism infants become personally interested in the atonement, so that by this they become partakers of the merits of Christ's death, the unbaptized infant is, of necessity, damned. This conclusion is inevitable. The eternal welfare of every child, who dies in infancy, is thus placed, absolutely, and without reserve, at the disposal of those who have the control of that child. God, we are told, will save only by baptism, and the parent may, through ignorance, prejudice, or impiety, neglect to secure that favor for the helpless immortal; so that the murderous hand of the father may consign his helpless and unoffending offspring to perdition, despite of the provision of grace and the blood of the cross! The decree of unconditional reprobation was called by its greatest modern defender *a horrible decree*, but really it presents no feature so revolting as the eternal damnation of an unoffending infant—not because the Sovereign of the universe saw good so to determine, but because an ignorant or impious parent failed in one point of parental duty. In that case there is an intimation of a cause, fearful indeed, but still sublime; in this there is not even that poor excuse to plead, but the eternal overthrow of the millions of our race who die in infancy is suspended on the caprice or ignorance of ungodly parents. When these fearful consequences of this blasphemous faith are urged upon its supporters, we are told about "uncovenanted mercies"—words conveying no idea to the hearers, because they are the representatives of none in those of the speakers. If these terms meant anything, it would be, that the covenant of mercy to fallen man is so narrow that it neither reaches the wants of man nor answers the gracious purposes of God, and so God saves some despite of his own covenant! It is difficult to determine in this case whether the absurdity or the impiety is the more glaring.

A careful examination of the doctrine of the Reformed Church of England, in relation to the two particulars under consideration, strongly impresses us with the conviction that discordant elements are incorporated in her fundamental constitution. The spirit of the reformers prevailed so far as to introduce the gospel palladium

—the doctrine of justification by faith; but the influence of the Tudors succeeded in retaining enough of Papal error to cause confusion in the spiritual camp. Since then, Christ and Belial have been warring for the mastery within her. The Homilies, generally, breathe an excellent spirit, and inculcate sound doctrine, though with less clearness and warmth than might seem desirable; but much of her discipline is rather the cradle of carnal security than the school of Christian duties. The history of that Church confirms these statements. The spirit of inquiry was not wholly crushed, as in France, by persecutions and martyrdoms, but the growth of Protestantism was cramped by the forms placed upon it to give it the desired shape and dimensions. The iron bedstead was everywhere brought into requisition, and upon it some were stretched to its extent, and others cut off to bring them to the proper length. The consequence has been, that "dissent" has distinguished the English Church and nation, and a multitude of "sects" fill the land. Vast numbers of such as imbody the greatest portion of the moral energy of the Church, the zealous and self-sacrificing, have been driven from the communion of the national Church on account of differences which, being purely matters of conscience, involving only the relations of man to his Maker, are not legitimate subjects of ecclesiastical discipline. English Protestantism has proved itself to be of too sturdy growth to be confined by the Procrustean shackles of the English hierarchy; but it has afforded another instance of the old prophetic parable, "The bed is shorter than that a man may stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it." Especially does the history of the past hundred years demonstrate the inherent perversity of that ecclesiastical constitution, and its incapacity for reformation. A little over one hundred years ago a great revival of religion occurred in Great Britain, the principal instruments of which were not only members of the established Church, but also warmly attached to its interests; so that in their zealous labors they purposed no less to advance the glory of the Church than to promote a better state of piety in the land. In their operations they violated no part of the fundamental law of the Church, nor were they found inveighing against either her doctrine or discipline, but in support of all they did and taught, they appealed to the voice of the Church as expressed in her authentic standards. But their spirit and zeal were a standing reproof upon the lives and conduct of those who held the high places, and were the repositories of ecclesiastical power; and by a continued course of vexatious treatment, they, or their children in the gospel, have

been compelled to place themselves beyond the pale of the established Church.

One body of Christians, patient to a fault, have, for a hundred years, suffered all manner of indignities—have been proscribed as enemies of the Church, though convicted of no infraction of its laws, and execrated as heretics, though teaching nothing which they do not prove from its Articles and Homilies—and still they have cherished their connection with that body, rallying to its support, when popular odium threatened its existence, and defending it against radical aggressions, until at last they find themselves compelled to array themselves against its evil advisers, or suffer themselves to be crushed. So discordant are its elements, that the full development of its parts is self-destruction: such the organic malconformation of its heart that the growth of its strength is its sure way to death; the more healthy portions must occasionally be cast off to prevent a degree of vital action which the diseased organs cannot endure. If dissent is an evil, the fault of the unparalleled amount of dissent from the Church of England is chargeable not upon those who, for the sake of the gospel, have been ejected, but upon the Church which has, like Jezebel, exerted her authority to "cut off the prophets of the Lord." But while the hand of the hierarchy has been uplifted to suppress the full development of reformed Christianity, it has pointed the way to the embraces of "mother Church." Her discipline and services have served as an Appian Way to myriads of returning pilgrims at every period since the Reformation; and so well has this way become cleared of the obstacles thrown into it in "an uncatholic age," that the transition is very easy, and may be expected to be of frequent occurrence. But the fate of the younger James should be at once a consolation to the faithful, and a warning to the recreant. The English people are, as they have ever been since the days of Edward VI., a really Protestant people; and if, for their religion, they expelled their legitimate prince, let bishops and professors fear to do violence to their cherished sentiments.

But to return to the consideration of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which seems to be an acknowledged point of doctrine in the Anglican, and, of course, in the Anglo-American Church. The recent movements at Oxford have had a particular reference to this subject; the official and private teachings of the dignitaries of the Church have been cited, and the ancient church has been drawn upon—nor are the Holy Scriptures left out of the account. In Dr. Pusey's famous Tract on Baptism, now under review, the entire field of argument is laid open. But being aware

of his danger if he presumed to go beyond the ramparts of the strong-hold of tradition and Church authority in such an inquiry, he begins with an attempt to shield his cause from a most effective argument against the entire system that he and his coadjutors are laboring to revive. Knowing that men are accustomed to judge of the divine origin of a doctrine, and, consequently, of its truth, by its practical influences upon those who embrace it; and being well aware that by such a test his favorite notion must be condemned, he begins by offering an insult at once to the authority of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the understanding of his readers, by formally protesting against such a rule of judgment. We give his own words :—

"Every pious and well-instructed member of our Church will, in the abstract, acknowledge, that in examining whether any doctrine be a portion of revealed truth, the one subject of inquiry must be, whether it be contained in the Holy Scriptures; and that in this investigation .... he must lay aside all reference to the supposed influence of such doctrine; the supposed religious character of them that held it at any given time, and the like."—P. 1.

By such an assumption, which is thrust out in the face of common sense, general sentiment, and the explicit teachings of the word of God, and which he does not attempt to prove, but asserts as matter of universal assent, he would cover his Popish heresy from its merited odium. But the web of sophistry is too thin, the impudence of the assumption too great an insult to common sense, to effect its purpose. How very different the instructions of our Lord when he warned his disciples against false prophets! Did he give them to understand that their "supposed (that is, apparent) religious characters" were to be left out of the account in judging of the truth of the doctrine taught by them? He said, "*By* their *fruits* ye shall know them," by which we are taught not simply that we shall know them as men, but also, and especially, as prophets or teachers, or else, however true the declaration, it were altogether irrelevant to the case; and if we by their fruits, that is, their religious characters, know them as teachers, we, of course, by the same rule, are enabled to judge of the doctrine they teach. The position assumed is totally false, unless to be "pious and well instructed," as a member of the Church of England, means something very different from what is generally and properly understood by these terms. Nor is it true, as is further asserted, that "to judge of doctrines by their supposed influence upon men's hearts, would imply that we know much more of our nature than we do;" for this necessary knowledge is not only placed within

our reach, but every man is made responsible for its exercise. But this is not implicit faith, without which Oxford and Rome can gain no proselytes. The notorious moral degradation of all large communities where the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, *ex opere operato*, has prevailed, renders the use of our Lord's test fatal to that doctrine. To grant the fact, which is undeniable matter of historical record, is virtually to grant the conclusion, otherwise the inductive philosophy is of no real value, and the relation of cause and effect wholly unknown. It is well known that wherever the Romish doctrine, now under consideration, has been received by any church or community, that the morals of that community have become, or continued, in a low state; and as constant antecedence and consequence are all we know of the relation of cause and effect, we are compelled, no less by the rules of a sound philosophy, than by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, to make the latter in this case the effect of the former—Dr. Pusey's formal protest to the contrary notwithstanding.

Having thus corrected the false principle with which the Oxford doctor begins, and, in doing so, having shown not only the opposite rule to be the true one, but also that by this true rule of judging the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is condemned, we may now, from our present position, more advantageously examine the passages and expressions in Scripture by which it is attempted to be supported. It is an established rule of Biblical interpretation, that no passage of Scripture shall contradict another if it is susceptible of such a construction as to render the two mutually consistent. If, then, texts are found which, of themselves, would bear the Romish construction, if they can be made to bear another which shall harmonize with the general tenor of revelation, this, even if not the most obvious, must be received as the true interpretation. The Scriptures teach that the doctrines of the gospel may be tested by their practical influences; whatever, therefore, will not bear that test cannot be a gospel doctrine, which, we find, is the case with that which we are now considering. Another similar argument to the same purpose is found in the fact, that all the scripturally-designated fruits of the Spirit are sometimes found in the unbaptized, while others, though baptized, produce only the fruits of the flesh. Into what contradictions and perplexities do men plunge themselves when they attempt to reconcile the truth, that "the tree is known by its fruit," with the figment of baptismal regeneration! In the same way should we view this doctrine in its relation to the teachings of Scripture, as to justification, acceptance, renewal, &c.; for, as far as the Bible sustains the Soli-

fidian theory, it opposes the sacramental. This part of the argument has been already considered: it remains only to notice the texts of Scripture by which this doctrine is thought by its advocates to be supported, to see if they will *bear* a construction consistent with the analogy of faith. The first of these strong texts which we shall notice is the commission given by our Lord to his apostles, to "go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." They interpret this text thus: The first part contains the command, designating the thing to be done, "to teach, make Christian, all nations;" the second part points out the process by which this is to be done, that is, by baptizing them. Now let us examine the text to see if it *cannot* be understood a little differently. The word rendered "teach" expresses both the *end* to be accomplished and the *means* by which that end may be attained; it signifies *to Christianize by instruction.* Baptism must, therefore, be considered as an appendage to the means of Christianization, rather than the means itself. So taught St. Paul, when he declared, "Christ sent me *not to baptize*, but to preach the gospel." This, then, places baptism in its true relation to the Christian dispensation, that of "an outward sign of the inward grace."

Another favorite passage is that found in 1 Pet. iii, 21, where, after speaking of the salvation of the family of Noah "by water," he adds, "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth now save us." This passage is better adapted to their purpose than the former, as it is somewhat obscure, and obscurity always favors pretended mysteries. However, we may allow them their own interpretation without danger to our cause. Grant that baptism does save us, does that concede the point of regeneration by baptism? An apostle has said, "We are saved by hope," but are we regenerated or justified by hope? Innumerable instrumentalities conspire to lead us to Christ *by faith*, each of which may be said, in the ordinary use of language, to save us. Thus it is said, "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe;" and, "By grace ye are saved, through faith;" and, again, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Here we have hope, preaching, grace, and baptism, all set down as means of salvation; but faith is coupled with each of them, and elsewhere faith alone is spoken of as the condition of our acceptance. "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life." This passage, then, not only admits of a Protestant interpretation, but imperatively demands it.

Another text is found in Titus iii, 5, which reads thus: "Not

by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." The assumption that this text proves the doctrine of regeneration, through the instrumentality of baptism, is perfectly gratuitous. Who knows that the apostle had any reference to baptism when he employed the expression, "washing of regeneration?" Such a meaning is not necessarily implied, for in the work of conversion there are both a cleansing process and a transforming operation, answering to the apostle's expressions, "washing" and "renewing." But suppose he had immediate reference to baptism, what then? Does the text necessarily teach the doctrine which is attempted to be supported by it? Baptism is the ostensible sign of spiritual regeneration, and, according to the universal use of men in speaking, it has taken its designation from that which it is intended to signify. It may be called "the washing of regeneration," because it is "the outward sign of that inward grace," though not inseparably connected with it.

We will examine but one text more, and that is one upon which the supporters of baptismal regeneration have rested the foundation of their faith; we mean the declaration of our Lord, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." This they understand to teach that there is such a thing as regeneration by water, and also that this is essential to salvation. If this text necessarily implied all this, we should be compelled to pass it by as a sealed portion of divine truth, not to be understood until God, by the Spirit of inspiration, should expound his own word. We may not rest an article of faith upon a single passage of Scripture, not certainly expressed therein, and especially an article which unchristianizes nearly the whole of Christendom, and excludes from the covenant of promise, and the hope of salvation, the entire human race, infant and adult, with an exceedingly small exception. We are, however, driven to no such extremity; the text is perfectly consistent with the general doctrine of the inspired volume. Baptism bears the same relation to the kingdom of heaven on earth (that is, the visible church) that regeneration does to the kingdom of heaven within us. Our Lord spake of both together, and therefore spake of the way of entrance into each; by water (in baptism) we are made members of the visible church; by the Spirit we enter into the spiritual household of God. The two are conjoined by our Lord, as it is his purpose that the outward sign shall always accompany the inward grace, that they who are his by spiritual regeneration shall

bear the outward sign of the work wrought in them by his Spirit. We therefore totally dissent from the opinion quoted from Wesley in another part of this article; and hold that the Church does not ascribe any other regeneration to baptism than "barely being admitted into the Church;" or else, in so doing, she ascribes to it "more than our Lord himself has done." Which of these alternatives we choose is sufficiently shown in what we have written.

According to the views we are opposing, the sign, (baptism,) and the thing signified, (spiritual regeneration,) are inseparable concomitants. "Being grafted into the body of Christ's church, (by baptism,) we are (thereby) made children of God by adoption and grace;" and as this is the only door to the heavenly fold, of course all who are not thus initiated, are not of Christ, but are without hope in the world. But will facts sustain this theory? Was Simon Magus, when thus "grafted into the body of Christ's church, made a child of God by adoption and grace?" And are the thousands of baptized practical infidels, who burden and curse the church, all of them children of God by spiritual regeneration? We need not wait an answer. On the other hand, had not those who were baptized on the day of Pentecost already received the grace signified by baptism? Had not Cornelius and his household received the Holy Ghost before the apostle commanded water to be brought, that they might be baptized? And does not the experience of every Christian minister teach him that men may be justified and regenerated before baptism, as well as after it? On this point Bishop M'Ilvaine proposes some pertinent questions to his Romanizing brethren. He supposes a case—such as is of every-day occurrence—of a person repenting, believing, and purposing to receive baptism, which must be deferred to some future time, more or less remote, according to circumstances; and then asks, "Does this delay, which is no fault of his own, cause him to be unjustified and unregenerate, when both are essential to peace with God?" Is it not frequently the case that seasons of baptism are so remote from each other that candidates may often die in the interim between repentance and baptism, and, of course, be eternally lost, because they could not obtain baptism? It will probably be a long time before these questions will be answered by those to whom they are addressed; and yet if baptism is the divinely-appointed channel of renewing grace, and if this grace is the ground of our acceptance with God, an answer is readily found, though one of fearful import. By this doctrine, the soul of the penitent is put wholly within the power of the priest; by delay he may keep him from the enjoyment of the grace of life,

and hold him still obnoxious to divine vengeance; and by neglect of duty he may doom him to eternal perdition. To hesitate at this conclusion is to suppose that justification and regeneration may precede baptism, which is virtually abandoning the position that it is the only channel of divine grace to the unregenerate, and renders it possible, and probable too, that the spiritually regenerated are not the identical persons in every case who are grafted into Christ's church by baptism. And if the two (baptism and regeneration) can be disjoined in any case, they may be in any number of cases, that is, they are not necessarily connected together. Men may be in Christ and not be in the visible church of Christ, and they may be in the visible church and yet be far from Christ, and strangers to his saving grace.

We have given the more space to the consideration of this subject from a conviction of its great relative importance. In this place, the defenders of the Romish doctrine of justification entrench themselves, whence they are to be dislodged by the heavy artillery of gospel truth. In this controversy both parties agree in holding the totally lapsed estate of man—the absolute necessity of salvation from a source beyond himself. How shall he attain that help is the question at issue. He must either receive divine favor on account of something in himself, or by something procured or performed for him by another. Both parties acknowledge that the meritorious cause of the sinner's acceptance is the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ; as to the manner of attaining that grace they are divided. We think the Protestant doctrine, that we are justified through the alone merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, received by faith, is amply sustained by the word of God. In opposition to this view, the only formidable scheme is that which we have just been considering. If man by nature is wholly without grace, he must, say our opponents, receive it from God before he can be intrinsically pleasing in his sight—he must be made holy in order that he may be accepted of God, and received as his child. In order to his receiving this necessary grace, a medium must be instituted—which medium is baptism. Herein, we are told, all original and actual sin is taken away, and the soul appears pure and intrinsically lovely in the sight of God. Condemnation is taken away, because God is well pleased to view his own image in the hearts of his creatures.

"He looks, and loves his image there."

Our reasons for opposing this doctrine have been briefly hinted at in the foregoing remarks, and such are our convictions of the

great importance of this point that we agree with Calvin in considering this the key, the Thermopylæ of Protestantism. Grant the claims of Romanists or Oxfordists in this particular, and they will take at pleasure whatever else may come within the range of their cupidity. If baptism is the key to the kingdom of heaven; if the reception of it "duly administered" is the appointed means of attaining divine favor, then indeed have they, to whom the right of administering that sacrament is committed, a tremendous power over the souls of men. Then is the ministerial office rendered not only glorious on account of its power to bless, but equally fearful on account of its power to curse. Nor would it be reasonable to suppose that when such a power was committed to men that it would not be guarded from the approach of the vulgar and uninitiated. Not only must all power be vested in the chosen vessels of grace, but it must be a monopoly with them, and those to whom they shall see good to communicate it. Hence, sacraments must be transformed into charms, ministers of the gospel into magicians, communicating grace or power as they see good; and an unbroken succession of the electric line of magic grace must appear, to prove the genuineness of pretension to a divine mission. All the power that the most towering ambition could desire, all that the most voracious avarice could ask, is thus secured to the pretended successors of the despised fishers of Galilee. He who would defy death in every fearful form, whom danger could not daunt, nor labor overcome, would succumb to the ghostly terrors of him who holds in his hands the destinies of eternity, and may, at pleasure, bind in perdition, or loose to all the felicities of heaven. On the other hand, if it is granted that we are justified by the alone instrumentality of *faith*, and that "faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," then whoever can procure and read the Bible may not only learn the way of salvation for himself, but may also "believe to the salvation of his soul." Power and responsibilities are thus devolved upon all, and the minister of the gospel appears in his true character of a teacher of the way of life; and the spiritual guide of those who inquire the way to Zion. From being ghostly fathers, armed with scorpion lashes, they become messengers of mercy, and servants of the church for Christ's sake. Sacraments appear as means of grace to strengthen faith, and aid us in our approach to the throne of grace, where alone "we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need."

We have thus brought our subject through the mazes of controversy, where truth and error seem to be engaged in

interminable strife. There are, doubtless, two great schools of theology in the modern church, which may be denominated the Tridentine and the Reformed, contradistinguished by their notions of justification. Both have able representatives in the Anglican Church; and both systems are now pretty fully developed. On the one side is arrayed the entire Protestant church—*not including* the English Establishment—on the other, the whole nominally Christian world besides, while the nondescript Church of England is partly on one side and partly on the other. The conflict of the two systems within the sphere of influence of that Church is rapidly approaching a crisis, at which the fate of one or the other must be decided for a season. Protestantism has hitherto possessed the English Church much as Israel held Canaan before the days of David; the Canaanites still occupying the strong-holds. It may prove that the present sally, from their hiding places, of these unsubdued enemies of divine truth is caused by the straitness of the place where they are now confined, and that it is but a desperate effort of an expiring hope that nerves them to this doubtful struggle. It is unquestionable that evangelical principles have increased rapidly for the past hundred years, nor do we believe that now there is any considerable retrogradation. Alarm has seized the supporters of *jure divino* prelatists, as they well know that their craft is in danger, and hence a desperate attempt must be made to revive the exploded fable of a benighted age; hence men, who would rule at any rate, will resort to all the absurdities and contradictions of a false theology for support. In such a strife the friends of truth should be united, and therefore this one great fundamental point kept always in view. In defining what it is for which we contend, we should be careful to include no merely speculative, nor any doubtful points. The doctrines of the Reformation, impregnable as they are, may be rendered indefensible by uniting them with certain forms of expressions and doubtful points of divinity. In opposing the doctrine we would now defend, Mr. Newman directs his logic and his sarcasms principally against the language in which some Protestants have chosen to express it, and by showing that to disadvantage, seems to triumph over the doctrine itself. Mr. Faber has presented this whole subject in so fair a shape, and in such a clear light, that we think we cannot do better, in closing this article, than to lay his remarks before the reader. He thus states the doctrine of justification as held by Protestants:—

"In regard to the ground of our acceptance with God, we are justified through faith on account of the alone perfect righteousness

of Christ, and not in any wise on account of our own inherent righteousness or sanctification."

To this statement of the doctrine itself, he adds the following, which he terms the rationalè, or speculative principle of the doctrine:—

"In respect to the process of the divine Mind, our justification is effected not only forensically in general, but also in particular, by *the specifically forensic imputation* of Christ's perfect righteousness to the individual whom he justifies."

He then proceeds,—

"Now the rationalè before us may be well-founded, or it may be ill-founded; it may, as some think, be fairly deduced from Scripture, or, as others think, it is incapable of being substantiated by any such elaboration. But this is nothing to the real question. *The truth of the doctrine depends not on the correctness of the appended rationalè.* If the doctrine be the mind of the Holy Scripture, then that important fact will remain precisely the same, whether the idea of an imputation of Christ's righteousness to the justified believer be, or be not the correct rationalè, or true speculative principle of the mode wherein Christ's righteousness operates to man's justification. I think it highly probable that such is the correct rationalè; but this at least is certain, that *nowhere in Scripture is* Christ's righteousness explicitly said to be imputed to the believer.—Some great names in antiquity, as well as other great names in modern times, have maintained the rationalè before us; but it ought, I conceive, never to be laid down as an article of faith, inasmuch as all are not equally convinced that it can be established by a legitimate deduction from the language of Holy Scripture."—Pp. 25–27.

This we consider a highly-important statement, as it secures the doctrine of justification by faith from an implication with the difficulties, real or imaginary, of any particular school of theology. We dissent from the learned author's opinion as to the probability of the correctness of the rationalè, but agree with him most cordially as to the doctrine itself. We might, indeed, except to some of the language in which he states the doctrine, as not the most fitly chosen, but even that we may subscribe without mental reservation. Here, then, we have the broad Protestant platform upon which all who look for salvation "by grace through faith" may meet as on common ground. Each may cherish his own peculiar views of secondary points; in this we are agreed: we will trust only in God for salvation, to whom we will approach in the name of our only Mediator, "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

Savannah, Ga., July, 1843.

ART. II.—*Third Article* of the Methodist Quarterly Review for July, 1843.

THE above article is a rejoinder to one which appeared a full year before it in this periodical. The present writer then intimated that it was "probable he would not resume the controversy." The extraordinary character of the paper now under notice justifies, he thinks, a brief return to the subject, and it is presumed that a candid hearing will justify it in the opinion of his readers, especially when they bear in mind that his opponents have already claimed their attention in three elaborate articles, while he has appeared before them but once.

It is quite clear, from its present aspect, that the subject will afford its disputants some considerable experimental, if not speculative, knowledge of its nature. Among our many faults, we do not like to acknowledge a squeamish temper; but we must confess ourselves a little pugnacious about this remarkable article. Evil moods, like some diseases, are infectious, and we are here so entirely enveloped in the contagion, that we must be more than mortal to escape its effects. Still we will endeavor to keep good-natured, though the singularity of the positions of our learned antagonist, as well as his misapprehensions of our own, may require criticisms which will give an air of asperity to the discussion, especially as our limits will not admit of circumlocution. If, too, we should be found a little splenetic, our provocations must be our apology. We are reminded, by this controversy, of the gouty old Spanish bishop, who, from some marvelous impression of the literary powers of his servant, stipulated with him to hear his sermons read from his stuffed arm-chair, with the understanding that the menial critic should frankly point out their faults. His silence or commendation was approved with great complacency; but on venturing the first time to mention a defect, the testy prelate lifted his spectacles, looked unutterable astonishment, and thrust him out of doors. Not very far from two years ago an article appeared in this Quarterly, propounding a "Theory of Temptation." We received a letter from its distinguished author, quite too complimentary to quote here, requesting us to criticise it frankly in the Herald and Journal. We did so; when, forthwith, the learned writer of the article now under notice, who was associated with the original author in an important public position, replied to these brief newspaper remarks in an elaborate paper, in the Quarterly, occupying twenty pages. We replied to him most

respectfully. We have seen no notice of the reply which condemned its spirit. What we have seen, particularly commended it in this respect. A whole year was then allowed to pass by in silence, with, we had thought, a mutual disposition to leave the subject to the public judgment; when, lo, we are called forth again, by our able friend, to bear the infliction of an article of twenty-five compact pages, in which we are treated as unceremoniously as was the unfortunate Spaniard. In his preceding article the reviewer showed us, we thought, sufficient coolness, but accorded us, at least, a disposition to learn the truth; but throughout the present, this even is denied us by frequent innuendoes, and the writer, by as frequent protestations, claims it for himself. We never denied it to him, and we do not now, though men skilled in human nature, we believe, consider anxious and emphatic claims to a virtue not denied, no small proof of its conscious deficiency.

It will seem very impolite for us to characterize his article, even in his *own terms*, and assure him that, in our humble judgment, it abounds in "distortions," "gross misrepresentations," "palpable absurdities," "partial quotations," "charges of heresy," "charges of sophistry," &c. Yet all these we shall be compelled to prove, however reluctantly. We made, we thought, a very modest reference to the acknowledged, unsatisfactory character of most metaphysical systems in their theological applications, whereupon we are sarcastically advised to "give the world a new one, since we feel ourselves qualified to condemn all others;" and hints are even given of relative positions, ages, &c. Now, though our learned friend has shown, throughout the controversy, a most manifest consciousness of ability to instruct us, and of condescension in doing so, he must permit us to remind him and ourselves, that, in the opinion of sensible men, such phraseology, in the discussion of religious subjects, by either party, is altogether irrelevant; that it is worse than irrelevant—and the more it is eschewed the better; that no true or vain consciousness of position or ability to instruct others will authorize either of us to speak *ex cathedra*; that the subject must be met with open and honest countenance; with argument, not cavil; with cordial good-nature, not spleen; and a generous construction of motives, and that the contrary spirit will be looked upon rather as an evidence of defeat than of triumph.

Thus much for the style of the article: and we regret even thus much; but the writer has given a personal character to the discussion, and for it he is responsible. He retires from the controversy, he says. We sincerely regret it is not with better temper.

He speaks of us as the "single writer" who has opposed the theory, evidently meaning that it was generally approved, for what else could be meant? It is not true. The theory was attacked in the leading organ of the church. It has been matter of no little colloquial discussion throughout the northern conferences. Whatever may be the opinion entertained of the other theory, incidentally quoted by ourselves, (and it is not essential in the controversy,) we have heard but one sentiment respecting this, except from sources closely connected with the writers, and we have heard this opinion extensively, and from some in the highest office of our ministry. Our friend singularly errs if he thinks we alone question his views.

He sadly misrepresents us as ascribing to the author of the theory the *results* which we deduce from it, and by which we attempt to show that it should be abandoned. He quotes language which we applied only to the certain phrases, in which we said that "if they meant not this, they meant nothing;" and this language he makes us use "in the statement of those doctrines" which we deduced from the theory, whereas we expressly declared the contrary, as he himself indicates. Nearly a whole page of protestation and advice follows, which, as this statement shows, is perfectly irrelevant to us, but entirely relevant to the author himself.

Again, we find the following note, which signifies more than it says,—

"We do not much admire the principle which could have led the reviewer of this theory, in commenting on this word [lust] as here used, to give preference to the definition of Webster over that of St. James, which is most obviously the sense of the theory. Nor do we any more admire the want of care which allowed him to select from the definitions of Webster the very *strongest* sense in which the word is ever used, when the lexicographer himself just below cites the passage from St. James as an example of its use in a *milder* sense."

We are attacked here both in regard to "principle" and "care." Respecting the first, we say that we did not "prefer Webster to St. James," but took them both, believing them to agree, and the writer well knows that we quoted, on another page, Wesley's note on St. James's passage, in which he fully sustains our quotation from Webster, by pronouncing the "lust" referred to, "*sinful.*" In respect to the second charge, we remark, that we have looked through all the editions of Webster within our reach, and are unable to find the citation referred to. The only editions of Webster in common use are duodecimo and octavo; from these we quoted with all honesty; in neither of these have we been able to find it. An early edition in two volumes, quarto, was issued,

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which is out of print, and to be found only in learned institutions, or among higher scholars: in this it may be found; but the charge of carelessness (and it certainly implies more than this) comes with little pertinency under such circumstances.

Let us now turn to the more important positions of the reviewer. Following his example, we shall transpose them for our convenience. He accuses us of a "gross misrepresentation" of the theory of the original writer. We accused him of maintaining it at some length, and of then modifying it into something else. After a statement of the case the reader can judge who is right. The reviewer presents a "partial quotation" of the theory. He gives the *statement* of it without the *illustrations* or *applications;* from the latter we must judge of the sense of the former. The following is a condensed statement presented in our preceding article:—

"Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act.—Each internal power in our constitution has its corresponding external object which God has appointed as its natural excitant, and which has power to excite it, *independent of the will.* These susceptibilities are the appetites and the passions. *Simply considered as powers existing*, they are neither vicious nor virtuous. Nor do their external excitants, so considered, partake of the nature of virtue or vice. When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited* and *tends* to gratification. This involuntary and necessary excitement, which tends to gratification, is called *lust;* and properly constitutes temptation. The existence of it, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek gratification, *is not sin*, nor of the nature of sin.—There are two other sources of temptation which depend upon this *principal, original* source:—1. *Reflection* upon ideas and images which have been previously introduced into the mind, by which the imagination is excited; and by this means the appetites and passions are aroused: in this case the excitement is of the same nature as that produced by the presence of the external object, and tends to seek gratification. 2. *Satanic suggestion.* Satan has the power to recall to our minds those ideas and images which we have received from external temptation, and thus to awaken our passions and excite our appetites, which state of excitement, as has been already noted, constitutes temptation. And it ought to be distinctly remembered that *he has no other means of tempting us.* From this theory is explained,—1. 'How a Christian, after conversion, may be subject to the natural excitement of the passions and appetites, *as he was before conversion.* Young and inexperienced Christians should

carefully understand this; for many have fallen into doubts, and cast away their confidence, upon finding, shortly after their conversion, that their passions and their appetites were as naturally susceptible of excitement as before.' 2. How our first parents came to fall—they having our natural *appetites and passions*, and being subject to the influence of external objects. 3. How Christ could be tempted, for he had a *perfect human nature*, 'including *our natural appetites and passions*,' which were 'as *naturally capable of excitement* by their appropriate objects, as in us.'"

With the theory thus before us, we are prepared to proceed with the discussion. The reviewer charges our view of it with a fallacy which we confess excites our astonishment, for, if it is such, he alone is responsible for it. He charges us with

"an elaborate argument to show that the theory's excitement of the appetites and passions may extend to the whole class of sensibilities, (that is, emotions and desires,) the instincts, appetites, propensities, and affections, with how little fairness, the reader can judge after a very simple statement. The theory comprehends the sensibilities under 'two classes—the *appetites*, which have their origin in the flesh; and the *passions*, which originate in the mind itself.' The reviewer, [ourself,] in opposition to all the principles of fair argumentation, attempts to force upon it another meaning, by introducing other definitions from foreign sources. As here defined, each appetite and passion must embrace both the *motive* stage and the *desire*, while the theory contains not one remark which authorizes the conclusion that the necessary excitement of temptation ever extends beyond the former."

On the same page he charges us with thus perverting the sense of the theory by "substituting the definitions of Lord Kames and others for its own." Now, how does this matter stand? The reader will bear in mind that in our original newspaper "strictures" we *denied* that the theory's "excitement of the appetites and passions" (not their "*necessary* and *natural* excitement," but what the theory *called such*) could be "*without sin*." The reviewer, now under notice, replied that it must be, for there can be no temptation without it, because there can be no temptation without access to the *will*, and no access from the *intellect* or *perception* to the *will* but "*through*" the intermediate region of the "*motives* and *desires*," or, as he elsewhere comprehensively calls them, "the sensibilities." And now what does he include in this region of the "emotions and desires," or "sensibilities?" Why, the very "*instincts*, *appetites*, *propensities*, and *affections*" which he accuses us of wrongfully ascribing to the theory. *We actually quoted the words from the author himself.* In supporting his

psychological argument he quotes Professor Upham. After assuring us that he will refer to him "*only so far as he considers the professor's doctrine beyond controversy defensible*," he thus proceeds:—

"He [Upham] considers the mental states under the three general divisions: the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will. The *natural* sensibilities are considered under the heads, emotions and desires; and the moral sensibilities under the heads, moral emotions, and feelings of moral obligation. *When we add, that the desires embrace the instincts, the appetites, the propensities, and the affections*, we have an outline of the entire mental action before us. Nor is the *order* of the mind's action left by him in obscurity, or in doubt. It commences with the intellect, and passes on to the will, through the medium of the emotions and desires on the one hand, and of the moral emotions and feelings of obligation on the other. This is not represented as the occasional, or even the *usual* order; but as the *only* way in which the will can be addressed.—We shall feel at liberty to refer to this as the true theory of the mind's action."

We have italicised above the phrase to which the author objects. We repeat, it is his own, and the single sentence, from Lord Kames, we quoted from the context of the same work which he refers to as "presenting the true theory of the mind's action." The reader then perceives the state of the case. We denied the theory's excitement of the appetites and passions; the reviewer reaffirmed it on the ground that there can be no temptation unless the excitement passes through this region of *appetite* and *passion*, or of "the sensibilities"—asserting, at the same time, that *in* this region are included "the instincts, the appetites, the propensities, and the affections." We then took his own terms as explanatory of the theory, when, lo, we are turned upon with the charge of "misstating" it, and acting "contrary to the principles of fair argumentation!"

But we must still persist, notwithstanding the reviewer, in believing this the *only* rational interpretation of the theory, according to either the popular or scientific use of its terms. When the theory contends for the "excitement of the *appetites* and *passions*," for any one to tell us that the *appetites* do not include "the instincts, the propensities," that the *passions* do not include these and the "affections," even in an intense state, appears to us as great an "absurdity" as any of those which our learned friend so freely imputes to us. When it speaks of the "excitement of *appetite* and *passion*," which (as we fully showed in our former article) are compounded of *emotion* and *desire*, as used both in scientific and popular language; when it designates this excitement by the

term "*lust*," which invariably means *desire*, and, almost as invariably, *eager* desire, to tell us that "the theory contains not a word which authorizes the conclusion that the necessary excitement of temptation ever embraced" the "*desire*;" or, as he subsequently says, that "it does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of *desire*;" or to tell us, as he afterward does, that it means "only the *nascent* desire," strikes us as equally "absurd." An *appetite* "no *disposition* to indulgence of any kind," a *passion* "only a *nascent* desire!" Enough of this here.

Again. Nearly two pages of "rhetorical interrogatory," quotation, and solemn remonstrance, are used in charging us with "partial quotations," "half sentences," &c. We beg the reader to look at this case a moment: it is a specimen. We quoted from the original theory this phrase, viz.: "There is no sin unless we consent." The reviewer represents us as saying that the author meant, "there was no sin unless we consent—*to the evil to which we are tempted.*" Now this italicised and qualifying phrase is added by the reviewer. It was never used by us—we quoted merely the language of the original author; we used it in precisely the sense in which he used it, and *in precisely the sense in which this writer here says he used it*, that is, of consent to the existence of the excitement, as well as to the evil to which we are tempted. And yet, after qualifying our language with a phrase *of his own*, and making of it a misrepresentation which we never dreamed of, he turns and accosts the public with the phrase, "We cannot avoid the conclusion that the theory is in this respect most grossly misrepresented." In all sooth it is, but by whom? Had we the sensitiveness of the reviewer, we should perhaps say something about "the love of truth," and make some ado here; but the case, especially in view of the castigation we receive, has no other effect on us than that of the ludicrous. All the arguments and observations of the reviewer, founded upon this sad blunder, fall then at once.

Another case; and it is that upon which the great stress of the article depends. We denied that the desires, &c., could be excited *toward* evil, in a sanctified man, without sin. The reviewer replied that they can and must be. He quoted the philosophical system of mental action, above mentioned, to prove it, viz.: 1. The intellect or perception; 2. The emotions; 3. The desires; 4. The will. He then affirmed that there could be no temptation without danger, and no danger without access to the will, and that, therefore, temptation must have access to the will; and as there could be no access to the will from the intellect except through the interme-

diate stages, therefore the temptation must pass "*through*" the *emotions* and *desires*. This was his argument. We examined it and denied it, at some length, affirming that the mind acted as a unit in its every function, and that this system reduced it to the principles of mere mechanism. After this denial we proceeded as follows:—

"*If* the reviewer, by his '*only* order of the mind's action,' means merely that the mind is composed of successive departments, so mechanically arranged that there is no passage from the first to the last but through the interjacent ones—that the will, occupying the last, is perfectly inert, asleep at its post, until some messenger can enter and awaken it—and that, when it is awakened, it has a spontaneous power of directing its action, independent of the character of that messenger, then does not our theory of temptation still meet his demands? We have admitted that temptations to *unlawful indulgence* may be presented to the *intellect*—we have admitted that they may produce excitement, intense excitement, yet not an excitement like that of the reviewer's, tending *toward*, flowing in the *direction* of, the unlawful object, but an excitement of abhorrence *against* it—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy. This is the very excitement which the learned defender of the theory includes among the sensibilities under the name of 'feelings of moral obligation,' and places 'in direct contact with the voluntary power.'—If the will needs merely to be aroused, then, *however we may doubt his theory* of the mind, we certainly need not quarrel with our esteemed friend, for our own hypothesis meets his conditions."*

Now this "sergeant *if*" (as Mr. Fletcher calls it in his controversial writings) occupies a very important post here, at the very head of the paragraph, and in no less than eight other places in it. We had *denied* this theory; at the end of the above paragraph we repeated our disapproval, and, in the very first sentence of the next one, we declare that our view of it "would doubtless be unsatisfactory to the reviewer." And yet, after all our denials of it, and all the above-mentioned qualifying terms, merely because we attempted to show that, absurd as it may be, we might, merely by its absurdity, meet its terms, the reviewer proceeds through a number of pages to represent us as actually adopting and arguing upon this theory! He represents us as asserting that this *is* the mode in which temptation operates, and taking this "palpable absurdity" (to use one of his own phrases) for granted, he pro-

* We do not object to Dr. Upham's system as the usual process of the mind's action, but to the reviewer's rigid application of it.

ceeds to apply it to our argument on the first temptation. Here are his words :—

"If this admission be extended to the original transgression, instead of mending the matter, it but makes it worse; for that which before did not amount to a temptation, now actually becomes a powerful impulse in the contrary direction; for he says explicitly of this excitement, 'Instead of its tending to 'unlawful indulgence,' &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency.' This temptation, which takes the direction of the *moral sensibilities*, is such, we feel assured, as no metaphysical writer ever yet suggested to the world."

In several other arguments this preposterous misrepresentation is pursued; it forms, indeed, the force of his article, until he tells us, at last, that he "forbears all further comment, lest he should fall below the dignity of the subject!" Alas for its dignity under these circumstances! We should certainly be justified here in reciprocating some of the reviewer's epithets, but we will not. He assuredly denies us common sense; but we absolutely believe we have it, and have the vanity to vindicate the claim.

We have, indeed, subsequently enumerated this agitation of mind with "heaviness, depression, dejection," &c., among the temptations of a sanctified man, and our author himself admits it, and says the theory admits it, it is analagous to the trials of Job, who is called a "perfect man," but the theory which the author ascribes to us we have amply denied. We did not refer to it in our remarks on the original temptation. Even the agitation of mind alluded to, we did not, and do not suppose to have existed there. With Mr. Wesley, we believe the first temptation primarily consisted in *deception*, and its first sinful stage in *unbelief*, and that the reviewer's excitement of the "*appetites* and *propensities*" came afterward, and were sinful. With Mr. Wesley we believe too that the woman "never would have chosen evil, knowing it to be such," that *deception* was necessary, and is the only answer to the question *unde malum*. We shall refer to his views directly.

We solicit particular attention to the next position of the reviewer. The reader, by turning to the original theory, (in the Quarterly for October, 1841,) or to our statements of it at the beginning of this article, will observe, that besides the "*external* exciting objects," there are included in the theory *two other* means of "exciting the appetites and passions," viz.:—

"1. *Reflection* upon ideas and images which have been previously introduced into the mind, by which the imagination is excited, and by this means the appetites and passions are aroused. In this case the excitement is of the same nature as that produced

by the presence of the external object, and tends to seek gratification. This is as really a state of temptation as any we have discussed. 2. *Satanic suggestion.* Satan has the power to recall to our minds ideas and images which we have received from external temptation, and thus to awaken our passions and excite the appetites, which state of excitement, as has already been noted, constitutes temptation. And it ought to be distinctly remembered that he has no other means of tempting us. It is probable he has a dreadful power of prolonging the agitation of the mind by constraining it to continue its reflections and imaginings. But however horrible, or offensive, or impure they may be, however violent the excitement, *yet there is no sin unless we consent.*" The italics are his own.

We venture the assertion that no evangelical theological writer extant describes "*horrible, offensive, impure reflections,* and *imaginings,*" accompanied with "*violent excitement,*" as "*without sin,*" however they may be produced. If they are not accompanied with *actual sin,* yet all such writers describe them as the result of the operation of temptation on our *natural depravity,* and therefore as depraved, for, as stated in our former article,—

"Natural depravity is an involuntary and original infection of our nature, pervading not only the *will* but the *appetites* and *passions,* so that when, by the aid of the divine Spirit, we *will* to do right, still we cannot till the appetites and passions are, to some degree, purified. St. Paul asserts this: 'For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwells no good thing; for *to will is present* with me, but how to *perform* that which is good I find not.'"

From this view of the subject we asserted that this state of excitement, of which the writer declares, in italics, "*there is no sin unless we consent,*" is sinful, though we consent not, and that, therefore, the theory resulted in a *denial of natural depravity.* And, further, forasmuch as it was written with the design of "explaining, or rather *limiting,* the doctrine of Christian perfection," (for thus its authors inform us,) and forasmuch as the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection teaches the *extinction* of natural depravity, therefore the theory, in allowing the above excitement, &c., in a sanctified state, virtually *denied the doctrine of Christian perfection.* The theory is not expressly applied to the sanctified man, but it is applied to the *original state* and to *Christ,* and is therefore, of course, not too low a standard for the perfect Christian, and, as above said, it was written in special reference to his case.

These were our two capital charges against it. How does the reviewer meet them? Why, by directly denying that the excite-

ment of the appetites and passions, &c., above described, as produced by *Satanic influence*, was designed by the writer of the theory as a part of his theory, in the sense in which he speaks of "the excitement of the appetites and passions" by other causes. He asserts that "these obviously refer to *two matters* entirely distinct from each other." He says that the excitement which arises from the other causes we

"uniformly confound with the 'violent excitement' subsequently referred to—predicating the same kind of innocence of the one as of the other, making them *equally* 'essential to temptation,' and equally independent of natural depravity. For this there is not a shadow of authority in the theory itself. The former was all that had been mentioned when the theory was applied to explain the temptations of our first parents, and of our Saviour; and when the latter is subsequently introduced, the reader is left to judge for himself whether or not this can ever be felt at all by the sanctified man; and, if so, whether it can ever be in his case 'involuntary and necessary.' If it ever is, then, and not otherwise, the theory pronounces it not even 'of the nature of sin.' The subject of depravity or of Christian perfection not being then under discussion, the theory makes no allusion to these questions."

The point then at issue between us here is whether or not the excitement ascribed to *objects recalled by Satanic influence* is included in the theory, under the same general views, as is the excitement ascribed to other causes? Before meeting this question it may be well to dispose of a few incidental points. The last sentence of the above quotation strikes us as remarkable: "The subject of depravity or perfection not being under discussion, the theory makes no allusion to these questions." No allusion to them! It is a philosophical fact, that were it not for resistance, a stone, thrown into space, would go on for ever in a straight line; but what would be said of the sanity of the man, who, on throwing his missiles into the air, and finding them return, in parabolas, upon the heads of his neighbors, should apologize by saying that the subjects of gravitation and atmospheric resistance not being under experiment, were not taken into consideration? Was the theory an abstraction merely for speculative amusement, or founded upon, and applicable to, the actual state of man? The fact is, the *main feature* of the theory is its discrimination between *temptation* and *sin*, showing how far the *former* can go without involving the *latter*, and thus constantly implying the subjects of depravity and perfection. Another passing remark. The reviewer, in the context, and elsewhere, reiterates the assertion that the only excitement allowed by the theory is that which is "*natural* and *necessary*," and that if there is no sin in this there is

no sin allowed by the theory. He must excuse us if we promptly dispatch this frequent assertion as a *petitio principii*. It is assuming the very point at issue. The theory indeed calls its "excitement" "natural and necessary;" but words are nothing without meaning. It defines its meaning by telling us that it is an "excitement of the appetites and passions" tending "to *unlawful* indulgence," "a *sensible impulse* or *solicitation* to do some *evil act*," "*lust*," &c. We deny that this is a "*necessary* and *natural*" excitement of an unfallen being. We deny that it is natural in any other sense than that of natural depravity, and therefore its application to Christ or the original state is wrong. The dispute, then, is not whether the "natural and necessary excitement of the appetites and passions" can exist in a perfect state, but whether what the theory *calls such* can? Let us now return to the main question.

Is, then, this passage on *Satanic influence* an exception to the interpretation of the rest of the theory? We argue that it is not:

1. Because there is *not the slightest* intimation that it is, and there is no possible reason for its being so considered, but the fact that the reviewer finds its terms prove his own construction of the theory false. We think no impartial reader of the theory would ever suppose such a distinction, and we shall show directly that the reviewer himself never supposed it till we showed its hostility to his views.

2. The position and language of the passage prove the contrary. The original writer states a theory of temptation, the great principle of which is, that temptation is an "excitement of the appetites and passions tending to seek unlawful gratification," this excitement being produced by "external" "natural excitants." He finds, however, *two* cases in which there are no "external excitants," and lest these should be considered exceptions, he proceeds to show that they are not. One of these is *reflection* on ideas and images of the mind. This he shows to accord with the theory, because these ideas and images were *originally* produced by "external excitants." The other is the *influence of Satan*, who, he says, "has *no other means of tempting us*" than "by *recalling* ideas and images received from external temptation," and therefore this also comes within the theory. Hence, when he predicates innocency of these in the *same terms* as he does the others, we understand him to do it in the *same sense* also. This we conceive to be the common-sense construction of the passage. What else can its own terms mean? If this last case is an exception to the general doctrines of the theory, of course the other

must be also, for they both form one class, and are in juxta-position; but of the former he says, "In this case the excitement is of the *same nature* as that produced by the presence of external objects," and "is as really a state of temptation as any we have discussed;" and of the second he says, that "its excitement, *as has been already noted*, constitutes temptation." The same terms respecting the non-sinful character of the other temptations are repeated, even with emphasis here. Of the first case he declares, "there is no sin" "unless we consent to this excitement, or consent to prolong it;" and of the second (which the reviewer would make the exception) he says, with increased emphasis, that "however horrible, or offensive, or impure its reflections and imaginings, however violent its excitement, yet *there is no sin unless we consent*." Here, then, are two apparent exceptions which the theory proves not to be such, the first of which the reviewer cannot presume to call an exception; (for in all the *other* cases, where the external object is present, it must operate like *this*, through reflection on mental images;) and yet the second, in the same classification, and in juxta-position with the first, equally characterized with the first or any other in the theory as *without sin*, and with not one word intimating a difference, is considered by the reviewer as an exception, because its terms are not pliable enough to suit the construction which he would put upon the theory.

3. The above might suffice; but we present one more consideration, a striking example of the *argumentum ad hominem*. The reviewer seems never to have had an idea of his present anomalous view of the passage in dispute, until we showed that it conflicted with his opinion of the theory. Nay, in his former article he asserts our view of it precisely; in discussing this very passage he uses these words, *italics* and all:—

"In regard to these [Satanic suggestions] we remark, that in common with those of which we have more particularly spoken, they are 'involuntary and necessary,' that is, unavoidable; yet, unlike them, these are excited in the appetites and passions, not *directly* by the 'objects which God has appointed as their natural excitants'—though these objects are generally made the medium of the suggestion. In this respect alone they differ; but not in their *nature*, when once formed, nor in their *moral character*. The general doctrines of the theory are therefore strictly applicable to these, as he [the original author] himself has affirmed. Such as these were the temptations of our Saviour, and are many of those by which the good man is assaulted."

We put the question to the candid reader, How does *this* compare with the preceding quotation made from his present article?

In his present article he tells us that this case of *Satanic influence* "obviously refers" to a matter "entirely distinct" from the theory's general definition of temptation. Yet in his preceding article he declared that "the general doctrines of the theory are *strictly* applicable to *this*, as *its author himself has affirmed.*" Now he reproves us for "confounding the violent excitement" of the temptation by Satanic suggestion with the excitement of the other temptations, and of "predicating the same kind of innocence of the one as of the other, making them equally essential to temptation, and equally independent of natural depravity, for which there is not a shadow of authority in the theory itself;" then he declared that "they differed *alone*" in their origin, (the one being produced by "external objects," the other by Satan *recalling* those objects,) "but not in their *nature*, when once formed, nor in their *moral character.*" The italics are his own. Now he would prove the difference by declaring that the former excitement "was all that had been mentioned when the theory was applied to explain the temptations of our first parents and of our Saviour," meaning, of course, that, owing to the alledged difference, the other was not applicable, but then he declared that "*such as these* [Satanic suggestions] were the temptations of our Saviour, and many of those by which the good man is assaulted."

We insist, then, that ours is the just construction of this passage, the only reasonable one, and the one that the reviewer himself maintained until he found that it sustained our objections to the theory. We insist that when the writer of the theory said of this "violent excitement," with its "horrible, offensive, impure images and reflections," "*there is no sin unless we consent*," he meant what he said, that he meant what he did when he spoke thus of the other forms of temptation. Let it be remembered, however, that we do not base on this passage alone our charges against the theory, but on the great principle, everywhere asserted in it, that the "*appetites and passions*" can be "excited" to *evil*, that a disposition to "unlawful indulgence," that "lust" can exist in a holy mind, *without sin.*

One remark more. The reader will notice the assertion of the reviewer that the theory had been "applied to explain the temptations of our first parents and of our Saviour," before this disputed passage was introduced. This was merely a matter of convenience, as the most casual reader must perceive. The original writer stated a theory of temptation, he then showed its applications, and afterward referred to apparent exceptions, identifying them with the theory, among which came this passage. This,

therefore, was a natural arrangement of the subject. This sentence of the reviewer is an example of those "partial" statements which he is so ready to ascribe to us. In reply to our charge that the theory denied the doctrine of natural depravity, he asserts that the theory had been applied to "*our first parents and our Saviour*" before this passage occurred, and that as they had no natural depravity, therefore the excitement, which it contends for at this stage, was without natural depravity, and therefore to predicate innocence of it was not to deny natural depravity. But was there no other application of the theory at this stage besides the two mentioned? Yes; there is another which fully determines the point, but which the reviewer has omitted, though it is placed in the *same paragraph*, is *numerated* with the others, and occurs *first* in the list. By referring to our statement of the theory on page 35 the reader will find it applied to the *young Christian* as well as "our first parents and our Saviour." All evangelical theologians admit that "natural depravity" remains more or less in him, and that, before sanctification, his appetites and passions are subject to the same kind of unholy excitement as before justification. Yet the theory consoles him with the assurance that it is "*natural* and *necessary*," and places him, in respect to it, in the same category with our first parents and Christ. And though the reviewer omits the fact *here*, in his former article he fully sustained the theory in this singular error, by asserting of the *young Christian* that "when he has resisted successfully, and overcome these impulses, he will be conscious of a feeling, not of *gratitude* that he has escaped, but of *innocence*, and not only innocence, but of *approbation* and *desert of reward*." Novel terms these, found unqualified in no evangelical work extant. The justified Christian *does* rejoice with "*gratitude*" that he thus "*escapes*," and learns from these temptations his depravity, and deplores it before God. This feeling of "*approbation* and *desert of reward*" is unknown to him if he have Scriptural views of himself. We will not follow the example of the reviewer, and comment upon his motive in omitting this case, notwithstanding he was fully aware of it; for he refers to it elsewhere, and we had reminded him of it; it is sufficient for us to show that it is there, and that it entirely invalidates his argument, and even this is unnecessary after the above.

The reviewer attempting, in his former article, to prove that the desires may be excited without sin in temptation, referred to the first temptation, and represented that there was "the excitement of both an *appetite* and of a *propensity*," and that it was "the

desire of the flesh, the *desire of the eye*, the *pride of life*;" all this without sin—for this was the point to be proved. We denied it, and asserted that, according to the Scriptures, and all orthodox commentators, these lusts are depraved, and that when the first temptation reached this stage, it involved depravity; that its innocent stage consisted in its perception, as it was suggested by the tempter, and presented in the tree. The temptation included the perception of the qualities or attractions of the tree, &c. Our very words were, "When the woman *saw* that the tree was *good for food*," &c. Now, how does the reviewer represent us here? Heed these strange words which he substitutes for our own, italics and all: "It was the *sight of the forbidden tree*, unaccompanied by the perception that it was *good for food*," &c. Here is a direct contradiction of our words. Nor did we say that the temptation ended as above, but that its *innocent* stage ended there. The reviewer further comments thus:—

"'The woman saw the tree that it was pleasant to the eyes'—this is so explained that the *seeing of the tree* was innocent, while the accompanying perception that it *was pleasant to the eyes* was sinful, and proved that she had already fallen. The temptation, then, by which Eden was lost commenced and ended with *the sight of the forbidden tree*—all that followed being but the consequence and the evidence of the apostasy."

And the paragraph is ended and pointed with the italicised exclamation, "*The sight of the tree!*" Our friend must excuse us if we say of this remarkable misrepresentation, in the language used by himself respecting one which he charges on us, "It is too palpably absurd to merit refutation." As seen above, it *directly* contradicts our language. We allowed the full perception of the temptation, not merely of the *tree*, but of its qualities. We did not say of the perception that "*it was pleasant to the eyes*," that "*it was good for food*," &c., "*was sinful*," but that the *desire* for it which followed this perception, the "excitement of the appetite and propensity," in the language of the reviewer, was guilty. He seems to take it for granted that excitement is essential to the perception, notwithstanding he has given us a system of mental philosophy which asserts the distinction between the intellect, or *perception*, and the *sensibilities*, and notwithstanding common sense asserts the distinction. Cannot the gourmand, who has ate to loathing satiety at his table, go into his garden, and, in the absence of all desire, *perceive* that the delicious fruits around him are "*good for food?*" Cannot the sick man who has lost all appetite *perceive* the attractions of a sumptuous table without feeling them?

Why, then, cannot a holy man *perceive* the attractions of a temptation when he does not *feel* them?

In dismissing this reference to the fall of man, we may remark, that Mr. Wesley is far from concurring with the reviewer in considering the original temptation primarily an "excitement of the appetites and passions," but enumerates this excitement among its accompanying and sinful effects. He describes it as primarily consisting in an attempt of Satan to "deceive" the woman; in which Benson also concurs. She, of course, was not responsible for perceiving the attempt, she could not but perceive it, but she was responsible for the "deception" or "unbelief," which followed, and which Wesley, in the context, says "tainted her;" for she had sufficient knowledge to protect her against it. Here, then, commenced her guilt. "She then," says Wesley, "lay open to the whole temptation, 'to the desire of the flesh,' for the 'tree was good for food;' to the 'pride of life,' for 'it was to be desired to make one wise,' &c., so unbelief begot pride," &c. Thus Wesley describes those "appetites and propensities" which the reviewer declares to have been excited in an *innocent* stage of the temptation, as subsequent to that stage—one of them he calls "pride," which he elsewhere asserts to be "the very essence of sin." He remarks on this temptation, that

"Indeed it has been doubted, whether man could then choose evil, knowing it to be such. But it cannot be doubted, he might mistake evil for good. He was not infallible; therefore, not impeccable. And this unravels the whole difficulty of the grand question, *Unde malum?* 'How came evil into the world?'—Indeed some have (not improbably) supposed, that the serpent was then endued with reason and speech. Had not Eve known he was so, would she have admitted any parley with him? Would she not have been frightened rather than deceived? (as the apostle observes she was.) To deceive her, Satan mingled truth with falsehood: 'Hath God said, Ye may not eat of every tree in the garden?' and soon after persuaded her to disbelieve God, to suppose his threatening should not be fulfilled."*

The Calvinistic doctrine of the obligation, but universal non-attainment of perfection, has been discussed more by the author of these pages than by any other Methodist editor of the union, and yet the reviewer gravely informs us what it is, and that we entertain it. In saying that the superior grace of a sanctified man prepared him to perceive the moral character of influences on their first approach, (a proposition certainly true in general,) we paused

* See Sermon on the End of Christ's Coming.

not to say, that this perception was not infallible, because it would have been unnecessary and absurd to say so. Yet the writer proceeds at length to charge us with believing the infallible moral judgments of perfect Christians! Six pages are thus written, and we must thus briefly dispatch them.

Though we are not logically obliged to supply, in this discussion, a theory of temptation, but merely to show that the reviewer's is not the correct one, yet we will again state our views on the subject as the best means of dispatching many of his remaining misstatements, and in order to contrast with them the theories of the original writer and the reviewer, for we insist they are not the same. We deny nothing more or less than that "the appetites and passions" can be excited in *favor* of "unlawful indulgence" "*without sin.*" We do not deny that the *natural* and *necessary* excitement of the appetites and passions may exist in a perfectly holy man, but that the theory's "*lust*"—its "excitement" or "*sensible* impulse" to "*unlawful indulgence*," to "evil acts," can. We do not deny that this "lust" exists in the temptations of common or merely justified Christians; that it even exists in most, if not all their temptations, but affirm, that in them it arises from the remains of natural depravity, and that the sanctified man, being delivered from all natural depravity, does not involuntarily feel it. We have not even denied the excitement of the emotions in temptation, so far as they do not, by *combining with desire*, take a definite direction *toward* the forbidden object. According to the philosophical system adopted by the reviewer, the *emotions* are distinct from the *desires*—they precede them—they are not desirive, but excitive; the feeling of the sublime, of surprise, wonder, astonishment, &c., are, for example, emotions, and they may be excited alike by objects remarkably bad or remarkably good. As soon, however, as the emotion takes a definite direction in favor of the object which excites it, it is no longer a simple emotion, but becomes desire. Thus the man who sees vast and glittering masses of treasures may at first behold them only with that feeling of interest or *surprise* which we call emotion. This feeling has yet no moral character, but soon it may combine with desire; it then becomes *avarice* or *covetousness*, and is sin. The same emotion may at first exist in respect to an example of public honor or popular applause. The spectator may add his voice to the acclamations without a momentary thought of ever receiving such himself; but let this thought be suggested in the excitement of the scene, and assume the form of *desire*, it is then no longer *emotion*, but *propensity*, or *passion*, it is a form of ambition or

vanity. Though, in the general language of our former article, we denied that temptation could enter, without sin, into the sensibilities, yet it was, of course, understood, and repeatedly asserted, that we meant only that they could not be excited in *favor of the evil.* When we spoke of temptation as merely *intellectual*, it was, of course, in contradistinction to a favorable excitement of the sensibilities. This we were careful to assert in that part of the article which states definitely our views of temptation, as the following extracts show:—

"We do not say that he feels no excitement, but *no such* excitement as the theory teaches, no excitement of the appetites and passions that is impure, that tends to *evil acts*, to *unlawful indulgence.* When we say, therefore, that the sanctified person is tempted *intellectually*, not sensitively, it is, of course, understood that we mean by the latter phrase, that his sensibilities are not excited *favorably* toward the temptation. The difference between the temptations of the sanctified and the justified states may be illustrated thus:—Two Christians, one sanctified, the other not, perceive an opportunity of becoming wealthy by the use of improper means. The sanctified person *perceives* the opportunity—nothing but imbecility could keep him from the perception—but it has no exciting influence upon his passions; he may intellectually dwell upon the circumstances, and wonder at the facilities they afford to an evil mind; but, at the same time, not only feel no excitement to the evil, but abhor it, and exultingly thank God for his exemption from it. On the other hand, the unsanctified Christian may feel the cravings of avarice, he may go the whole day in sore conflict with these cravings, beating them down, and yet feeling them."

This qualification was certainly sufficiently definite; yet the reviewer represents us as denying "ALL *excitement*," notwithstanding we admitted, among others, that of the "moral sensibilities," and he argues at length on the admission. The question respects not the existence, but the *nature* of the excitement; the theory's excitement we deny, but there are other kinds. We expressly mention above the *emotion* of *wonder* (one of the strongest) in the temptation of the perfect man, and no other *simple natural emotion* can have a *moral* character different from this, for, in themselves, the *natural emotions* have no moral character.* *We repeat, then, that we deny only the excitement of the appetites and passions toward evil*, the excitement which the theory alledges to be essential to temptation. This view of temptation is perfectly

* Upham's Ment. Phil., vol. ii, chap. 1.

Wesleyan. In his Plain Account, &c., Wesley, as we showed in our last, has given it himself in detail:—

"One commends me. Here is a temptation to pride. But instantly my soul is humbled before God. And I feel no pride; of which I am as sure, as that pride is not humility.

"A man strikes me. Here is a temptation to anger. But my heart overflows with love. And I feel no anger at all; of which I can be as sure, as that love and anger are not the same.

"A woman solicits me. Here is a temptation to lust. But in the instant I shrink back. And I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I can be as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot.

"Thus it is, if I am tempted by a present object; and it is just the same if, when it is absent, the devil recalls a commendation, an injury, or a woman, to my mind. In the instant the soul repels the temptation, and remains filled with pure love."

We do not say that a sanctified man never feels this wrong excitement, for he is not impeccable, but that he never feels it without *moral defect*, and this defect is in proportion to the degree of it which he feels. If, on the infinitesimal principle of our learned friend, he has but the "nascent or incipient desire," then he has "nascent or incipient guilt," and the one is as appreciable as the other. There are few sanctified Christians who have not at times felt this momentary and comparatively slight lapse. Their recovery may be almost as instantaneous, by a sudden effort of faith; still there is a proportionable moral defect. Their only rule is to live by the moment; their only question is in respect to present rectitude, Have I now the great blessing? not, Had I it during a particular moment of the preceding hour or not?

The temptations of a perfect state are never *primarily* this "*excitement of the appetites and passions;*" as Wesley says above, "A woman solicits me—here is a temptation to lust: but I feel no desire or lust *at all;* of which I can be as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot." And again he speaks of perfection as "gentleness without *any touch* of anger, *even the moment* we are provoked," as "excluding *all* envy, *all* jealousy;" and "anger, *however soon* it is over, want of instantly forgiving one another, may destroy it."* Again, "They are freed from evil thoughts, [that is, as we showed in our former article, thoughts accompanied by the theory's 'excitement' to '*evil* acts,'] so that they cannot enter into them, no, *not for a moment*, [a direct contradiction of the theory.] Aforetime, when an evil thought came in, they looked up and it vanished away; [precisely the doctrine of the theory;]

* Sermon on Christian Perfection.

but now it does not come in, there being no room for this in a heart that is full of the love of God,"* [precisely contrary to the theory.]

This excitement of the passions, then, we repeat, does not, according to Wesley, *primarily* belong to the temptations of a sanctified state. In this consists its difference from the justified state, and this difference is nothing more or less than the non-existence in the one case, and the existence in the other, of natural depravity, from which the excitement arises. Such excitement can be produced in the perfect state only in a *secondary* manner, that is, by the success of some previous stage of the temptation, as shown in Wesley's view of the first temptation, where "deception" and "unbelief" preceded the passions. So a perfect man may be tempted by an appeal to his "infirmities," (for these remain, though depravity does not;) he may be tormented like Job, or "buffeted" like Paul, tempted by persecution, and suffering for his faith, by depression, heaviness, agonizing mental states, listlessness, dullness, speculative doubts, intellectual suggestions, reiterated for hours or days, till they haunt the soul like spectres, and accompanied with unutterable perplexity, sorrow, and anguish, not merely that excitement of the moral sensibilities, at which our friend is so much perplexed, but a hundred other trials. If these shake his steadfastness, or abate his vigilance, then the passions enter, he sins—the Philistines are upon him, and unless his strength is immediately restored, he is led captive.

This view of the subject fully answers the reviewer's frequent queries after the "fiery trials," "tests of character," &c., allowed by our theory, and his frequent reasoning about the excitement of the "moral sensibilities," "*horror*," &c., entering into temptation. This he admits to be one effect of temptation. We did so too; but he selects and discusses it as the *only* one we allowed, and asks what temptation the perfect feel if it is only a horror against evil, notwithstanding we had mentioned most of the above, and said there were "a hundred others."

And these, notwithstanding the reviewer, we contend are Scriptural temptations. Satan would thus not merely *solicit* but *drive* the man to evil. And they are, as we have said, *indirect* appeals to his appetites and passions. By anguish, he would lead him to seek forbidden happiness; by the destruction of Job's resources and health, would he excite him to seek relief in cursing God. Such, indeed, are the most common temptations mentioned in the Scriptures. The book of Job is entirely an illustration of

* Sermon on Wandering Thoughts.

them in their application to "a perfect man." It was thus Abraham is said to have been tempted in the offering of Isaac. Such was "the messenger of Satan to buffet" Paul. Such, according to Wesley, and other commentators, are those of the man whom James pronounces "blessed," and exhorts "to count it all joy when he falls into divers temptations." Such are the "fiery trials" of Peter, so often referred to by the reviewer, as excluded from our theory. Such are precisely those quoted by the reviewer from St. Paul and Fletcher, and reiterated and italicised by him as requiring us to "*resist* unto blood, striving *against sin*." Such make up the illustrations and examples of Wesley's Sermon on Temptation. Such, and *such alone*, are those referred to in the paragraph quoted against us by the reviewer from Wesley on "Heaviness through manifold Temptations." We request the reader to turn to that Sermon, and the one in juxta-position with it, on the "Wilderness State." The former is confined to temptations in the sanctified state, the latter to those of the justified man. In the former, all that we have admitted are mentioned, but none of the reviewer's excitement of the appetites and passions, while, in the latter, this excitement has the pre-eminence. We need nothing more than a comparison of these sermons to demonstrate that the reviewer's doctrines are anti-Wesleyan, and, so far as Wesley is authority, anti-Scriptural.

In concluding this exposition of our views we say again, we deny nothing but the theory's "excitement of the appetites and passions" *toward* "evil," and this we deny only in reference to the perfect state. All the other forms of temptation we admit. Here, then, at once, fall all the arguments of our friend, founded upon the charge that our system affords no "fiery trials," or test of Christian character, no inducement to sin, no reason for the fall, and allows only an "excitement of horror against the temptation."

The above we consider Wesley's theory of temptation. Place, now, in contrast with it the theory in dispute. We have showed, that it teaches, as *essential* to temptation, and *not of the nature of sin*, an "excitement of the *appetites* and *passions*," which tends to "*unlawful indulgence*," a "*sensible* impulse or solicitation to do some *evil act*," "*lust*," such as the "young convert" or merely justified person often feels, a "*violent* excitement," "accompanied with images and reflections, *horrible*, *offensive*, *impure*." As shown in our former article, the appetites and passions, both in popular and scientific language, are states of *desire*. Professor Upham, the authority of the reviewer, asserts it, and who can

doubt it? What is appetite but *desire* superadded to *emotion?* And what is *passion* but *emotion* and *desire* combined, and in an intense state? The theory uses these terms, too, *without a single word* to intimate that they were applied in a special sense not implied in their popular or scientific applications, and there is no such special sense imaginable. In the "appetites and passions" are included, according to our quotation from the reviewer, (see p. 7,) and according to all metaphysicians and all common sense, the *instincts, propensities,* and *affections.* These the theory teaches may be excited, and excited to *any extent short of the will* "without *sin.*" Again and again is the assertion made, "*there is no sin unless we consent,*" that is, consent either to the evil or to prolong the excitement, and this excitement is applied to the young Christian, our first parents, Christ, and was written in reference to Christian perfection. Now how does this accord with St. Paul's doctrine of sinning when he "*would* not;" with the universal evangelical opinion, that such excitement is the result of natural depravity; with Wesley, who declares the extinction of natural depravity in perfect love; with the preceding quotations from him, in which he says of "temptation to anger," "I feel no anger at all; of which I am as sure, as that anger and love are not the same:" of "temptation to lust," "that I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I am as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot:" and with those quotations from him, so abundant in our former article, which declare that perfect love "excludes *every kind* and *degree* of envy," expels "*all* anger," "casteth out *all* jealousy, pride, desire," that "anger, even the *moment* we are provoked, and however soon it is over," is sinful; that "evil thoughts [such as we have described] cannot *enter*, no, *not for a moment.*" We showed in our former quotations, that he asserts that this excitement of natural depravity, in the justified Christian, is, even when "*resisted*" by the will, "guilt," "sin," "enmity toward God," "corruption," "worthy of death," and "deserving only the damnation of hell," though he is accepted through the atonement. This, too, is the opinion of the evangelical world. Yet the theory pronounces it when resisted "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin." The theory, and also the reviewer, explain by this excitement Christ's temptations; he had our "appetites and passions," &c. Wesley expressly denies it here again. He declares Christ's temptation to have been purely *intellectual,* reaching only the "*thoughts,*" as "a man thinks of a murder which another has committed," "and even so," he says, "is every one that is perfect."*

* Sermon on Wandering Thoughts.

The theory, then, is anti-Wesleyan. It strikes us as full of grave defects. Note some of them.

1. It describes a "*natural* and *necessary* excitement of the appetites and passions" produced by the objects which *God has appointed* to be their "*natural* excitants," as temptation, that is, a "solicitation or impulse *to evil*." We cannot so designate any *natural* and *necessary function* without reference to depravity within us, or some extraneous or superadded agency.

2. It predicates guilt only of the *will*—the very germ of the New-Haven theology.

3. It asserts that state of the appetites and passions which the church believes to arise from original sin, to be "neither sin, nor of the nature of sin," and ascribes it to Christ and the original pair, and thus virtually *denies the doctrine of natural depravity.*

4. It implies that what *the church* recognizes as depravity exists in the sanctified state, and thus virtually *denies the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection.*

What next is *the theory of the reviewer?* for he must excuse us if we affirm that it is different from the one which he undertook to defend. In his present article he says, that in the case of "the perfect Christian, the *desire* does not become fully formed, or, in other words, only the *incipient* or *nascent* desire is felt." We may be obtuse, but this looks to us very much like hair-splitting. We remark that,—

1. It contradicts the original theory. The reviewer is careful to limit the above excitement to the "perfect man," but that of the theory is applied alike to Christ and the *young or merely justified Christian*, and where is there one who does not feel that his desires to evil are something more than "*nascent?*" The original theory speaks of the "appetites and passions:" the distinguishing element of these we have shown to be *desire*. It asserts that they are "excited," that they "are aroused," that this excitement may be "violent," and accompanied by "ideas and images, horrible, or offensive, or impure;" that it is "*lust*," that the "agitation" of mind may "be prolonged," &c. Now how does this compare with the reviewer's "*incipient* or *nascent* desire," that is, "*incipient* or *nascent*" "appetite or passion?" Was a "*nascent* desire" ever before called a *passion?* Is an "*aroused*" appetite but "incipient?" And "*lust*," which generally signifies *strong* desire, does it mean in the theory an unborn desire, contrary to all usage, and without a single qualifying word by the author? We submit it to the reader whether he could ever put such a construction upon these

terms unless he had a theory to defend, and was desperately determined to defend it.

2. It contradicts Wesley. See the quotations on the preceding pages; they deny *any degree* of the theory's excitement.

3. It contradicts the reviewer's former defense of the theory. In his former article he told us that the *will must* be reached in temptation, and that it cannot be reached merely through the *emotions*, but "through the desires;" now he informs us that the temptation only "*tends* to excite the desires," that the desire does "not become fully formed," that it is "*nascent*." In his former article he opposed our view, because, as he said, (erroneously we have shown,) it allowed *no test*, no *conflict* in the mind. He has supplied this *sine qua non;* but now the mighty conflict is reduced to what?—the agitation of a "*nascent desire*," a desire neither born nor unborn. Then he located "*the great moral battle-ground*" of this *conflict* as follows:—

"Here, then, precisely—in the immediate region of the *will*—is found this great moral battle-ground; where the sole combatants—though excited and urged on by the *emotions*—are the *desires* on the one hand, and the *feelings* of *obligation* on the other; and where the prize to be lost or won is the *human soul*."

And now these "*sole* combatants on the one hand"—"*the desires*"—are "not fully formed," but nascent, (for be it remembered that the natural *emotions*, though they are excited, have, themselves, *no moral* character, and, therefore, no *conflict* with the "feelings of moral obligation,") and these combatants never are more developed in the sanctified man, though "the *conflict* continues at times during the man's whole probation, the *contest* never being entirely abandoned, nor the scene of the conflict changed!" Surely these embryo combatants are not the Titans, and after all this is not the war of the giants. Before he explained the first temptation by the theory's excitement, and said there "*an appetite* and a *propensity*" were excited, even "the *desire* of the *flesh*, the *desire* of the *eye*, and the *pride* of *life*." Now all this is but an incipient desire. Then he told us that the theory's excitement was St. James's "*lust*," which Wesley (*in loco*) says was itself sin, though it also produced sin, and now *lust* itself only signifies *nascent* desire. We charged our learned friend with contradicting himself in his former article, by saying (after asserting excitement of the *desires*, as we have shown) that "this excitement does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor *a state* of desire;" he now denies that it was a contradiction, and says he meant that "only the incipient or nascent desire is felt." But this

does not mend the matter, as we have just seen, it only makes it worse, for we are then to understand the "*nascent*" "disposition" "to be *no kind*" of a disposition, "the *incipient state* of desire" to be "*no state* of desire." We are not to interpret the motives of the reviewer; but certainly any one, determined to maintain a theory irreconcilable with acknowledged standards, could take only this intangible position between the two, where the desires are neither born nor unborn, but being born, and where he could say with his theory, they *are*, and with his standards, they *are not*. It is the peculiar and unfortunate felicity of the metaphysician that he can shrink into dimensions like those of Satan at the ear of the sleeping Eve, and which even the touch of Ithuriel's spear cannot transform. Our friend must excuse us, but we really feel that he has summoned us here into that region of metaphysical intangibilities which has so frequently and so justly excited the contempt of sensible men against metaphysics.

4. This theory we think impracticable—not capable of application to Christian experience. Such a subtilty cannot be appreciated by the popular mind. A common Christian can easily understand whether he does or does not feel an *appetite* or *passion*, but how can he tell when it is *nascent*, or when at the next conceivable stage, where, according to the reviewer, it is guilty. If it *must* be excited to a degree scarcely definable, and cannot go a jot further without sin, how can the Christian assure himself of his innocence or guilt? Not certainly by the "feelings of moral obligation," for these depend upon his power of discrimination.

A word may be necessary here to save a plausible, but fallacious reply. We have shown that the original theory contradicts Wesley, and that the reviewer contradicts both Wesley and the theory. It may be asked whether we do not thus contradict ourselves—whether two negatives do not make an affirmative? Two writers may contradict a common standard, and yet contradict each other. Two persons may assert of a supposed object, the one that it was a hundred feet long; the other, that it was but the hundredth part of an inch, and thus very materially contradict each other; while a third may step forth, and say it was an illusion of the sight, that there was no object at all. It is thus that Wesley and these writers contradict each other.

Our charges against this theory are, then, grave; but are they not valid? Does it agree with the original theory, with Wesley, with itself, with the common notions of Christian men?

But one position of the reviewer remains, which we deem it necessary to consider, as the force of all our quotations from Wes-

ley depends upon it. These quotations, as has been seen, deny "any kind or degree" of the theory's excitement of "the appetites and passions" toward evil, in the sanctified state. How does the reviewer dispose of them? In two ways; he says,—

1. "A large proportion of these quotations prove nothing but that all evil, worldly and sensual desires, are excluded. These are excluded by the original theory, since it allows nothing but what is 'involuntary,' 'and these are on all hands allowed to be under the control of the will.'"

We briefly reply to this, that it is a false view of the subject. "These are" *not* "admitted on all hands to be under the control of the will." As we have shown, and will again directly, Wesley teaches them to be both *voluntary* and *involuntary:* voluntary in the sanctified man, involuntary in the justified, but "*of the nature of sin*" in *both;* whereas the theory predicates its *involuntary* excitement of *both*, and also predicates *innocence* of both. The remark of the reviewer that "the theory allows nothing but what is involuntary," is again a *petitio principii*, the very point we have had in dispute. The theory does indeed call its excitement "natural, necessary, involuntary," but it has *defined* it as we have shown, and as thus defined we deny that it is always such. It applies it indiscriminately to the justified and perfect states. We deny that in the latter it is "involuntary," and have shown that Wesley denies it. We acknowledge with the theory that it may be *involuntary* in the justified state, but here again we deny that it is "*not of the nature of sin.*"

2. The second attempt to sweep away these quotations is still more remarkable. After all the singular features which we have been compelled to point out in the article of our learned friend, we regret that we must refer to this, as it betrays a striking misapplication of an argument founded on his professional science, a contradiction of Wesley's declarations, and of the common usages of language. The following is his argument:—

"But the objector will say, that we allow an *involuntary* impulse of the desires, which we hold to be innocent; while Wesley says the sanctified man, on being tempted to pride, 'feels no pride;' on being tempted to anger, 'feels no anger at all;' and on being tempted to lust, 'feels no desire at all:' and in another place defends Paul against even 'the inward stirrings of pride, anger, or lust.' And Fletcher says, that 'sin may arise from the momentary perversion of our tempers.' Before the days of Wesley, we believe, ethical writers had never so clearly distinguished between the voluntary and involuntary stages of desire, as to make the use of the term 'desires' ambiguous. When he speaks of 'anger,' or 'pride,' or 'lust,' or of the desires in general, we

believe he *always* refers to what we now call their *voluntary* stage; and this, because he always calls them 'sins;' while in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, he expressly tells us, that he does not call the *involuntary* transgressions of a divine law *sins*, but says,—'I believe a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions.'"

Before proving our charges against this position, we refer for a moment to the incidental remark, that Wesley calls only "*voluntary* transgressions of the law" "sins." Did not Wesley write a book on "*Original Sin*," and also a sermon with the same title, and is original sin voluntary? We reminded our friend of this in our former article. He does indeed, in common with us all, habitually use the above phrase, but *always* in reference to actual sin. And if the reader will examine his "Plain Account," &c., where the last phrase in the above quotation appears, he will find that the "involuntary transgressions" of "a person filled with the love of God" include nothing like the theory's excitement of the passions, but merely those "mistakes and *infirmities*" discussed in our last article, which form the difference between Christian and Adamic perfection. We challenge any student of Wesley's Works *to find in any of his numerous discussions of Christian perfection a single admission of the reviewer's "excitement of the appetites and passions."* If the supposed one he gives us from a little biographical notice were such, would it be a proof of ambiguity in all his sermons and essays, or would not these rather be proof of ambiguity in the notice? But it is no such admission. It does not speak of vehement *anger*, *impatience*, or *self-will*, but of vehement *temptations* to these, and temptation is the subject in dispute. If "vehement temptation" to "anger" means vehement, but "involuntary," excitement of *anger*, then, of course, the "vehement temptation" to "follow her own will" means vehement but *involuntary* excitement of the "will," a contradiction of Wesley's "involuntary transgressions," because a contradiction of terms. But to return to the main position of the reviewer, we alledge,—

1. That it is a mistaken application of the metaphysical *defect* referred to. What was this defect of the old "ethical writers?" It was not that they did not "so *clearly* distinguish between the *voluntary* and *involuntary*" desires or affections, but that they did not distinguish between the *desires* and the *will*. The affections were considered acts of the *will*. This was Edwards's doctrine.*

* "That Edwards makes but two faculties of the mind, the *understanding* and the *will*, as well as identifies the *will* and the *passions*, is fully settled."—*Tappan on Edwards*, p. 20; *Edwards on the Affections*, part i; *Edwards on Revivals of Religion*, &c., part i.

The defect, then, was that they allowed *no involuntary affections*. Now what is the argument of the reviewer? He is contending for certain "innocent" "*involuntary*" states of the affections. We deny them in respect to the sanctified man, and say that Wesley denied them. He replies that Wesley referred to only "voluntary" affections, but admitted his "involuntary" ones, and this because Wesley concurred with the metaphysicians of his day in the above position, that is, he admitted "involuntary" affections, *because he denied them*. We submit this remarkable case to the reader without further comment than to remark, that Wesley nowhere, to our knowledge, affirms this philosophical opinion, though he speaks of it as common. He was familiar with, and highly approved, Locke's Essay, which refuted it.

2. The reviewer's argument conflicts with Wesley's express declarations. His argument, as above seen, is, that Wesley condemns "pride," "anger," "love of the world," as sinful, only because they are "voluntary." But Wesley* represents these passions as "of the nature of sin" in the justified state, even "when by the Spirit we mortify the deeds of the body, and *resist* and *conquer* inward and outward sin." But not so in sanctification, for in the same paragraph he says, "When it pleases our Lord to speak to our hearts *again*, [that is, in sanctification,] to speak a second time, Be clean, then only the leprosy is cleansed; then only the evil root, the carnal mind, is destroyed; and inbred sin subsists no more. But if there be no such second change, then we must be content to remain full of sin till death." And, by referring to our former article, the reader will find abundant quotations showing that, in a justified man, sin may "*exist*," though not "allowed," and though "he is *fighting against* all sin," that "the lust of the flesh, having no more dominion over" the will, is still "the corruption of nature," "enmity with God," "sin."

3. We alledge that the reviewer's view of Wesley's language is contrary to the authorized construction of language. Wesley uses these terms alike in popular and scientific works, without any such qualification. Popular experience could never discriminate such a qualification. Christians, with the common knowledge of theology, would understand these passions and appetites as wrong without reference to the *will*, intrinsically unholy, though "*resisted* and *conquered*." How could they apply the process of discrimination if it is as subtil as the reviewer demands? His qualification, inserted in Wesley's outline of temptation, (p. 23,) would strike us as ludicrous. When Wesley says, "I feel *no* lust at *all*,

* Sermon on Repentance in Believers.

of which I am as sure as that my hand is cold or hot," he should have added, "Yet I feel *some* lust, that is, 'involuntary' lust;" "I feel *no* anger at *all;* of which I am as sure, as that anger is not love," "yet I feel *some* anger, that is, 'involuntary' anger." Remember, too, that if this lust or anger goes the smallest conceivable degree beyond its "incipient" state it becomes voluntary and *sinful,* and yet the Christian can be "as sure" that it does not pass over this subtil line "as that his hand is cold or hot!"

Our conclusion is, then, that we have rightly interpreted Wesley. Here we are compelled to submit the question to the public without remaining space or disposition to retaliate the concluding allusions of our friend, but tendering to him all the courtesies due from a fellow-student of the truth and a fellow-Christian. S.

Boston, 1843.

Art. III.—*A Review of Edwards' "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will." Containing,* 1. *Statement of Edwards' System;* 2. *The legitimate Consequences of this System;* 3. *An Examination of the Arguments against a self-determining Will.* By Henry Philip Tappan. 12mo., pp. 300. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1839.

The will of man has been the *crux philosophorum* in all ages. Far back as we can trace the history of philosophy, we find the same problems presented and the same variety of solutions offered. We discover them in the mysterious remains of Oriental speculation which have come down to us as the earliest efforts of human thought: from the depths of that primeval world we hear the voice of man calling for an explanation of his origin and his destiny. We can gather, too, that among the mighty people who bordered the river of Egypt with palaces, and temples, and sepulchres, and who looked down upon the ancient Greeks as children, these same perplexing questions arose. Among the Greeks themselves, of course, there was no lack of dispute in regard to the great problems of God, man, and the world; and then, as now, there were fatalists, who bound all the universe in the iron chain of necessity; pantheists, who represented it as one sole, imperishable being; atheists, who left it without Author or Ruler; and skeptics, who denied that man could believe aught concerning it. At a later period, among the fathers of the Christian church, there were a few who considered man merely as the tool of God; while

others declared that man's own agency makes his acts moral or immoral. In the schools of Arabia we find the same opposing parties. The vexed question found its place among the problems of the schoolmen, and has since retained it among the topics of the metaphysicians.

Must not such a spectacle convince us of the inutility of philosophical inquiries, and justify us in condemning them as barren and unprofitable? By no means; for, after all, there *is* a science of mind, and men should strive to master it. Or, if there be not, and we must either be Spinozists or skeptics; if metaphysics be impossible, we should labor on until the limit of our capacity is known; until we learn the precise position of that wall of adamant which bounds our human reason. We are inclined, indeed, to believe, with Jouffroy, that "if the same questions have made their appearance at every epoch, it is because they contain, under its different aspects, the problem of life, and because man can be interested only in things that concern him. If the same solutions have always been reproduced, it is because they are the genuine elements of the complete solution, and because human intelligence cannot depart from the circle of reality. If these solutions have always been contradicted, it is because all, having different elements of truth, have recommended themselves on the same grounds to common sense, and because, as no one represents the entire truth, no one could be accepted in its place." With regard, then, simply, to the progress of human thought, we regard all attempts at philosophy with pleasure.

But the particular question of the freedom of the will is intimately connected with practical life and with theology. Would it not be better to let the abstract question rest; to rely upon the revealed will of God, and obey the dictates of conscience, without these constant efforts to probe our consciousness to the bottom, perplexing us continually with metaphysical difficulties? So far as the practice of life is concerned, perhaps we might; for here, in general, whatever speculative notions men may entertain, they *act* as if they were free. In ordinary matters, Hobbes was as little of a necessitarian as Cudworth, and Jonathan Edwards as Samuel Clarke. Perhaps the mass of mankind never feel the pressure of this question, or, if they do, are forced by the wants of daily life to shut it out, and be satisfied. But there are others who cannot rest so; for whom these are *the* questions of life, and they *must* investigate them. Perhaps, too, we have gone too far in saying that "so far as the practice of life is concerned," these questions might be laid aside. If they had never arisen, it might be so; but

the history of mankind will show that any philosophical theory in regard to them, that attains general prevalence, must have its influence even upon the lives of the mass. Who can doubt, but that, as Cudworth says, "the fatal necessity of all actions and events, upon whatsoever grounds or principles maintained, will serve the design of atheism, and undermine Christianity and all religion, as taking away all guilt and blame, and plainly rendering a day of judgment ridiculous?" Were not the Antinomian excesses of the Independents the natural result of that doctrine of necessity which they held as strongly as the most licentious followers of Hobbes in the court of Charles II.? And is not the degradation of the modern Mohammedans sufficiently explained by their thorough belief in predestination, and their consistent action upon its principles, so far as human nature can act upon them?

The relation of philosophy to theology, also, has been the subject of much dispute. Many utterly oppose the blending of philosophy with religion in any way. And we agree in this opposition, so far as it is directed against the attempt to place philosophy above religion, and to make the doctrines of Christianity conform to any preconceived metaphysical theory. We hold fully, with Lord Bacon, that "out of the contemplation of nature or ground of human knowledge, to induce any verity or persuasion concerning the points of faith is not safe—which the heathens themselves concluded in that excellent and divine fable of the golden chain: 'That men and gods were not able to draw Jupiter down to the earth; but contrariwise, Jupiter was able to draw them up to heaven.'" But yet, we are inclined to believe that the most vehement denunciations of philosophizing in religion, and the most positive assertions of reliance upon the *ipsissima verba* of Scripture, are made, in these latter days, by a class of theologians who first adopt a metaphysical system at variance with the doctrines of the Bible, and then, finding the chasm between them to be bridgeless, would fain have them kept as far apart as possible. So far, indeed, as interpretation goes, we have little need of metaphysics in studying the Bible. But we cannot believe that it is of no moment what a man's metaphysics may be in regard to his theology. The one will affect the other, whether he will or no. Dr. Marsh says strongly, and we believe truly, that it is impossible to find, since the age of the apostles, "a single system of theology, a single volume on the Christian religion, in which the author's views are not modified by the metaphysical opinions of the age or of the individual." As it can hardly be doubted that the earliest

heresies in the Christian church arose from the unconscious operation, in the minds of theologians, of the philosophical opinions of preceding ages, so we can hardly fail to trace, in the theological systems of the present day, the various forms which the philosophy of the mind has assumed in latter times. In the nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

But, on the other hand, the theology will react upon the philosophy. If it part with something, it will not be satisfied without a return. In proportion to the accordance of the theology with the pure word of God, will be its power in purifying and elevating the metaphysics. And although one age may not suffice for any great results of such reaction to be developed, it will show itself in the course of time. In individual cases, there will arise restlessness under the pressure of the false system, and a disposition to question its authority. Here and there, after awhile, one will rise above the system, or, at least, modify it. The leaven will work silently among other minds, less vigorous and less daring, until finally it will pervade the mass. Some such process as this, we think, has been going on for years past among a certain class of divines in this country. The doctrine of philosophical necessity, as taught by Jonathan Edwards, was once universally received among them. "The time was" (we quote from a Calvinistic writer in a contemporary journal*) "when an inquisition existed in theological philosophy, and Edwards' book on the freedom of the will was put at the head of it. Every man's opinions must be imprisoned, or he himself must be branded as a heretic, whose mind did not come to the same conclusions with that great, good, and powerful thinker." But although this Procrustes' bed still retains its place in some of the Calvinistic schools of theology, the time has passed, we hope for ever, when every man's theological reputation must be guaged by it. The day of this intellectual bondage we hope is over. The free doctrines of the Bible have had room to work in many honest hearts, and the fruit of their reaction is before us, in the efforts of many honest Calvinists to rid themselves of the despotic authority of Edwards.

In a former number of this journal,† we remarked, that "Edwards' metaphysics are the basis of the theology of Calvinism. The man who attacks the former is an assailant of the latter; and he who embraces the doctrine of a free-will, not half-heartedly, or by way of manœuvre; not admitting and nullifying it within the compass of the same volume, as Professor Upham has done in his 'Treatise on the Will;' but honestly, thoroughly, and with all his

* American Biblical Repository. † April, 1840, p. 214.

heart, is on the threshold of Arminianism." In observing the course of this controversy among our neighbors since that period, we have seen no reason to change this opinion; indeed, we find it confirmed by a voice from the very inner temple of old Calvinism. Thus speaks a writer in the Princeton Review:* "It seems too plain indeed to be questioned, that if it be essential to moral agency that it be a property of the will to choose either way in spite of all opposing power, ... then there can be no proof or evidence that anything which God does, or forbears to do through all eternity, is the reason or cause, positive or privative, why moral beings act as they do act. Of course the doctrine of decrees is subverted.—An end is made of efficacious grace. With this doctrine, as all know, divine sovereignty and the orthodox view of election stand or fall." We agree fully in this opinion, and are willing to join issue upon the question, whether the will is self-determined or not, as the "hinge on which the chief theological differences that agitate our Zion turn." Well might Turretin say of free-will and its defenders, "*Hæc est Helena, pro qua, tanquam pro aris et focis, decertare non dubitant.*"†

Before proceeding to examine Mr. Tappan's book, it may not be amiss to give a brief view of the history of opinion upon the will before the time of Edwards. Passing over the earlier fathers, most of whom held the doctrine of freedom, though with no great distinctness of view, let us begin with Augustine. In his controversy with the Manicheans, he doubtless held to free-will as essential to responsibility. Subsequently, in the heat of his controversy with Pelagius, finding himself hard pressed with the arguments of that acute heretic, he clearly discerned that freedom is inconsistent with predestination, and he utterly disavowed it. The slavery of the will was one of his fundamental doctrines. In this he was followed by the Catholic predestinarians in general, and by Calvin. Arminius, on the other hand, and those who followed him, strenuously contended for man's complete free-agency, under the covenant of grace; and the self-determining power of the will was also generally admitted in the English Church. In 1654 Hobbes gave to the world his "Treatise on Liberty and Necessity;" and from his writings, as Dugald Stewart observes, "the modern necessitarians have borrowed most of those weapons with which they have combated the doctrine of moral liberty." The opinions of Hobbes were widely diffused, even in the church, and a host of opponents endeavored to check their

* October, 1840, p. 547. † Institutio Theologiæ, loc. x, quæst. 1.

destructive progress. At a later period ensued the celebrated controversy between Leibnitz and Clarke, in which the former, consistently with his doctrine of *pre-established harmony*, advocated the theory of necessity, and the latter as strenuously contended for the doctrine of freedom. The controversy was continued in England between Dr. Clarke and Anthony Collins, a very acute Deist, who took precisely the view of freedom subsequently advocated by Edwards. Collins was the terror of the theologians of his time, and few of them, whether Calvinists or not, had the boldness to avow his theory of philosophical necessity. Before this time, however, the gigantic intellect of John Howe, in struggling to reconcile God's prescience with the sincerity of his exhortations and commands to sinners, had found no other way to do it but by admitting the contingency of many human actions. Dr. Isaac Watts contended for the self-determining power of the will, as the only possible ground of moral agency. Doddridge, also, Calvinist as he was, maintained the freedom of the will, in its fullest Arminian extent, asserting expressly, that "the will is neither determined by the last dictate of the understanding, nor the greatest apparent good, nor a prevailing uneasiness." Of course the Arminian writers generally took the same side.

One of the most remarkable books in the history of the controversy is Lord Kames' Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, in which he argued for the doctrine of necessity, and yet frankly confessed that if the practice of men were regulated by this belief, the business of life could not go on, and that therefore men are endowed with a *delusive sense of liberty*. The Turks have been illustrating the first part of this position, to some extent, for centuries past, their delusion in regard to liberty being a very partial one.

The use made of the doctrine of necessity by Deistical writers caused its abandonment, as we have seen, even by many distinguished Calvinists. But others saw that to yield here was to yield all; and none were more clear-sighted in regard to the tendency of the current of opinion than Jonathan Edwards, who felt the necessity of stemming the tide, before it should sweep away the fabric of doctrine which he admired as the very architecture of God. Accordingly, he set himself to the task, and in 1753 published his "Inquiry, &c., respecting that Freedom of the Will which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency," &c. He brought to his task a mind of singular acuteness, extensive knowledge of theology, remarkable skill in logic, and a thorough conviction of the truth of his views. The work is that of a master. Its sophistries

are concealed with wonderful art. Receive his definitions, adopt his premises, and, in general, he carries you with almost irresistible power to his conclusions. He impresses you everywhere with reverence for his piety. The law of God is his delight. You see that he was writing, at least as he thought, for the glory of God. His book was successful, perhaps beyond his own expectations, in fixing the minds of Calvinists upon this great question. For many years they believed it almost as firmly as the Bible. Young minds that could not at first receive so revolting a doctrine with implicit faith, were yet induced, by the universal confidence of their elders, to quell their doubts, and believe, if they could not be convinced. The schools of the latter part of the eighteenth century revered Edwards as the schoolmen did Aristotle. They pronounced him unanswerable, and their students were trained to believe it.

Now, notwithstanding our belief that the fundamental positions of Edwards were refuted by Clarke's argument against Collins, and by various writers since that time, we must accord the praise of great boldness to the man who can so rise above the prejudices of a school as to make an assault on Edwards from the citadel of Calvinism itself. And although the way was prepared for Professor Tappan, by the symptoms of revolt in various quarters alluded to in the beginning of this article, and even by many partial attacks upon the "frowning fortress" of the Edwardean metaphysics from the more daring rebels, still, for him to undertake a regular siege was no ordinary proof of courage. We admire him for it. And we rejoice that there is magnanimity enough among many strong Calvinists, to allow of their admiration, too, both of the boldness and the ability of Professor Tappan's attempt. An instance to the contrary has come under our notice, in which a writer, who is endeavoring to lay some of the "black spirits and white," which cause our neighbors so much trouble, takes it in his way to say of Mr. Tappan, that he "was bold to combat Edwards on the will, ... and failed of success in this enterprise, not so much from any moral as from a purely natural and physical inability."* The wit of this passage is poor enough, but the sneer which it implies is contemptible. Yet nothing is more common among the defenders of Edwards than this kind of sneer. They are perpetually charging their opponents with "misunderstanding" their oracle, or with "vaunting airs of new light and discovery in religion," or with "wild sciolism" and "transcendent transcendentalism," and many more characteristics of folly and stupidity. To

* Princeton Review, January, 1843, p. 47.

listen to the cant of these men about the wonderful profoundness of Edwards, and the deep thought necessary to comprehend him, and then to see how clearly and thoroughly *they* understand, not only Edwards, but the human will, and the human mind, and the purposes of God, one would think, indeed, that they "are the people, and wisdom will die with them."

Professor Tappan has done his work with a skill and judgment equal to the boldness of the undertaking. He has evidently thought for himself, as well as acquainted himself with the labors of others in the same department. As for the spirit in which he has labored, we think that even an enemy could scarcely question its fairness and candor. He evidently writes for the truth, as a philosopher, and not as a partizan. His style is generally clear and perspicuous, while it is more attractive than that of most writers on these topics. And, on the whole, though we cannot agree with all his views, and think that he might have accomplished his great purpose better from a different stand-point in theology, we believe his review of Edwards to be the best refutation of that writer that has appeared in a complete form.

There are three volumes of Mr. Tappan's works on the will: the first is given to an examination of Edwards; the second presents his own view of the doctrine of the will; and the third contains an application of this doctrine to moral agency and accountability. Our limits in this article will allow us to treat of only the first of these at any length; the others can be but incidentally noticed.

Our author's reasons for commencing with a review of Edwards are given in the following passage of his preface:—

"It is out of respect to these old associations and prejudices, and from the wish to avoid all unnecessary strangeness of manner in handling an old subject, and more than all, to meet what are regarded by many as the weightiest and most conclusive reasonings on this subject, that I open this discussion with a review of 'Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will.' There is no work of higher authority among those who deny the self-determining power of the will; and none which on this subject has called forth more general admiration for acuteness of thought and logical subtilty. I believe there is a prevailing impression that Edwards must be fairly met in order to make any advance in an opposite argument. I propose no less than this attempt, presumptuous though it may seem, yet honest, and made for truth's sake. Truth is greater and more venerable than the names of great and venerable men, or of great and venerable sects: and I cannot believe that I seek truth with a proper love and veneration, unless I seek her, confiding in herself alone, neither asking the autho-

ray of men in her support, nor fearing a collision with them, however great their authority may be. It is my interest to think and believe aright, no less than to act aright; and as right action is meritorious, not when compelled and accidental, but when free and made under the perception and conviction of right principles; so also right thinking and believing are meritorious, either in an intellectual or moral point of view, when thinking and believing are something more than gulping down dogmas, because Austin, or Calvin, or Arminius, presents the cup."—Pp. xi, xii.

We think he has done wisely. In developing his own views on the will, our author has endeavored to proceed rigidly on psychological principles, believing that the doctrine itself should be exhibited independently of theological views. Facts are first to be established; and the procedure must, of course, be strictly psychological, for at this stage of the investigation neither revelation nor logic could be of any use. But in following Edwards it was necessary to enter at some length into the logical argument, as it is upon ingenious deductions from admitted or assumed principles that he, as well as most other necessitarians, takes his stand. This division of the work is divided into three parts; first, a statement of Edwards' system, in which an abstract of *Part I*, of the Inquiry is given, following the order of the author, and employing, as much as possible, his own words; secondly, the legitimate consequences of Edwards' system; and, thirdly, an examination of the arguments against a self-determining will. Although this method is philosophical, and presents some advantages in point of clearness and condensation, we do not think it the best that could have been adopted, with reference to this particular work. The attempt to *state* Edwards' system has been made, we are sure, with great impartiality; but from the nature of the case, no such attempt, involving the use of any "explanatory words or passages," such as Professor Tappan has found it necessary to employ, could fail to make him liable to charges of misrepresentation, or at least of misconception. Accordingly, we find that the book has incurred this charge. Perhaps the author expected it, as the defenders of Edwards are very fond of resorting to this cry of "misconception," "misunderstanding;" as if Edwards were as mystical a writer as Jacob Behmen, and themselves only possessed the gift of unraveling his riddles; but yet we think he has laid himself more open to charges of the sort than he would have done if he had examined Edwards chapter by chapter, and section by section, from beginning to end. We are aware, that it is not advisable, in general, to follow the precise

order of an opponent, as he will of course make such an arrangement of his arguments as will present them most plausibly; but here the connection between the πρῶτον ψεῦδος and the false conclusions ought to be traced out, from the first glimpse of it in the definitions, through all its winding labyrinths of sophistry, to the end of the treatise. And, besides, such is the reverence for Edwards' authority in many minds, that if his great errors are selected and refuted with the utmost clearness, they will yet think there is some definition forgotten, some explanation omitted, that must clear it all up; and by recurring to the book, they will perhaps find that the oracle expressed himself in regard to the very points discussed, with a "cautious hesitancy"—with a "perhaps," or a "somehow," or a "sometimes I use the word so and sometimes so;" by means of which very convenient ambiguities they are able to rescue both him and themselves. For these and other reasons, we should have preferred a different arrangement from that which our author has adopted; remarking, at the same time, that he has carried out his own plan well. We shall notice a few of the points in which he has been charged with misconception.

It is, first, clearly made out by the reviewer, from Edwards' own statements, that he identifies *will* and *desire*. This is confirmed, though there is an apparent inconsistency in Edwards' language, by his subsequent remarks on moral inability, which he expressly states to be a want of *inclination*, or "want of will" itself. The reader should keep this distinctly in view.

It is next shown that Edwards makes motive the cause of volition. The will is determined by the strongest motive; the strongest motive is the "greatest apparent good in the view of the mind;" and the greatest apparent good is that which "appears most agreeable." Edwards prefers to express this last thus: "The will is as what appears most agreeable is;" because "an appearing most agreeable," and "the mind's preferring or choosing, seem *hardly to be properly and perfectly distinct*." Here again he seems to identify desire and will.

It is of great importance to have it distinctly understood, that by the *determination of volition*, Edwards means the *cause of volition*. He himself illustrates it by the determination of motion, in which we mean "causing the motion of the body to be in such a direction rather than another." On this Professor Tappan remarks,—

"The causation of choice and the determination of the will are here intended to be distinguished, no more than the causation of motion and

the determination of the moving body. The cause setting a body in motion, likewise gives it a direction; and when there are several causes, a composition of the forces takes place, and determines both the extent and direction of the motion."—Pp. 20, 21.

A recent reviewer of Mr. Tappan's book* remarks, that in this passage it is argued "that in the instance of motion there is only one cause, which both produces the motion and determines the direction;" and proceeds, very sagaciously, to prove that the *fact* and *direction* of motion are always regarded as distinct effects, produced by distinct causes; e. g., that "the motion of a planet was derived from Omnipotence, its elliptical direction from gravitation." Does this writer believe that gravitation produces an elliptical motion? We always thought it produced motion in a direction somewhat rectilinear. Professor Tappan does not say that "in the instance of motion there is but one cause;" except in case there be but *one* cause impelling the body. But if we were to allow all that this writer demands, and even nullify the parallelogram of forces itself, it would not avail to relieve Edwards of making motive the cause of volition. He expressly says that motive "determines the act of the will to be thus, and not otherwise;" and it is this, and nothing else, which *is* volition. We shall recur to this point again.

Our author gives a clear statement of Edwards' definitions of necessity, impossibility, contingence, &c., in section iii, of the Inquiry, and then proceeds to exhibit the distinction of natural and moral necessity, as presented in section iv. It is plainly made out that Edwards' moral necessity is an absolute necessity of cause and effect, and that too in his own language; but our author unfortunately allows himself to put into Edwards' mouth an illustration which he did not use.

"It is as necessary as the falling of a stone which is thrown into the air; as the freezing or boiling of water at given temperatures; as sensations of sight, sound, smell, taste, and feeling, when the organs of sense, and the objects of sense, are brought together."—P. 51.

This is unfortunate, we say; for although Edwards' necessity is in reality physical, he does not say so, and much of his successful sophistry depends on keeping this point concealed. But as the defenders of Edwards, except the infidel ones, generally insist that his *moral* necessity is justly distinguished from *natural* or *physical*, it may not be amiss to examine the point a little more in detail.

Is the moral necessity of Edwards identical, according to his

* American Biblical Repository, January, 1843.

own system, with physical necessity? We affirm that it is, and will now try to prove it.

1. Edwards defines moral necessity to be that "necessity of connection and consequence which arises from such *moral causes*, as the strength of inclination or motives, and the connection which there is in many cases between these and such certain volitions and actions." He defines natural necessity to be "such necessity as men are under through the force of natural causes; as distinguished from moral causes, such as habits and dispositions of the heart, and moral motives and inducements:" e. g., "they feel pain when their bodies are wounded." One would think these definitions were enough. We have a *cause*, wound; an *effect*, pain; we have a *cause*, motive; an *effect*, volition. In neither case does the necessity exist in the cause or in the effect, but in the connection between the two. But this is not all:

2. "The effect may be as perfectly connected with its moral cause as a natural necessary effect is with its natural cause." This is a step further: the connection of moral cause and effect is perfect, and the *necessity* lies in the connection.

3. "When I use this distinction of moral and natural necessity, I would not be understood to suppose that if anything comes to pass by the former kind of necessity, the *nature* of things is not concerned in it as well as in the latter. I do not mean to determine that when a moral habit or motive is so strong, that the act of the will infallibly follows, this is not owing to the nature of things. But these are the names that these two kinds of necessity have usually been called by; and they must be distinguished by some names or other; for there is a distinction or difference between them that is very important in its consequences; which difference does not lie so much in the nature of the *connection* as in the two terms *connected*." Here is a distinct avowal of all that we contend for. The point in dispute is not whether the *terms* differ, but whether they are *connected by the same bond of necessity;* not whether gravitation is like a moral motive, or the fall of a heavy body like volition, but whether the volition follows the motive by the same law of connection as that by which the heavy body obeys gravitation. Now Edwards admits that the difference is *not so much in the connection as in the terms*. It is admitted by the defenders of Edwards that this is an unfortunate passage, thrown into the scale of fatalism; and one of the writers before referred to has the hardihood to affirm that it is inconsistent with Edwards' own views. But Dr. Day says that Edwards "takes it for granted that he knows *his own meaning* of the prin-

cipal terms which occur in his work, and that he has a right to state in what sense he proposes to use them."* We hope so reasonable a liberty will certainly be allowed him; and take it for granted that, in this instance at least, he knows his own meaning, and means precisely what he says. The identity of this connection was essential to his system, and he knew it. Take it away, and the rest of his metaphysics is good for nothing to prove necessity. There is room for ambiguity in some of his remarks in this connection; and it serves him a good turn in the theological application of his principles; but in the passages above quoted there is none. It is to be observed, moreover, that Edwards expressly disclaims saying that moral necessity is *not* owing to "the nature of things;" and argues that *nature* is distinguished in men's minds from *choice*, as to the influence of law, only because the law is more apparent in the objects of the physical world than in choice. That is, undoubtedly, according to his view, the *law of physical necessity* is more readily discerned in nature than in choice; but just as when events in the physical world do not "discernibly and obviously come to pass according to any settled course, men do not call the manner of the event by the name of nature, but by such names as accident, chance, contingence, &c.; so men make a distinction between nature and choice, as though they were completely and universally distinct.—Names being commonly given to things according to what is most obvious, and is suggested by what appears to the senses without reflection and research." He might have gone on in the same strain, and argued that as men err in calling those events in the physical world, whose laws are not clearly discernible, *accidental*, so they err, for the want of "reflection and research," in making any distinction between nature and choice. So true it is that, according to Edwards, man's immortal SPIRIT is only one of the links of the great chain of effects which men call NATURE.

4. Again: natural and moral necessity are thus distinguished by Edwards: "No opposition, or contrary will and endeavor, is supposable in the case of moral necessity, which is a certainty of the inclination and will itself;" while in natural necessity, as applied to men, such opposition is possible. The distinction, thus limited, is plausible, and great use has been made of it, in helping out the invention of natural and moral inability, a platform ingeniously contrived by cunning men, whereon the divine Being may play at fast and loose with human responsibility. But this attempted distinction serves only more clearly to identify the two

* Examination of Edwards, p. 108.

necessities. Let us try it. A man, standing at the top of a high tower, throws a stone from his hand, but loses his own balance and falls. The man and the stone come to the ground alike of *natural* necessity; though the man makes voluntary ineffectual opposition, the stone does not. Now is there any difference between the natural necessity as applied to the stone, and Edwards' moral necessity as applied to volition? If it be absurd to predicate voluntary opposition of the stone, it is equally so, according to his view, to predicate it of volition—indeed, he considers it absurd. The volition of brutes, in obedience to their instincts, where voluntary ineffectual opposition cannot be supposed, is a fair case of the moral necessity of Edwards. Is not his moral necessity, then, *more* mechanical even than his natural necessity as applied to man? The whole value of this sophistical distinction, for his purpose, consists in his confining the operation of natural necessity to *man*, where voluntary opposition is supposable; but so soon as we extend it to inanimate objects, we find it identical with *moral* necessity, as applied to mind.*

Such is Edwards' doctrine of necessity—throughout the Inquiry—except where it is necessary to qualify it, for a special purpose; and then an ingenious evasion is always at hand.

Our author next exhibits the view of natural and moral inability as presented in the Inquiry. Edwards defines moral inability to consist "either in the want of inclination, or the strength of a contrary inclination, or the want of sufficient motives in view to induce and excite an act of the will, or the strength of apparent motives to the contrary. Or both these may be resolved into one; and it may be said in one word, that moral inability consists in the opposition or want of inclination." On this Professor Tappan remarks,—

"The inability in this case does not relate to the connection between volition and its consequents and effects; *but to the production of the volition itself.* Now the inability to the production of a volition cannot be affirmed of the volition, because it is not yet supposed to exist, and as an effect cannot be conceived of as producing itself. The inability, therefore, must belong to the causes of volition, or to the motive." —P. 53.

The writer before referred to† finds fault with this, as improperly representing motive to be, according to Edwards' philosophy, the

* See this view ably presented by Rev. S. N. Spear, in Biblical Repository for January, 1843, article x. Mr. Spear's articles on this subject are among the best and clearest that have fallen under our notice.

† American Biblical Repository, January, 1843, p. 43.

producing cause of volition; not a mere circumstance, or condition, or reason, of the existence of choice, but its *producing* cause. He proceeds to affirm, most positively, that "Edwards used the word cause, in its application to the antecedent of volition in particular, to signify that which has '*no productive influence*,' but is a mere occasion;" and considers this the grand and fundamental principle of his philosophy. It seems to be given up, indeed, by most modern expositors of Edwards, that if motive be the efficient cause of volition, there is no escape from fatalism; and they, therefore, endeavor to interpret Edwards as admitting the mind to be the cause of the act of choice, while motive is the occasion of it. The Inquiry itself holds no such doctrine. As this is admitted to be a vital point, we may be excused for attempting, at some length, to answer the question, "*Does Edwards make motive the producing cause of volition?*" Let it be distinctly recollected, that the question is not, What causes the will to act at all, but what causes it to act *thus and not otherwise?* Whatever, alone, does this, is the producing cause of volition. Keeping this in view, then, we answer our question in the affirmative, because,

1. Edwards defines motive to be "the whole of that which moves, excites, or invites the mind to volition, whether that be one thing singly, or many things conjunctly." Now does not this, of itself, settle the whole question as to his view of the cause of volition? But he says also, "It is that motive, which, as it stands in the view of the mind, is the strongest, that determines the will;" and by *determining* the will, be it remembered, he means "causing that the act of will or choice should be thus and not otherwise." That is, motive causes volition, and is the whole cause.

2. Edwards' whole argument against a self-determining will is directed to show that the soul, in the act of willing, does not "*itself determine all the free acts of the will;*" and in doing this, it attempts to prove "that the dependence of volitions may be traced back, through successive steps, till it is found to extend to something *exterior* to the will or mind of the agent." That there might be no cavil about this, we have put it in President Day's own language. Edwards argues further, (part ii, sec. 2,) that "if the particular act or exertion of will, which comes into existence, be anything properly determined at all, then it has some cause of its existing, and of its existing in such a particular determinate manner, and not another; some cause, whose influence *decides the matter;* which cause is distinct from the effect, and prior to it. But to say, that the will or mind orders, influences,

and determines itself to exert such an act as it does, by the very exertion itself, is to make the exertion both cause and effect; or the exerting such an act, to be a cause of the exertion of such an act." Here is long-drawn argument to prove the *absurdity* of the mind's causing volition; and all upon the supposition of "producing" cause. But, to make assurance doubly sure, in his section on "volition not without a cause," he attempts to show that the notion that the "activity of the nature of the soul" can *produce* volition, is a gross absurdity.

3. Again, (part ii, sec. 8,) arguing against "supposed liberty of the will as opposite to all necessity," he expresses himself thus:— "To say the event is not dependent on its cause, is absurd; it is the same thing as to say, it is not its cause, nor the event the effect of it: *for dependence on the influence of a cause is the very notion of an effect.* If there is no such relation between one thing and another, consisting in the connection and dependence of one thing on the influence of another, then it is certain there is no such relation between them as is signified by the terms *cause* and *effect.* So far as an event is dependent on a cause, and is connected with it, so much causality is there in the case, and no more. *The cause does, or brings to pass, no more in any event, than is dependent on it.*" Again, refuting the notion that a cause may sometimes be followed by its effect and sometimes not, he avers that when it is so followed, the effect is "not owing to the influence of the cause, but must come to pass in some other way. For it was proved before, that the influence of the cause was not sufficient to *produce* the effect. And if it was not sufficient to *produce* it, then the *production* of it could not be owing to that influence, but must be owing to something else, or owing to nothing. And if *the effect be not owing to the influence of the cause, then it is not the cause.*" We have italicised, in these last extracts, the words which show what Edwards' idea of cause was, and that too with reference to the acts of the will, for the very aim of his argument was to show that because every effect must have a necessary connection with its cause, no event can be contingent in the manner that Arminians suppose the free acts of the will to be contingent. And yet, in the face of passages and arguments like these, scattered all through the Inquiry, we are to be told that Edwards used the word cause "in its application to the antecedent of volition in particular," in the sense of that which has "*no positive efficiency or influence to produce a thing!*" How Edwards himself would have resented such an imputation upon his logic, we may easily imagine.

4. In his section on "No Event without a Cause," he affirms, most justly, that "nothing ever comes to pass without a cause: what is self-existent, must be from eternity, and must be unchangeable; but as to all things that *begin to be*, they are not self-existent, and therefore must have some foundation of their existence without themselves." This he declares to be the grand dictate of common sense. Now what is the dictate of common sense, in regard to the law of cause and effect, if it be not that "no event can come to pass without a *producing* cause?" If this be *not* the sense in which Edwards uses the word here and elsewhere when he appeals to the dictate of common sense, he is guilty of the grossest sophistry in appealing to it at all.

5. In a word, his entire argument goes to prove, that either *motive* is the cause of volition, or there is *no* cause of it. All his reasonings in part ii, sections 3–5, amount to nothing if this be not admitted, for this is the hinge on which they all turn; and his constant effort is to reduce his antagonist to the absurdity of denying the axiom that "every event must have a cause." His reasoning is, volition is an effect, but every effect must have a cause, therefore volition must have a cause. But motive must be the cause of volition or else there is no cause, which is absurd, because every event must have a cause. In the major premise the word cause must be used in the sense of *producing* cause, or it is not the axiom of common sense which all men admit; it must, therefore, be so used in the conclusion, which is, that *motive is the cause of volition.*

Now it can be of little avail to direct us to the famous passage in which Edwards explains the different uses of the word cause, for a settlement of the question which we have tried to answer. We quote this passage, however, which, from its singular ambiguity in the connection in which it is employed, is the only one in Edwards which has the slightest semblance of dishonesty:— "Therefore I sometimes use the word cause, in this Inquiry, to signify any antecedent, either natural or moral, positive or negative, on which an event, either a thing, or the manner and circumstance of a thing, so depends, that it is the ground and reason, either in whole or in part, why it is, rather than not; or why it is as it is, rather than otherwise; or, in other words, any antecedent with which a consequent event is so connected, that it truly belongs to the reason why the proposition which affirms that event is true, whether it has any positive influence or not. And in an agreeableness to this, I sometimes use the word effect for the consequence of another thing, which is, perhaps, rather an occasion than

a cause, most properly speaking. I am the more careful thus to explain my meaning, that I may cut off occasion from any that might seek occasion to cavil and object against some things that I may say concerning the dependence of all things which come to pass on some cause, and their connection with their cause."—*Inquiry*, part ii, sec. 3.

We say that this is the only passage that has the semblance of dishonesty; but we cannot suspect Edwards of any, even the slightest dishonesty. In any writer of less rigid virtue and less pure religion, we should hardly hesitate what to call it. Let the reader review the passages quoted and italicised in our paragraph 3, above, and decide whether he uses the word cause in the sense of that which has "positive influence or not." This "wide sense" of the word cause, as defined in the "controlling passage," just quoted, has been a convenient but most unworthy refuge of the defenders of Edwards when pushed with the argument of fatalism. It is in vain. Adopt Edwards' law of motive and you adopt fatalism—of *necessity*. We trust we have sufficiently vindicated our author from misrepresenting Edwards in regard to the producing cause of volition.

In regard to the distinction between moral and natural inability, there is one point where Professor Tappan has been charged justly, we think, by the fore-mentioned reviewer,* with mistaking the meaning of Edwards, namely, the inability to which it is not just to ascribe the non-performance of a volition. If we understand the Inquiry correctly, it brings up the case of a man supposed to have the natural ability, that is, the natural capacities requisite for performing an action, but who does not perform it for want of will; and Edwards says it is not just to ascribe the non-performance to the want of ability, because the thing wanting is not a being *able*, but a being *willing*. Obviously he here means natural and not moral inability, as Professor Tappan seems to suppose. In view of responsibility, it is, to be sure, as flatly unjust to condemn a man for the want of moral ability as of natural ability; but this is a matter to be argued out, and not involved in a statement of Edwards' system proper. In general, this part of the Inquiry is represented with our author's usual fairness.

But we must hasten on. At the close of his statement of Edwards' views in the order of the Inquiry, our author gives a compend of Edwards' psychological system derived from the work at large, which is drawn up remarkably well and justly.

* American Biblical Repository, January, 1843.

We cannot see that in any material point he has misunderstood the system.

In the second part of the book, Professor Tappan *presents the legitimate consequences of Edwards system.* It is indeed an appalling array. But dreadful as it is, those who believe in the fundamental doctrines of Edwards cannot evade it. If they take the system they must take its fearful consequences. Among these are the following: that there is no self-determining power of will; that the world is governed by absolute unconditional necessity; that, of course, evil is necessary, and has its origin in infinite Wisdom; that man cannot be blamable for evil; that all exhortations to men are absurd; that the sense of guilt and shame is a prejudice; that punishment is only a system accommodated to the opinions of society; and that the system leads to fatalism, pantheism, and atheism. It must certainly appear, as our author remarks, that

"if these deductions be legitimate, then, to the largest class of readers the doctrine of necessity is overthrown: it is overthrown by its consequences, and my argument has the force of a *reductio ad absurdum.* If a self-determined will appear an absurdity, still it cannot be so absurd as the contrary doctrine, if this doctrine involve the consequences above given. At least, practical wisdom will claim that doctrine which leaves to the world a God, and to man a moral and responsible nature."—P. 147.

The modern necessitarians may be divided into two classes—the one not merely holding the doctrine itself, but with a bold consistency following it out to its logical consequences, deny human freedom and responsibility, and become atheists, pantheists, and fatalists; the other, holding to the doctrine with equal tenacity, but shrinking from its consequences, and even endeavoring to make it the basis of man's responsibility for his actions. The former class is perhaps at this day the most numerous, at least in Europe. Dugald Stewart has presented some of their doctrines and statements in the Appendix to his Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man, from which we quote the following extract of a letter from Diderot:—

"I am now, my dear friend, going to quit the tone of a preacher, to take, if I can, that of a philosopher. Examine it narrowly, and you see that the word liberty is a word devoid of meaning; that there are not, and that there cannot be, free beings; that we are only what accords with the general order, with our organization, our education, and the chain of events. These dispose of us

invincibly. We can no more conceive a being acting without a motive than we can one of the arms of a balance acting without a weight. The motive is always exterior and foreign, fastened upon us by some cause distinct from ourselves. What deceives us is the prodigious variety of our actions, joined to the habit which we catch at our birth, of confounding the voluntary and the free. We have been so often praised and blamed, and have so often praised and blamed others, that we contract an inveterate prejudice of believing that we and they will and act freely. But if there is no liberty, there is no action that merits either praise or blame; neither vice nor virtue; nothing that ought to be rewarded or punished. What, then, is the distinction among men? The doing of good and the doing of ill! The doer of ill is one who must be destroyed or punished. The doer of good is lucky, not virtuous. But though neither the doer of good or of ill be free, man is, nevertheless, a being to be modified; it is for this reason the doer of ill should be destroyed upon the scaffold. From thence the good effects of education, of pleasure, of grief, of grandeur, of poverty, &c.; from thence a philosophy full of pity, strongly attached to the good, nor more angry with the wicked than the whirlwind which fills one's eyes with dust. Strictly speaking, there is but one sort of causes, that is, physical causes. There is but one sort of necessity, which is the same for all beings. This is what reconciles me to human kind; it is for this reason I exhort you to philanthropy. Adopt these principles if you think them good, or show me that they are bad. If you adopt them, they will reconcile you, too, with others, and with yourself; you will neither be pleased nor angry with yourself for being what you are. Reproach others for nothing, and repent of nothing; this is the first step to wisdom. Besides this all is prejudice and false philosophy."

Stewart also quotes Belsham as saying, that "remorse is the exquisitely painful feeling which arises from the belief, that in circumstances precisely the same, we might have chosen and acted differently. This *fallacious* feeling is superseded by the doctrine of necessity. Remorse supposes free-will. It is of little or no use in moral discipline. In a degree it is even pernicious." To the same purpose Dr. Priestley has expressed himself: "A man when he reproaches himself for any particular action in his past conduct, may fancy that, if he was in the same situation again, he would have acted differently. But this is a mere deception; and if he examines himself strictly, and takes in all circumstances, he may be satisfied that, with the same inward disposition of mind,

end with precisely the same views of things that he had then, and exclusive of all others that he has acquired by reflection since, he could not have acted otherwise than he did." How closely does this correspond with Edwards' view of human volition! Again, Stewart remarks, "Whatever may have been the doctrines of some of the ancient atheists about man's free agency, it will not be denied that, in the history of modern philosophy, the schemes of atheism and necessity have been hitherto always connected together. Not that I would by any means be understood to say, that every necessitarian must be, *ipso facto*, an atheist, or that even any presumption is afforded, by a man's attachment to the former sect, of his having the slightest bias in favor of the latter; but only that every modern atheist I have heard of has been a necessitarian."

But, as we have said, there is a large class of necessitarians who stop short of these results. Their problem, then, is, to reconcile the necessity of all actions and events with man's free agency and responsibility—and to free it from the imputation of making fate rule both God and man, or of making God the only agent in the universe, which is pantheism, or of merging God into necessary substance and attributes, thus destroying his personality, which is atheism. We think it abundantly capable of demonstration that their effort to do this is futile—and our author has successfully shown it to be so. Strange is it, indeed, but true, that the philosophy of fate, pantheism, and atheism should be taken as the philosophy of religion.

The *third* part of Professor Tappan's review is taken up with an examination of the arguments against a self-determining will. The first of these is the famous argument *of the infinite series*, which is generally considered by the followers of Edwards to be unanswerable. The argument is, that if the will determines all its own free acts in the exercise of a power of willing, it determines its own acts by choosing its own acts. Of course every free act of choice is determined by a preceding act of choice, choosing that act; and this is an act determined still by a preceding act of the will, choosing that; "which brings us directly to a contradiction, for it supposes an act of the will preceding the first act in the whole train, directing and determining the rest; or a free act of the will before the first free act of the will." Throughout this argument, and all that follows in Edwards' answers to supposed evasions of his reasoning, it is *assumed* that the causative act by which the soul causes volitions must itself be a volition;

that an active being can bring no effects to pass by his activity but what are consequent upon his acting. Upon this assumption—taken for granted, not proved—the whole validity of his reasoning turns. It can be shown to be unfounded by the following arguments:—

1. If the assumption be valid, it is fatal to all causality. It applies to every causative act as well as to the causative acts of the will. It shuts out all causes from the universe. God himself cannot cause his own volitions, without first acting to cause them, which involves the absurdity of an infinite series of acts—hence God is no cause. It effectually cuts off Edwards and his defenders from making *mind* the efficient cause of volition, and motive the occasion; for if mind be the efficient cause, then it is liable to the absurdity of the infinite series. And if motive be the cause, the same absurdity is reached. From this reasoning there is no escape. The only attempt to evade it, is by stating that the question is not, why the mind acts at all, but why it acts thus, rather than otherwise, and therefore volition is a peculiar kind of effect. In exposing this evasion our author does not write with his usual clearness, though he evidently seizes upon the real point of evasion, which consists in separating the act of the will from the act of volition, when in fact they are one and the same thing. If the will act at all, it *acts thus and not otherwise*, and this is the very thing for which cause is sought. Edwards says that motive is the cause: his opponents say that will is itself the cause. Between them there is more than a mere verbal distinction: even the great gulf which separates fatalism from freedom. Professor Tappan rightly states that "particular determination and direction are inseparable from every volition"—that is, that for the will to act at all, is for it to act in one way and not another, so that in seeking the cause of volition we seek the cause of the entire phenomenon, and have nothing further to ask. He introduces the operation of fire selecting combustibles as an illustration; but a want of perspicuity in his language leaves it doubtful whether he uses it as an illustration of his own or of Edwards' view of volition. What he means is very clearly stated, however, elsewhere:—

"The particular determination is accounted for in the very quality or attribute of the cause. In the case of a physical cause, the particular determination is accounted for in the quality of the cause, which quality is to be necessarily correlated to the object. In the case of will, the particular determination is accounted for in the quality of the cause, which quality is to have the power to make the particular determination without being necessarily correlated to the

object. A physical cause is a cause fixed, determined, and necessitated. The will is a cause contingent and free."—P. 222.

2. This assumption of Edwards implies that we can understand the *quo modo* of cause. If we say that the will causes its own acts, he turns upon us, and inquires, "How the will causes its own acts?" The truth is, we can tell as much how any other cause acts as how the will acts, and that is just nothing at all.

3. This assumption is opposed by consciousness. Cause is the ground of phenomena, itself no phenomenon. We conceive of it as producing phenomena by an effort, or, as our author calls it for the sake of distinctness, a *nisus*, which cannot be observed except in self-conscious causes. The will is self-conscious; the will perceives this nisus, which, by its very conception, admits of no antecedent.

"There is no conception to oppose to this, but that of every cause having its first movement determined by some other cause out of itself—a conception which runs back in endless retrogression without arriving at a first cause, and is, indeed, the annihilation of all cause." —P. 193.

By this reasoning we think Edwards' assumption is itself annihilated.

Our author proceeds to notice Edwards' arguments against *contingent* self-determining power, and shows,—1. That he mistakes the question by assuming that contingency is identical with chance or no cause; 2. That he begs the question by affirming all cause to be necessary; and, 3. That contingency, as the *opposite of necessity*, and not as the *absence of cause*, is both a possible and rational conception. Bating a few inaccuracies of expression, this part of the work is admirably well done.

After some remarks upon the question of the indifferency of the will, Mr. Tappan goes on, in the last place, to examine Edwards' arguments founded upon the foreknowledge of God. We do not believe that this class of arguments is fairly applicable to the subject, one way or the other. The manner of the divine foreknowledge is beyond the reach of our faculties, indubitably. Why not as well expect the operations of the other attributes of God to be brought within the limits of our understanding, as his omniscience? Yet the argument from the prescience of the Deity, so much depended on by Edwards, Priestley, Belsham, and most of the advocates of necessity, proceeds upon the almost blasphemous ground that God *cannot* know any events but necessary events; that such events would be without evidence, and that God cannot

know without evidence! Even granting that the coexistence of God's foreknowledge with human freedom cannot be brought within the scope of the human understanding, it does not follow that human freedom must be given up. On the same principle we must give up much of our most valuable knowledge. "Do we know, or can we conceive, how God knows the secrets of men's hearts? Can we conceive how God made this world without any pre-existent matter? All the ancient philosophers believe this to be impossible; and for what reason but this, that they could not conceive how it could be done? Can we give any better reason for believing that the actions of men cannot be certainly foreseen?"* The advocates of necessity, however, must construct a theory, not merely so that God may be able to foresee human actions, but also so that "they may be able to understand *how* he foresees them." They undertake to prove that it is impossible for God to foresee actions which are not necessary. But in this daring attempt they reckon without their host.

Their entire argument confounds contingency with chance, and certainty with necessity. These ideas are perfectly distinct, and have often been shown to be so. Our author presents the matter remarkably well:—

"Certainty of the mere *fact* of existence does not imply the necessity by which anything comes to exist.—Contingency is not opposed to cause, but to necessity.—Of God we do not affirm merely the power of calculating future contingent events upon known data, but a positive prescience of all events. He sees from the beginning how contingent causes, or wills, will act. He sees with absolute infallibility and certainty—and the events to him are infallible and certain. But still they are not necessary, because the causes which produce them are not determined and necessitated by anything preceding. They are causes contingent and free, and conscious of power not to do what they are actually engaged in doing."—P. 278.

But we must bring our remarks to a close. We have followed our author through his first volume with great pleasure, and should be glad, did our limits allow, to extend the notice to the second and third. Perhaps we may take them up hereafter, in a separate article. Professor Tappan has undoubtedly made a contribution to our knowledge of the human will. In this review, he has done good service by his clear and able refutation of the fundamental errors of Edwards; especially of the *argument of the infinite series*, and of the assertion that *contingency implies no cause*, which he has fully met, and, in our judgment, satisfactorily

* Reid on the Active Powers, Essay iv, sec. 10.

set aside. And these are Edwards' pillars. His edifice crumbles with them. They are to him what axioms are to the geometer, the connecting links of all his arguments. He labors, with wonderful industry and skill, to establish them, and interweaves them, with equal adroitness, into the whole texture of his consummate logic. Take them away, and the cunning fabric falls to pieces.

The science of psychology is not what it was in the time of Edwards. Well said President Day, however ironically,—that if Edwards "were now living, he would meet with those who could teach him, that he was far from having exhausted the science of mind."* Undoubtedly he would. Does President Day seriously think that he had exhausted it? He did not, indeed, "anticipate the higher metaphysics of our times;" but the metaphysics are none the worse for that. Man's *spiritual* being is somewhat more thought of now than formerly. It is easy enough to rail at all rational psychology as transcendentalism; of which said transcendentalism many good men have no other notion than that it is something terribly wicked, because certain crazy people in the country christen their ravings by the name. But the time is coming, and we think with rapidity, when these things will be better understood, in spite of the multitude of thinkers and no-thinkers who would have everything proceed after the old *mumpsimus*. And in the light of a more just psychology, we trust men will learn, that from the "so called universal law of nature, governed by necessity, it is not possible to derive its very antithesis—a law of freedom."

November 1, 1843.

ART. IV.—*Rural Cemeteries.* North American Review, vol. liii, Article iv.

"BUT whence have they," (the voluptuous,) inquires the pious Saint Pierre, "derived this sentiment of funereal melancholy, in the very midst of pleasure? Must it not have been from the persuasion that something still subsists after we are gone? Did a tomb suggest to their imagination only the idea of what it is designed to contain, that is, a corpse merely, the sight of it would shock rather than please them. How afraid are most of them at the

* Examination of Edwards, p. 94.

thought of death! To this physical idea, then, some moral sentiment must undoubtedly be united. The voluptuous melancholy resulting from it arises, like every other attractive sensation, from the harmony of the two opposite principles; from the sentiment of our fleeting existence, and that of our immortality; which unite on beholding the last habitation of mankind. A tomb is a monument erected on the confines of the two worlds."*

What the author of the "Studies of Nature" here says of the "voluptuous," may with equal propriety be said of the whole human race. Whether the answer given by him to the question raised by himself is precisely correct or not, there would probably be some difference of opinion; but all will admit it contains much truth. Though, as we believe, the state of the departed spirit is in no way affected, either for good or evil, by the situation in which the "clay tenement" it has recently occupied may remain, we apprehend much of the interest which we feel in attending upon the funeral obsequies of the departed, and providing suitable monuments to their memories, arises from the conviction that the vital principle is not extinct, but only absent; that the separation, though long protracted, is not to be eternal.

Indeed, regard for the proper disposition of the remains of those who have died may be considered as a characteristic of man, which has manifested itself among all nations in every age of the world. "To man alone, of all animals," says Pliny, "is given ambition, avarice, strong desire of living, superstition, the care of sepulture, and regard for the future after death."† By superstition Pliny no doubt meant all regard for religious observances; and with this he considers "care of sepulture" as closely associated; both, it would seem, having their origin in, or being intimately related to, that "longing for immortality" which writers on this subject consider natural to the human heart. Indeed, we know the opinion prevailed among the ancients that the soul could not be admitted into the Elysian shades until the body had received the rites of sepulture; or, if these were denied, it must wander desolate and alone one hundred years. Hence, to die under such circumstances as to preclude the possibility of a proper interment, was considered one of the greatest calamities; and death by shipwreck, as the body would be liable to be entirely lost in the deep, was particularly

* Studies of Nature, by James Henry Bernardine de Saint Pierre, translated from the French, by Henry Hunter, D. D., vol. ii, page 68.

† Uni [homini] animantium luctus est datus . . . . uni ambitio, uni avaritia, uni immensa vivendi cupido, uni superstitio, uni sepulturae cura, atque etiam post se de futuro.—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. vii, 1.

dreaded. Thus Ovid, though he considers death would be to him a blessing, prays to be saved from shipwreck.

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

"Death would my soul from anxious troubles ease,
But that I fear to perish by the seas."

By a law of Athens, a person finding a dead body was compelled to give it a decent interment. If he was in haste, it would suffice to throw soft earth or sand upon it three times.

Persons killed by lightning, suicides, and enemies of the state, were not entitled to the rites of sepulture.

In Egypt, the city nearest which a dead body was found, was obliged to embalm it and give it the ordinary funeral rites. Indeed, in no other country was ever such attention paid to the lifeless remains of the departed, in embalming them, and providing for them proper repositories, as in Egypt. For this purpose were those immense structures, the pyramids,* erected, which remain to this day as wonderful monuments of the enterprise and mechanical skill of an unknown people; for this were the catacombs, those labyrinthine, subterranean cities, excavated.

The Scriptures everywhere recognize the obligation of the living to perform the proper funeral rites for the dead. In Gen. xv, 15, it is predicted of Abraham that he shall go to his fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age; and on the death of Sarah, his wife, he purchased of Ephron a "field in Machpelah, which was before Mamre," (Gen. xxiii, 17,) for a burial place, where he was afterward buried, (Gen. xxv, 9,) and also Isaac, and Jacob, and others of their families. Gen. xlix, 2–32; l, 13. Joseph died in Egypt, where his body was embalmed; (Gen. l, 25;) and when his descendants departed from the country they took his bones with them, as he had before directed, and buried them in Shechem, in a field which his father had purchased of the children of Hamor. Gen. xxiii, 19, 20; Josh. xxiv, 32. Moses was buried in a field in the plain of Moab, but the precise spot never was known; (Deut. xxiv, 6;) and Eleazar, the son and successor of Aaron, on Mount Ephraim. Josh. xxiv, 33. Near the same place was Joshua also buried. Josh. xxiv, 30. David, and Solomon, and most of the kings of Judah, were buried in the sepulchres of the kings at Jerusalem, but Manasseh and Amon, for some reason, in the garden of Uzza.

* This is denied by Faber in his work on the Mysteries of the Cabiri, vol. ii. p. 385; by Dr. Bryant, and others: but if there ever was ground for doubt on the subject, recent discoveries have entirely removed it.

To be deprived of the rites of sepulture, the Jews, as well as the Greeks and Romans alluded to above, considered a calamity, as is evident from the fact that this was not unfrequently threatened them as a punishment for their sins. Jer. vii, 1, 2; Ezek. vi, 5: see, also, Eccles. vi, 3. The body of our Saviour was deposited in a tomb "hewn from a rock," "wherein was never man laid;" and Lazarus was buried in a cave.

But apart from any religious or superstitious notions that may have prevailed in ancient or modern times, the appropriate interment of the dead must always, on many accounts, be a subject of deep interest. In the language of the writer, whose article we have made the basis of these remarks, "it is forced upon us by considerations which are absolutely imperative. The strong law of necessity leaves us little choice in the matter. The great destroyer is ever busy. A generation of men passes away in less than half the 'threescore years and ten' allotted to man. Thrice in a century all the generations of the dwellers on the earth are changed by death." Nature has so ordered it that the sight of the dead openly exposed is disgusting; and humanity, and a proper regard to the health and happiness of the living, equally require that they should be removed from our view.

The most common methods of disposing of the dead have been by "inhumation," or burial, and "cremation," or burning upon the funeral pile. The former method appears to have been the most ancient, and was probably much the most practiced, even before the introduction of Christianity. But burning was very common in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as other less civilized countries. Nor were the Jews strangers to it, as we learn from the fact that the bodies of Saul and his sons were burned by the men of Jabesh-Gilead, after they had been rescued by them from the Philistines. 1 Sam. xxxi, 12. Their bones were then buried under a tree in Jabesh. When David heard of this exploit of the men of Jabesh-Gilead, he commended them highly; (2 Sam. ii, 5;) and afterward removed the bones of Saul and Jonathan from Jabesh to the sepulchre of their fathers in Zelah. 2 Sam. xxi, 14. Asa, too, appears to have been burnt "in a bed which was filled with sweet odors and divers kinds of spices," though there has been some difference of opinion with regard to it. 2 Chron. xvi, 14. In cases of burning, the remaining bones and ashes were usually collected with great care and preserved in urns.

Other methods, it will occur to every one, have prevailed in particular nations. The Egyptians, as is well known, practiced embalming; and the carbonized remains of millions, thus prepared

three thousand years ago, are still preserved. They were unquestionably led to adopt this custom by their belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. The ancient Scythians were accustomed to suspend the dead bodies of their friends in the air to putrefy; and the same usage has prevailed among some tribes of savages in modern times. The inhabitants of Thibet have a dread against committing the remains of their friends to the earth, but choose rather to allow them to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey!

Among Christian nations, it is believed, inhumation, and this alone, has ever been practiced. Cremation was, indeed, common when Christianity was introduced; but the early Christians seem never to have adopted it, considering it contrary to the spirit of their religion. It is very natural to suppose their feelings may have been excited against it by witnessing so many of their number suffer martyrdom by burning at the stake. The introduction of Christianity produced in other respects considerable change in the ordinary modes of interment. Previous to this time coffins were not in general use, though it is well known expensive sarcophagi were often prepared for the rich and the great. Joseph, as we have seen, was embalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt; but it has been very properly remarked,* that mention probably is made of the fact because of its being something unusual, and to show the honors that were paid him. The body of our Saviour, it would seem, was not placed in a coffin, nor was that of Elisha, which was *touched* by the corpse that was let down into the sepulchre, (2 Kings xiii, 21,) nor that of Lazarus.

But we may not add to these desultory remarks on ancient usages. It is well known that great importance has been attached to this subject by all nations in past ages, as well ancient as modern; and recently it has excited a new interest in this country, as has been evinced by the construction of several rural cemeteries, at considerable expense, in the vicinity of some of our most populous cities. The article in the North American Review, the title of which we have used above, contains much important information concerning this new movement, as well as many judicious remarks on the "appropriate rites and modes of burial," of which it is our purpose to avail ourselves.

The first movement in this country toward the construction of a public rural cemetery appears to have been made in Boston, in 1825, but nothing decisive was done. The writer above referred to says:—

* Harmer's Observations, chap. i, Ob. 19.

"In 1830 the subject was revived; and Mount Auburn, a spot of surpassing loveliness, having been secured, the project was at once adopted by the public with special favor, and carried forward with energy to its completion."

This refers exclusively, of course, to the public feeling in and around Boston; but a corresponding feeling was excited in other places, which has since manifested itself in a manner hereafter to be described. Before this time considerable had been done in many places in laying out and inclosing small cemeteries or grave-yards, (as they have been more generally called,) usually adjacent to the churches. Mount Auburn Cemetery was consecrated Sept. 26, 1831, by prayers and an address from Judge Story of the United States Supreme Court; and received, as its "first tenant," the remains of the distinguished authoress, Mrs. Hannah Adams. Since that time, according to this writer, there have been established the Worcester Rural Cemetery, near Worcester, Mass.; the Green Mount Cemetery, near Baltimore, Md.; Harmony Grove Cemetery, in the vicinity of Salem, Mass.; Greenwood Cemetery, near Brooklyn, N. Y., and Laurel Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia, Pa.; besides others of less note, and others still for which preparation has been made.

The expense attending the construction and proper embellishment of such cemeteries as those named above, must, as a matter of course, be considerable; but in every case where the attempt has been made, it is believed, it has been defrayed by the sale of the "lots" into which they have been divided.* Still it is not to be expected that in every place extensive grounds can be laid out for this purpose, and embellished by art, as in the above instances. Nor is this desirable. We rejoice to witness the great improvement in the public taste and spirit in regard to this subject; and while the whole country may take a just pride in the cemeteries of Mount Auburn, Green Mount, and Laurel Hill, which have been established by the rich and populous cities near which they are situated, every village and town may have its "rural cemetery," less imposing, indeed, in appearance, and less known, perhaps, but not therefore possessing less intrinsic interest to those living in the vicinity, and actively concerned in its management. Nothing, in our opinion, more favorably impresses the mind of a stranger on approaching a country village, than to observe, in some retired spot in

* The whole expense of Mount Auburn Cemetery, which contains one hundred and ten and a half acres of land, had been $37,066 20, at the close of the year 1840, while the sales of lots in the same time amounted to $60,842.—*North American Review*, vol. liii, p. 391.

the vicinity, the little cemetery, properly inclosed, and tastefully laid out and adorned by art, as the circumstances of the proprietors justify; as he invariably finds it a sure indication of intelligence, refinement, and a high-toned moral feeling in the village community.

One obvious advantage of public rural cemeteries, which in a country like ours we regard as of some consequence, is, the obliteration of lines of division, whether of party or sect, which is occasioned by them. Though we must be divided during life in matters of opinion and perhaps practice, it is pleasant to reflect that we are brethren still, and that this truth shall be manifested, if nowhere else, at least in our last resting place.

> "There the dark slave sleeps sweetly as his master,
> Nor dreams the maniac of the chains that gall'd him;
> There too the wretched, worn by want and wasted,
> Forgets his sorrows."

The Roman Catholics, in this as in other things, will in all probability continue their exclusive practice—and this furnishes another evidence of the unsuitableness of their system to our republican government—but all other denominations, it is believed, can cordially unite in such an enterprise; and as for divisions originating in other relations, it is not supposed any of them will in the least interfere with the object. The distinctions of wealth must of course be seen in the public cemetery, as elsewhere in the world; but, as suggested by another, to prevent the entire exclusion of any, we would have in every cemetery a suitable number of lots reserved for the poor and for the stranger.

The practice of laying out burial grounds in the vicinity of churches originated very early, and certainly has some considerations to commend it to our favor. The reason anciently alledged for the practice, that the relatives and friends of the departed might more conveniently offer up prayers for their souls, can, of course, find no favor with Protestants; but the mind is led so naturally from the contemplations appropriate to the house of God, to recur to the "house appointed for all the living," that there seems to be a great propriety in having them situated near each other. But the disadvantage of admitting sectarian distinctions must ever attend the practice, as most churches must, of necessity, belong to some one particular denomination of Christians.

Another disadvantage of having burial places connected with church edifices arises from the obvious fact that they require very great diversity of situation. A church should always be situated,

if possible, in the midst of the population that is expected to attend upon the sacred ministrations within it. This has, indeed, in years past been too frequently forgotten or neglected, and we have often seen the village church, not in the village, as if to invite within it those who labor literally, and the heavy laden, but on some eminence at a distance, as though the chief object was to exhibit it to advantage, or to intimate to the villagers that its privileges are not to be enjoyed but at the expense of some effort! But more correct notions are beginning to prevail, and churches are now usually located with reference to the convenience of attendance by the population for whom they are designed. But this very circumstance almost always must render the location of a church unsuitable for that of a public cemetery, which should be in as quiet and retired a situation as possible. So thought the author of the address delivered at the consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery, as the following extract will show:—

"Standing here in your midst, with all the preparation of the plan before you, it needs not that I point you to its picturesque beauties, or mark how art has improved, or taste embellished, the loveliness of nature. The broad avenue and the winding path are before you. The open plain, the gently-rising hill, the easy-sloping declivity, the natural rivulet, and the miniature lake of artificial creation, are among the diversified objects of this attractive spot. Here are the deep shade of the evergreen tree, and the pure cold water of the perennial fountain, to soothe and refresh the weary and disconsolate. Even solitude's self may here find retirement, and melancholy her chosen food for meditation. In the capaciousness and diversity of the grounds, and the order of their arrangement, the requirement of every taste will be satisfied. The head of the humble may be laid low in the glen, and the green moss gather the dampness of the grave-stone, or the ashes of the world's favored ones be mingled with the dust of the hillock, and the sculptured marble upon the mound proclaim the end of earth's greatness. Sympathies and feelings will select the spot where congenial associations cluster, and that spot will become sacred to affection and the love of virtue. Religion will find here a temple in every green grave, and prayer an altar on every mound. The throng of the idle multitude shall not obtrude within these walks, nor the din of the world's cares disturb the quiet of these shades, nor the footsteps of business cross the pathway to the tomb, nor the swift heel of pleasure press the bosom of the fresh tenant of the grave."*

The ancient Christians, following in this respect the customs of the Greeks and Romans, were accustomed to form their burial

*An Address delivered on the consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery, September 8th, 1839. By *Levi Lincoln*. Quoted in the North American Review, vol. liii, p. 392.

places without the walls of the cities in which they lived, frequently by the side of some public road. The tomb in which the body of our Saviour was laid was without the walls of the ancient city of Jerusalem, though it is within those of the modern city. John xix, 20, 41.

The particular decorations and embellishments that may be considered appropriate for a "rural cemetery" it would be difficult to point out. Indeed, much latitude may here be allowed. While all that is absolutely necessary is a durable fence of some kind to inclose it, with something to mark the lots into which it is divided, we would by no means object to the beautiful gateway of Egyptian architecture at the Mount Auburn Cemetery, nor that of Gothic style at the Green Mountain Cemetery, near Baltimore. We would, however, in this, as in everything else, be careful to avoid falling into that spirit of extravagance which has recently been the curse of our country. The introduction of trees and shrubbery has ever been considered appropriate in ordinary places of burial, and it must be especially so in large public cemeteries, where art and nature are made to unite to give beauty and attractiveness to the scene. But we much doubt the propriety of making such a place "a complete Arboretum Americanum," though this would of itself certainly be "delightful to the lover of nature, and useful in a high degree to the student of natural history."* The utility of an "Arboretum Americanum" we most certainly have no desire to call in question, but we should strongly object to have a public cemetery literally converted into one.

But what shall we say to the plan of resorting to popular novels for interesting scenes from which to draw the material for suitable embellishments for the burial places of our friends! Says our author,—

"It (Laurel Hill Cemetery) is a place of many rural charms, and is furnished, in addition to the receiving tomb usual in such places, with a mansion, chapel, superintendent's cottage, green-house, gardener's and porter's lodges, and shrubbery. It is also ornamented with statues of 'Old Mortality' and his pony, and of Sir Walter Scott, cut from a quarry in New-Jersey, by the celebrated Thom. The description of 'Old Mortality' in the 'Tales of my Landlord' is faithfully and feliciously realized in stone, and should furnish to all subsequent proprietors a hint to keep the place in perpetual repair. The figure of Sir Walter is one of the two full-length statues of the great author extant in stone, and is pronounced an excellent likeness."—P. 398.

* Address of D. A. White, Esq., at the consecration of the Harmony Grove Cemetery, near Salem, Mass.

At the risk of being pronounced destitute of taste, and of failing properly to appreciate works of art, we cannot hesitate to say that, in our opinion, to place such a group in such a situation, savors quite too little of Christianity to be considered appropriate. We say nothing here of the moral character of the great "author of Waverley," nor of his personages, whether real or imaginary, "Old Mortality and his pony" included; it is sufficient that the associations likely to be called up by such a view would accord little with the feelings of the pious and contemplative mind, when entering the place where lie the remains of those loved ones who have gone before us to their reward. Though the writings of this great man everywhere display his masterly power and skill, and cannot be read but with astonishment at his genius, yet the painful truth must ever be present that his great talents were used, not to reform mankind and improve their condition, but by pandering to a depraved appetite for fiction, to secure to himself the applause of the world, and a munificent share of its goods. Now, to us it would seem that the statue of Alexander or Napoleon would be as appropriate in such a place as that of Sir Walter; and any one, or all of them, would be highly improper, as tending to inspire no sentiment in accordance with the sublime hopes and aspirations of Christianity.

But though we are obliged to dissent from our author on some points, on the whole we find much more to approve in his article than to condemn. The following remarks on "the appropriate rites and modes of burial" seem to us to require a little modification.

"And first, the funeral should, in our opinion, be brief, and as private as the circumstances of the case will allow. The religious exercises should be condensed, comprehensive, and strictly in keeping with the person, place, and occasion. None but the immediate relatives and near friends, and those who really mourn, should be present at the service. The house of the mourners should be kept as quiet and free from the intrusion of strangers as possible, for they need to be alone who are attempting to gather up their religious resources, and reconcile their hearts, by degrees, to the now remediless blank that is left in the circle of their affections. Let it not become a sort of temporary bazar, where undertakers, and tailors, and mantua-makers, and milliners, *et id genus omne*, do congregate, to consult upon the last fashion that the "mockery of wo" has assumed. Let not the house, as we have before intimated, if funerals *must* be solemnized there, be disturbed in all its interior arrangements, to make room for a vacant crowd, who come as to an exciting spectacle. Let the funeral itself be simple, disfigured with no dark pomp and parade, nor long procession of nodding plumes; and let the shocking mummery of hired mourners, whether bipeds or

quadrupeds, be shunned as an abomination. In a word, let all things be done simply, fitly, quietly, reverently, and with an utter rejection of all idle show and empty pageantry."—P. 400.

Before remarking upon the recommendations contained in this extract, we would inquire what the writer means by a person's "gathering up his religious resources" in a time of affliction! Does he consider religion as a kind of appendage, which is to be "gathered up," and used only on special occasions?

That funeral services should be in a sense private, we are not disposed to dispute; that is, no means should be adopted to induce a general attendance; but it seems to us that all should be freely admitted who are disposed thus to show their respect for the dead, and their sympathy for the living. True, we would have none there who "do not really mourn;" but we would not say by our practice that none could "really mourn," except those whom the customs of society require to put on the habiliments of mourning.

To our author's remarks on the propriety of having everything done "simply" and "quietly," we give our most hearty assent; and we wish he had expressed a direct opinion upon the practice that prevails in many parts of the country of tolling the bell of some neighboring church, while the funeral procession is moving to and from the place of burial. But in this also we suspect we should find his opinion coinciding with our own against the practice; for how else can the funeral be conducted "simply" and "quietly?" The practice, no doubt, originated in the laudable design not only to show respect to the dead, but also to remind the living of their mortality; but it may be seriously questioned whether it ought to be continued. To our mind it partakes quite too much of show and parade to be agreeable, while the frequency of the occurrence, in every place where the population is considerable, deprives it entirely of any impressiveness it might otherwise have. We would not, however, be understood to object to this method of expressing the public grief on extraordinary occasions, as in the case of the death of some one who has been eminent perhaps for his virtues, and for his services in promoting the public weal, with whom the community is well acquainted, and in whose departure the whole community sympathizes. This, and other means of expressing the public regard for exalted worth, may often be very appropriate, but it can be only in extraordinary cases.* What shall we say then to the practice of sounding the bell on the occasion

* While engaged in preparing this article, we happened, by the purest accident, to take from the shelf the London Evangelical Magazine for the year

of every funeral that happens, provided the friends of the deceased can by any means raise the dollar to pay the bell-ringer's fee? Is it not evident that the original design of the custom is entirely lost sight of, and that it dwindles down into a mere matter of parade?

Within a recent period, considerable has been said against the practice of putting on mourning in case of the death of a relative; and some have even gone so far as to make it a matter of principle to refrain from and oppose it. To us this seems to be giving it too much importance. The chief arguments we have heard urged against it are, that it fosters a love of show, and, in the case of the indigent, often occasions an expense that cannot be well afforded, to both of which it is admitted some importance is to be attached. But are they sufficient to require a total abandonment of the practice? We think not;—but "let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind." The practice of putting on mourning, or making some change in the dress ordinarily worn, on the occasion of the death of near relatives, is of very ancient origin, it having been common among the Israelites, and other ancient nations. The primitive church, though generally very cautious how they permitted the usages of the heathen nations to spring up among them, seem to have adopted this without controversy; thus showing that they saw nothing in it contrary to the spirit of their religion. From all this it is evident, we think, that the practice finds support in principles too deeply seated in our nature to be easily overthrown; and being liable to so slight objections, it may well be questioned whether it should be seriously interfered with.

The writer's arguments in favor of interment or inhumation, instead of entombment, we commend to the reader's serious consideration.

1820, and opened at the following, connected with a brief memoir of the individual referred to:—

"The Rev. Dr. Henry Kollock is no more! He died last night, and in the departure of *such* a man, a chasm is left in the community of which he has long been a distinguished member, which will not be easily supplied. It is due to his exalted character, that no evidence of respect should be omitted, but on the contrary, that more than common tokens should be offered. I therefore request that the shops be shut up, and all business suspended, that the community may thus evince how sincerely they mourn for a man who was an ornament to society, alike distinguished for talents and for goodness.

"T. U. P. Charlton, *Mayor*" (*of Savannah, Ga.*)

All this, no doubt, was very proper, and accorded well with public sentiment at the time; but it was only the high standing of the individual that made it so.

"In the next place, we must say, though we are aware that opinions differ on the subject, that the *earth* is the proper place for the remains of the dead, and not a tomb or vault above or beneath it. In other words, they should be interred or inhumed, not entombed. There is beauty in the thought of Cicero, that we thus commit them to the protection of a mother.* 'What can be happier,' says Cyrus† to his children, 'than that my body should mingle with that earth which is the common giver of all things good?' We sympathize entirely with Laertes in his direction respecting the remains of his sister Ophelia:

> 'Lay her in the earth;
> And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
> May violets spring.'

"Why should we wish to preserve the unsightly and necessarily offensive relics of our departed friends? We can scarcely picture to ourselves a more disgusting scene than that of a cadaver of any kind; that, for example, of the Capuchins near Palermo, which is the most famous in the world, where two thousand dead bodies are set up, habited in their accustomed dress, exhibits a spectacle of diversified hideousness. And yet this is but a mitigated form of the horrid reality as it must exist elsewhere, since desiccation here arrests decay. The corpse of Carlo Borromeo, which lies in a crypt in the cathedral of Milan, decked out in all its ghastliness, with fine clothes and ornaments, is another shocking mode of preservation. The Egyptians had some excuse for their extreme care in preserving the bodies of their dead, in their peculiar notions of metempsychosis, thinking that they might thus retard the departure of the soul on its long series of transmigrations, or keep its pristine body ready for its reception on its return. The Romans cut off a finger from the corpse, partly, as is supposed, that they might have something that once made a portion of the deceased, in the practice of their parentations, or renewed funeral rites at the burial place of their friends. But why men of this day, who have not the poor excuse of such superstitions to plead, should wish to preserve, or even render accessible, the decayed, and debased, and unsightly fragments of what were once their friends, is to us inconceivable. Could we, even by a word, arrest that process of decay, by which the elementary principles of our bodies, loosened from the control of the mysterious principle of life, are allowed to obey their natural affinities, and hasten to dissolution, we would not utter it. Could our departed friends speak to us, would they desire such a disgusting 'preservation as this? No. When the spirit has gone to God who gave it,—let 'dust go down to dust, earth to earth, ashes to ashes,'—and no matter how soon. Only let it be in a spot in harmony with the recollections of our friends, as they were, and were to us when living. Let it be in retirement, away from the noise and bustle of towns and streets, and all the gairish show of life. Let it be under the open sky and in the free air. Let it be amidst the 'inexpressible beauty of trees' and shrubs. Let it be among the harmonies, and beauties, and sublimities of rural nature. Let it be

* De Legibus, ii. † Xenophon's Cyropedia, viii, 5.

set apart and inclosed, as our living homes are, from vulgar intrusion. Let it be adorned with the appropriate tributes of taste and feeling, and the spot, the spot is memorial enough for us. The ghastly and loathsome image of what was once beautiful and lovely, would only serve to interrupt the trains of thought which we most wish to cherish when we think of those who were once here.

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"We only add to this part of our subject, that, by the establishment of rural cemeteries, the only excuse that has speciousness in it in favor of tombs and vaults, that of gathering into proximity and preserving together the remains of families and friends, is done away, since the 'secure possession' of a lot for a burial place affords every facility for this purpose that can be desired. On the whole, we cannot but think, upon consideration of all the facts, that the comparatively modern, and in many respects objectionable practice of entombment will be done away, and that the ancient, and on all accounts preferable method of inhumation, or interment in graves, will take its place."—Pp. 401–403.

In the Mount Auburn Cemetery many tombs have been constructed, but the further continuance of the practice, we are informed, is prohibited except in certain cases.

Our extracts have, perhaps, already become too lengthy, but we cannot in justice omit introducing a few lines from our author's remarks on the subject of epitaphs. Says he,

"Among the millions of epitaphs that have been devised and carved on solid stone, there are a very few that are barely tolerable, while many are marked with decided silliness and affectation, and many others are so quaint and ridiculous as to find their more appropriate place in jest-books. We have before us a thick folio volume devoted to 'ancient funeral monuments in Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent,' which is filled with their inscriptions, and we have not seen a single one of the whole that is entitled to any special commendation, while there are not a few which fall under the categories last stated. We remember to have seen, many years ago, five whole volumes full of American epitaphs, collected by a countryman of ours, which is open to a similar remark. Of the multitude of inscriptions of the various cemeteries near Paris, including *Père la Chaise*, there are very few, as it seems to us, that are unexceptionable. They comprise, not unfrequently, touching expressions of human tenderness, love, and disappointed hope; . . . . . but among many hundreds, there is scarcely a distinct recognition of a Christian's hope, or so much as an allusion to the great verities of a Christian's faith."—Pp. 404, 405.

Next in absurdity to frivolous and inappropriate sentiment in an inscription on a sepulchral monument, is a long prosaic history of the dust which reposes beneath it; and especially is it so if the inscription is put in the Latin language, as is often the case. The pious St.

Pierre expresses himself on this subject with some force as well as quaintness. Speaking of the practice of depositing the remains of the great beneath churches, which he wishes to reform, he says, "The principal obstacle to this reform in our police proceeds from the great and the rich, who, seldom disposed to crowd the church in their life-time, are eager for admission after death, that the people may admire their splendid *mausolea*, and their virtues portrayed in brass and marble. But thanks to the allegorical representations of our artists, and to the Latin inscriptions of our literati, the people know nothing about the matter; and the only reflection which they make at the sight of them is, that all this must have cost an enormous sum of money; and that such a vast quantity of copper might be converted, to advantage, into porridge pots!"*

In general, all that we wish to see inscribed upon a tomb-stone is the name of the person, with the date of his birth and death, to which may often be added a word indicating his profession, or any particular work for which he or she was distinguished. Thus, in the case of a minister of the gospel, or a physician, the profession should be indicated, and the same may be said of an officer of the army or navy. So on Commodore Macdonough's monument it is said, with perfect propriety, that "he was distinguished in the world as the hero of Lake Champlain." In case the person had attained very great distinction, even a reference to such particulars may be omitted. What, for instance, could be more beautiful than the inscription on the tomb-stone of the mother of Washington!

MARY, THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON.

Here it is evident not a word could be added, nor a date, without injuring the effect; and yet even in this extreme case, most persons on reading the above are spontaneously inclined to look for the dates of her birth and death on another face of the monument.

But it is only on the monuments of persons of very great distinction that an inscription of this kind would be proper. To put such an inscription on the monument of a person seems to be assuming that his history is familiar with the world, and all that is needed is his name merely engraved upon it, to enable the passing stranger to identify it. The inscription, therefore, simply of the name of "Spurzheim," upon his monument in the Mount Auburn Cemetery, we think is not in good taste, as it savors too much of affectation, in assuming for him a fame, which, great as he confessedly was, does not belong to him.

In our view, the addition of a short text of Scripture, expressive

* Studies of Nature, vol. ii, p. 201.

of some of the sublime hopes of Christianity, after the name of the person and date of his birth and his age, is very appropriate; and even a verse of poetry may sometimes, though seldom, be admissible.

We close our remarks on this interesting subject, by expressing our thanks to the writer of this article in the North American Review, for the valuable information he has afforded us, and recommending it to the reader's perusal.

Art. V.—*Oratory.*

Much as men admire eloquence, its cultivation is generally neglected. While the art of writing is almost universally studied, for ornament and utility, few pursue with corresponding ardor the art of speaking. So many failures have occurred in the attempt, and so rare have been the instances of eminent success, that men have usually been contented to admire in others what seemed to be denied to them.

False notions have exaggerated the real difficulties to be overcome. Oratory has been styled "the gift of nature," by which is meant, that it is the innate endowment of a favorite order of minds. By others it has been regarded as a fortuity, the product of an occasional concurrence of circumstances. In either case, it is placed beyond the reach of the ordinary aspirant.

It is true, that geniuses have arisen in this, as in all departments, whose extraordinary endowments have given them superior natural advantages; and occasionally they have burst upon the world as though they were the creations of the exigency which called them forth, and required their masterly powers; but such examples are rare, even compared with those who have obtained *a like eminence* under greater embarrassments, and in a less distinguished way. A few such instances of native oratorical gifts should by no means justify the sweeping conclusion that the orator is born—not made.

Most men are known to be at times eloquent, without pretending to be so; and why deny them the cultivation of what they casually attain when their heads are clear, and their hearts warm? Indeed, as we share in common, to some extent, the requisite faculties—as these faculties are found to be susceptible of great improvement—and as the prodigies of eloquence are known, in some cases, to have been prodigious in its study, we may safely infer that the foundation for this attainment is laid in the human

economy, and that from ordinary constitutional elements education can produce the finished orator.

The suggestive mind is already disposed to inquire, What are the requisites to perfection in this art? On this question our further remarks are intended to bear.

1. In attempting to give the constituents of the oratorical character we shall purposely omit the intellectual and moral endowments necessary; confining ourselves to those which relate to the expression of the passions in delivery. The object of all public speaking is to *persuade*, or, which is the same thing, to influence the will. This can never be done but through the medium of the passions. No one, therefore, whatever his theme or purpose—if he does not speak utterly at random—can fail to address them in some form. By exciting these active principles of our nature, he first interests us in his subject, so as to secure our attention; and he utterly fails to induce us to act, until he has aroused and taken them captive by his persuasive powers. It is a *secondary* part of his work, though it may be equally necessary, to convince the judgment that what he recommends will answer the desire he has awakened, and may be wisely and safely pursued in the way he prescribes.

Such is the philosophy of persuasion, and it gives great importance to a good delivery, to the difficulty of attaining which may be chiefly attributed the neglect of the art. Elocution—in which term we comprise all that pertains to delivery—is the chief characteristic of oratory, and the source of its acknowledged influence over the mind. This is seen in the most common-place intercourse between man and man. The voice of an animated speaker in common conversation instantly arrests attention, while that of an ordinary reader is unheeded, or soon wearies us. An earnest harangue will interest and affect a promiscuous audience more than a recited discourse of superior merit. The simple tale of a personal sufferer is far more touching than the embellished relation of the mere spectator. Why this difference? Nature furnishes the answer. She has her own mode of communication, and this is perfect. It follows, that the nearer we approach the natural manner, the more eloquent will be our address, and entire conformity to it would be the perfection of oratory. Hence the importance of elocution as a science. It proposes to detect and rectify, with discrimination and care, every aberration from the original standard—to combine the signs of passion with the signs of ideas—and direct in the cultivation and exercise of the requisite faculties.

In calling attention more directly to the endowments which are essential to the orator, we must first consult the human constitution. Here we shall find that the all-wise Creator has established a natural language, of the simplest construction, but admirably ingenious and useful. It is founded on this well-known law of our nature, that, "from the intimate connection between the soul and the body, every agitation in the former produces a visible effect upon the latter."

These external indications appear in the *countenance, gestures,* and *voice.* They are strikingly expressive of the passions which produce them, and occur with the strictest uniformity. They are, therefore, instantly understood by the observer, and as readily excite corresponding emotions. "For as in water face answereth to face, so does the heart of man to man."

This language of nature the orator must have at command. It is a rare qualification, but the secret of some of the mightiest achievements which eloquence can boast. And here we acknowledge that much depends on a richly-endowed constitution. All are not equally favored with that concurrence of choice qualities which gives to genius its singular capabilities. A commanding figure, an open and expressive countenance, with a happy accuracy in the formation of the nicer organs, are no mean accompaniments to an exalted and well-furnished mind. For, if the material mechanism is to be the medium of communication to "the inner man," then how great advantage must the perfection of the instrument give to the artist?

How various the expressions which play lightly over the mirror-like face, or repose on its yielding texture? Each feature bears its part in the dramatic representation. The lip must rise with scorn, or shrink with grief—the cheek crimson with shame or anger, the ear turn at the voice of jealousy or fear, and the eye pass through every phase of brilliancy, from the dumb look of mopish melancholy to the vivacity of celestial joy.

The gestures of which the body is capable are equally the promptings of passion, and add largely to the vocabulary of nature. The movements of the head are dignified and characteristic. Veneration is expressed by bowing it: arrogance by throwing it back. It is depressed by humility, elevated by joy, and inclined on one side by languor or despondency. Its more violent motions are exceedingly forcible and commanding. The expressions of the arm and hand are yet more various and common; and even the foot, in its application singly to the purpose of gesturing, or in giving attitude and dignity to the entire figure, is no mean auxi-

lary. It has been said of a living orator that the manner in which he takes or changes his position on the floor is eloquent, and heightens the effect of his thrilling execution.

But it is on the *voice* that the orator must chiefly rely. This grand endowment requires those finely-wrought organs, which give to it volume, force, and modulation. Let it not be supposed that the articulation of words is the only service it is to render. It is the instrument of passion as well as thought. By distinct and significant sounds—corresponding to certain signs—the several passions are betrayed; and when these sounds reach the ear simultaneously with the appeals of the looks and gestures to the eye, the effect is irresistible. There is often heard from the finished and cultivated organs of voice, in harmony with articulated speech, an undertone of emotion, constituting an exquisite accompaniment to the leading measure of eloquence.

The orator must also learn that even silence may be eloquent, more expressive than words, more thrilling than action. The sequestered vale, the pathless wood, the echoless summit, and "old ocean's gray and melancholy waste," are more eloquent of God in their speechless grandeur than though they had a thousand voices to ring his name, and proclaim his praise. *Sometimes an impressive reference to a profound or sublime subject may be made with the best effect.* There is a knowledge too high for us, and he was eloquent who said, "I cannot attain unto it." The apostle heard things in the third heaven unlawful to utter, and the announcement of the secret is more eloquent than an unequal disclosure would have been. The conduct of Job and his three friends who sat down together seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him, is more eloquent of their mutual anguish than all their subsequent complainings. *Intense feeling often paralyzes energy, and refuses any active expression.* The Bible refers to a joy unspeakable, groans which cannot be uttered, and a voiceless praise. Grief has no tongue to proclaim its keenest sorrows. Despair is speechless and torpid. Horror is dumb. Any attempt at expression by motion, sound, or verbal communication, abates the violence of these passions, and diminishes sympathy. The rhetorical pause is therefore founded in nature; and, when properly observed, is like its original—silent eloquence.

II. Having glanced at the natural powers requisite to delivery, we proceed to consider the cultivation they require.

Any cultivation of these native endowments has often been strenuously opposed. It is said, that in attempting to improve we shall but pervert nature; that the speaker will be trammeled by

rules, become *affected* in manner, and lose his native fervor and force, under the training of art. This alarm is founded on a two-fold error. It is assumed that the pupil will be natural without instruction and correction; and that the cultivation proposed is founded on arbitrary principles and rules. Both these assumptions are fallacious.

When we say to the young orator, "Be natural," we give him a lesson which he cannot even comprehend without study, and we task him to a work of long and difficult practice. Who has not marked the tendency, even in our experienced speakers, in a set address, to exchange the natural for an artificial manner; and what an utter sacrifice of its simple and agreeable attributes is generally made by the unpracticed declaimer? Nor does habit and experience avail much toward improving him, for though his growing self-possession may render him less awkward, great defects will remain. He may the less offend, but will hardly better follow nature.

The resemblance which startled the celebrated painter, Benjamin West, when he first saw the Apollo on canvass, between that paragon of the art and a young Mohawk, shows how true genuine art is to nature. Perhaps it was in such an original as the obscure son of the forest that the painter found his Apollo, and transferred him to the canvass. And could an equally perfect orator be found in nature, elocution would acknowledge his perfection, and make him her model. But this is not to be expected. There are causes which are always acting upon the human constitution in respect to both mind and body, which materially affect the oratorical character. This is especially true in civilized life, and more so in modern than in primitive times. The physical and mental powers suffer even in childhood, by the restraints unwisely imposed, the inveterate customs to which we are bound, and the enervating luxuries by which we are reduced to effeminacy and inaction. With such disadvantages the young aspirant undertakes an art which requires the utmost symmetry, vigor, and vivacity.

In addition to this, the want of early elementary culture, and the tendency to servile imitation, militate yet more against the completeness of the oratorical character. The education to which it is subjected is generally too superficial and inconstant to counteract the casual influences by which it suffers and increases the evils which a wiser course would prevent. It is not strange, then, that with the exception of an occasional genius, who, by a systematic and thorough course of training, has overcome the depravities of

manner, and repaired the damages of his injured system, restoring his powers to their original tone and freedom, we have no exemplars of natural eloquence superior to the untutored savage.

But we have yet more convincing and conclusive proof of the importance of cultivation—we have the example of adepts in the art, of both ancient and modern times. It is preposterous, and even unkind, to decry this effort at improvement, when all experience attests its value. What may seem to the moved, but uninstructed multitude the outbreakings of inspired feeling, poured forth in the richest diction, attended by the charm and force of a faultless delivery, and carried with singular appropriateness to a definite point, has cost, perhaps, the continuous application of years, and been elaborated by the most prodigious labor.

Demosthenes is considered a perfect orator; yet his first public effort was a mortifying failure. Hissed from the bema by a fastidious audience, he retired in disgrace, but not in despair. He set about repairing the defects which were so offensive to his countrymen. By declaiming on the sea-shore, in the roar of winds and waves, he improved a weak voice until it could be heard amidst the tumult of the populace. He practiced before a mirror, until there was a nice adjustment of his action, and even of his dress, to the most critical taste. He studied under teachers of elocution, disdaining no advantage which his inferiors in intellect might furnish, in addition to those of his own projecting.

The renowned Cicero caught the echoes of expiring eloquence in the schools of Greece, and is regarded the *rival*, if not the superior, of her prince of orators. With unusual native talents and extensive scholarship, he pursued the study and practice of elocution nearly forty years before he assured himself of having acquired its highest accomplishments.

First among modern orators unquestionably stands *Patrick Henry*. He, of all men of the class, seemed least indebted to factitious means, and was regarded so independent of them, as to be styled "nature's own orator." But he owed more to study and forethought than his cotemporaries supposed. His early life, which was idle and unpromising, was alone distinguished by the habit of watching the working of the passions, and detecting the motives of human conduct. For this purpose he drew around him groups of the companionable, and engaged them in conversation on excitable topics, which at that time were readily furnished, while he sat a cool and careful observer of their impassioned manner. In this way did this great genius indicate the drift of

his hidden reflections, and lay the foundation for his subsequent feats of eloquence.

That prodigy of the pulpit, the great and good Whitefield, was probably never suspected by his hearers of observing the punctilios of delivery, and subjecting himself to severe and systematic disciplining. Yet his late biographer assures us, that though he always appeared so rapt and artless in the desk, he was, nevertheless, a close student of manner, and could not attain his highest power until he had perfected the address of a sermon, by thirty or forty repetitions, before his large and excitable congregations.

It will have been inferred, from the above examples, that elocution requires both *study and practice* in advancing the pupil. In his studies he must seek an intimate acquaintance with the human passions, then exciting causes, prevailing tendencies, and modes of expression—a familiarity with which is absolutely necessary to him who would sweep these strings of the soul with a master's hand. Something may be learned from those books which treat of them scientifically or sentimentally; and of the latter class the Bible is the undisputed head, a perfect history and epitome of every variety of eloquence.

But the orator must not *depend* on BOOKS. He must be a man of observation as well as reflection. He must mingle in society, and

"Catch the living manners as they rise."

He must read his own heart, which, besides being a world in miniature, is a school, always accessible, and will never fail to furnish novel and instructive lessons.

In connection with this class of studies there must be a well-directed and severe exercise of the corresponding powers of expression.

The voice, which is our main dependence, and the most liable to suffer for the want of caution and culture, has been commonly left unstudied and untrained. Yet, when cultivated, it has been found susceptible of great improvement—of gathering flexibility, sweetness, and strength from appropriate training. If musicians cultivate it with so much care and labor, why should the speaker neglect it? Its capabilities are equally developed, and thrilling in elocution, as in melody. "The voice of song is not sweeter than the voice of eloquence." The frequent utterance, or explosion of the elementary sounds of the English tongue, is said to be all-powerful in improving the organs of speech, giving a clear and sonorous articulation, and rendering the voice soft and manageable.

Let us not complain of this wonderful instrument until we have tuned and mastered it. We shall then learn its surprising power, and, with the practiced vocalist, be able to apply any note in its mighty scale, from the softest whisper to the full, round thunder tone—without yielding its sweetness or exhausting its energy.

In the expression of passion by the countenance and gesture, practice can only make perfect. The ancients gathered these expressions from observation, and reduced them to an art, which was taught in their schools. The perfection of their pantomime exhibitions shows their remarkable success. These mute representations of the passions were carried to such an extravagant pitch, and produced such an effect upon the eager populace, as ultimately to be prohibited by law. It is notorious that even now a long and tedious apprenticeship is required to fit the actor for the borrowed part he is to execute in the drama, to the satisfaction of the theatre-going community. The unimpassioned gesticulations and grimaces which frequently appear on the rostrum, the stage, and in the desk, have evidently tended to bring this means of expression into disrepute. But he is unfortunate, indeed, who, with high persuasive powers, from ignorance or prejudice, seeks to give his countenance the fixed and single expression, and his figure the stiff and unmeaning frigidity of a statue.

III. We should not perfect our idea of the orator in delivery without suggesting some hints in respect to his diction or style.

Language, though not the gift of nature, is so readily acquired by imitation, that, even in childhood, a mental vocabulary is formed equal to its wants, and highly significant of the various feelings by which it is constantly animated. By almost as easy and rapid a process is the orator furnished with words, though they must be subjected to severer tests, and used in more complicated connections. *His diction, too*, will be governed by the impassioned mind, and will indicate his moral no less than his intellectual strength and culture. The fervor of his spirit will beget a simple, bold, and forcible style, corresponding beautifully with the unsophisticated language of nature.

The speaker's style, even above that of the writer, should be distinguished by *perspicuity* and *energy*. By perspicuity—for while the writer allows us to dwell on his pages, or revolve his thoughts, the speaker occupies each moment with new developments, and hurries us on without intermission to the end of his discourse By energy—because, while a feebly-written book may be endured for the sake of its novel or useful details, a dull speech is insufferable, and fails to answer its ostensible purposes.

To perspicuity the orator should give the greater care, for the plain reason, that his first object is to be understood, and it may be equally important that he should be readily understood. As has been beautifully said, "The meaning of his discourse should strike the mind as the light of the sun does the eye, though it may not be intently fixed upon it." He may as well speak without meaning as to speak unintelligibly. Should he treat his hearers as thinking beings, they will allow him, for the time, to think for them, a privilege of which he should studiously avail himself. Perhaps no better rule can be adopted to secure this than to adapt his style to theirs; to express himself in nearly the same style in which they think. I say nearly the same, for it may be more pure and elevated, and be equally perspicuous.

The orator's style should be neither coarse nor florid: not too concise—for amplification, and even the repetition of the same idea in other forms, may assist the apprehension of the listener; nor too diffuse—for this will weary the ear, and dissipate feeling, if it does not break the chain of thought. It will not allow of an array of technical or learned terms, where men have neither dictionaries at hand nor the disposition to use them; nor will it incorporate unusual words, high-sounding epithets, or cant phrases, except for the sake of humor or satire, for these are yet more reprehensible, being both obscure and offensive to good taste.

As perspicuity is essential to a discourse, that it may be understood; energy is equally so, that it may be *felt*. Heartless, indeed, must that speaker be who is satisfied with a feeble expression of his sentiments, and thankless will such spiritless efforts be to his audience. Nor are men pleased with the earnest speaker whose style belies his manner—whose gesticulations promise even to tears, what his language fails to convey. He that *really* feels will show nature to better advantage. His heart will prompt him to the use of terms, not only in themselves proper, but adapted to the sentiments he is uttering. And though he may sometimes miss the mark, his bow will never fail to carry, nor his arrows be found pointless. So much may depend on an energetic style, that a word fitly *spoken* has been known to wither an antagonist, or electrify an audience. The stately period, the striking antithesis, the searching interrogation, cannot fail, when they are found to give a strength to composition, and a vivacity to discourse, which a careless style cannot command.

In securing these important qualities in diction, the speaker must depend on his studies rather than on inspiration, and on his

own judgment rather than on the satisfaction exhibited by an ordinary assembly. For it must be confessed that a large class of hearers, like children, admire that which excites their wonder; and the ostentatious speaker may congratulate himself on his amazing powers of eloquence, because of the gaping astonishment it excites, or the breathless curiosity it awakens. Such a conclusion is much like that of the honest, but unwitty preacher, who thought his weeping congregation for once exceedingly affected under his sermon, not observing himself that the house was horribly full of smoke.

IV. In giving the greatest force and effect to delivery, due regard must be had to *method*.

Every one knows how much depends on arrangement in battle, in music, in argument, and in every systematic effort where successive impressions are to be made, and a powerful effect to be ultimately produced. This twofold purpose is to be consulted in the delivery of a discourse. A continuous interest is to be maintained by each new development, and the heart is to be carried by the concentrated power of the whole address. It is far more difficult to show what method is, than to exhibit its importance. The subject must be laid open in a clear and convincing manner: but this is not all. There must be a correspondence between the different parts of the discourse and the feelings of the hearers. No one would think of addressing an audience in the *exordium* of a speech as he would in its *conclusion*. It would have the effect of mere *rant*. For the same reason an appeal out of place will fall powerless; and any irrelevant matter is sure to disconcert an audience, while, at the same time, it dissipates the feelings of the speaker.

Want of method is sufficient to account for the prolixity and feebleness which often amount to a total failure; which will not occur even in the speaker who is most liable to these faults, when driven into a more natural course by a special interest in his subject, or hurried to a conclusion by limited time. If we would carry a point, we must have a point. Every public address should look to a specific end. To accomplish this should be the stern and ardent purpose of the orator; and such unity of purpose will very much govern and improve his arrangement.

The ancients paid great attention to method. Their assemblies required it, and called the speaker to order who wandered from the subject in hand. In this respect the orations of Demosthenes are faultless, while Cicero sometimes forgot his cause in his love for philosophical excursions, which were

always rich and interesting, but detracted from his effective eloquence. When the scholar appeared, the orator sunk.

V. Although this essay has been already too didactic and technical, I cannot forbear guarding against a habit into which, from his very efforts at self-correction, the young orator is peculiarly liable to fall—I mean constant and anxious attention to himself during delivery.

Aside from the embarrassment which such a morbid self-inspection before an audience will occasion, no diversion of the mind can take place without impairing the character of the address. No one can express a passion in the natural manner without feeling it, and being, for the moment at least, entirely possessed by it. How, then, can the speaker feel the various sentiments he is uttering, and represent them in looks, gestures, and tones; or clothe them in the bold, fervent, and pathetic diction prompted by passion, while studiously absorbed in himself? It is impossible. It is a pitiable artifice, at which nature will not connive. An artificial manner is the sure result of such an effort to be natural.

Will not this account for the affectation so frequently seen, which, if not so palpable and excessive as to disgust, renders the speaker a soulless mimic, or an articulating automaton, rather than "a man of like passions" with his hearers? Such surreptitious eloquence may be admired, but is not felt. It leaves the hearer, at the best, an unmoved spectator of the speaker's personal attractions. So far does genuine eloquence differ from this, that "what really affects our feelings, is not at the time perceived to be eloquent." The mind is so fully occupied with the subject forced upon it, and carried so impetuously toward the proposed end of the speaker, that it no more regards the medium by which it is affected, than the recipient of highly-interesting news divides his attention with the personal appearance of the messenger, and the circumstances attending his journey. It has been asserted, and no doubt justly, that "if there could be an absolutely perfect orator, no one would at the time discover that he was so:" and it may be added, he would not discover it *himself*. His sole object being to persuade his hearers, in laboring for that he would *forget himself*, and in yielding to his persuasive eloquence, his hearers would *forget him*.

With this propensity to recur perpetually to himself, the student of manner must struggle. Arising from the love of admiration, and revived by his ardor in the pursuit of the highest attainments in the art, it must give place to intense devotion to his cause. Better feelings must be awakened by nobler motives. Oratory

has higher ends to accomplish than the gratification of pride, or vanity, or even the cultivation of its richest graces. We must not expect instant perfection. Better make a hundred blunders than excel only in negative propriety. But we shall not sacrifice even that in the execution of *more difficult* parts. Careful application in private will furnish correct notions and habits. The perceptions will be quick and vigorous as the feelings warm with delivery, and nature will prompt with happy exactness. The speaker, thrown upon such resources, will hardly fail to combine the force of right words, the point of finished periods, the melody of natural tones, and the charm of spontaneous gestures, with an air of impassioned sincerity, which will render him no less agreeable than effective; in a word, he will be eloquent.

VI. We now approach the last requisite embraced in our plan of perfecting the orator. It is a noble enthusiasm, a passionate love for the art, inspired by a conception of its ravishing beauties, and its useful and glorious achievements.

Like the fine arts, in general, eloquence was the enthusiasm of the ancients, and never did it flourish as in the palmy days of the Grecian states and the Roman consulate. The popular elevation and influence it attained, was due no less to the taste of the people, than to the ardor and perseverance of their gifted orators. They had few books, but they were deep in the communion of nature. With them the pleasures of taste exceeded the delight of more intellectual exercises. Action was the charm of discourse, and truth was readily carried to the understanding through the smitten heart. This universal estimation in which the art was held awakened a proportionate desire to possess its highest properties and finished graces, and to secure its ample honors and emoluments. It became an essential branch of common education. It grew into a profession. It was the glory of the Grecian ecclesia and the Roman forum, and was by no means neglected in the grove and the camp. It became the stepping stone to promotion, and the universal scale of greatness and power. No wonder that this prevailing passion was carried out in individual instances to the utmost limit of human zeal and ability, leaving unsurpassed models and specimens of eloquence for our surprise and imitation. Nor was this enthusiasm without an object worthy its intensity and captivating power. But for eloquence, Athens would have been tributary to the kingdom of Macedon, with the other states, and Demosthenes an obscure slave. But it rendered the philippics of the resistless orator *more potent* than the arms of his royal antagonist. But for eloquence the insidious Cataline would have

deluged Rome in blood; but though he defied her stern senate, the traitor fell before the withering denunciations of Cicero. The history of practical eloquence is full of the wonders of the art. Collect them from the annals of all ages, array before you the illustrious exhibitions of its power, trace its distinctive and wide-spread influence in all the revolutions which have occurred in the political, scientific, and moral world, and, above all, its connection with the propagation and establishment of Christianity, and you will find it touching the hidden springs of human conduct, holding the keys of wealth, swaying the sceptre of government, subduing the waywardness of folly, and everywhere evincing itself the mightiest instrument by which mind may sway its fellow-mind.

But we must have a better order of speakers as the public taste improves, and the popular standard is carried up to the elevation of the best performances. The people will soon discover *who is the orator;* and nobody is more fastidious, or less patient under disappointment, than the promiscuous assembly. We are becoming enthusiastic on the subject of learning. Thousands are obtaining an education at any expense. But of what use are stores of knowledge, if we have no equal powers of communication? that the mind has bold conceptions and melting fervors, if the right hand has forgotten its cunning, and the tongue is held in inglorious silence? Pent up like the fires of an unvented volcano, they will but consume the heart that feeds them, when they might melt and mold the pliant multitude around. Nor can the press supersede, though it may *rival* the orator. It may render him a less important personage than he was before knowledge was circulated through this rapid engine; but *it* never can assume the higher powers of expression, or occupy many an enviable vantage ground sacred to living eloquence. Like the Daguerreotype, it may present a perfect counterpart of the writer's mind, but two of the mightiest elements of persuasion are wanting, action and voice. Much of this power of the press would be lost upon the reader were not the person of the orator before him in imagination, and his address associated with the imprint of his thoughts.

Men love *oral* eloquence. They court its attractions—they solicit its touch. "The multitude," says a stirring writer, "are ready to swallow anything that comes to them in the shape of oratory. They are hungering and thirsting for it; they are lifting up their souls for it—to the pulpit, to the bar, to the senate chamber; they are ready to be instructed, to be moved, to be aroused; yea, the most obstinate are willing to be enlightened, the most

obdurate to be melted, the dullest to be charmed, if the power and wisdom come in the form of eloquence."

In this enthusiasm, the aspirant after this fascinating power must yet more largely share. Nothing will awaken and feed it like the *pursuit* and *practice* of the art. The pleasures which they yield are of a mental and moral cast, and are as intense as they are refined and diversified. While his severer studies are rather for use than gratification, his habitual researches will be attended with a glow of satisfaction. His observations will extend his ordinary range of thought, surprise him with rich and rare discoveries in every field of investigation, and lead him forth to communion with all that is beautiful, magnificent, and tender in the works of God. Man will rise in his esteem, and his regard will warm into sympathy. A thousand links, instinct with life, will bind him to the human brotherhood. An unction will pervade his soul, akin to inspiration, and dispose him to employ his eminent abilities in every department of truth, justice, benevolence, and piety. And in executing the parts which tell so effectually upon the hearts of others, how rich and satisfying will be his reward. He will himself luxuriate on the entertainment he affords; his mind will expand with each successive effort; his heart grow rapt as his tongue grows eloquent; and the joy of an approving conscience will swell the bliss of a generous nature. With such a passion for oratory, none need despair. It is one of the most powerful impulses to self-improvement, and a sure presage to success. It draws out the man, and reveals his slumbering powers to his awakened consciousness. "You will hear from me," was the reply of a profligate youth on catching an exclamation of despondency from a passing acquaintance; and the reformed inebriate became one of the most eloquent men of the age. The failure of Sheridan, in his maiden speech, before the British parliament, aroused him to a vigorous preparation for the next attempt. When advised to give up oratory, as a hopeless pursuit in his case, he replied, "I know it is *in me;* and I'm determined it shall come out." And it *did* come out, as his subsequent brilliant career attests. Had not Whitefield been driven from the unequal limits of an edifice to the open field, he had probably never attained that soul-compelling eloquence which gave him the sweep of continents for his parish, and untold thousands as the "seals of his ministry."

Rome, N. Y.

ART. VI.—*A Course of Lectures on the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States. Delivered annually in Columbia College, New-York.* By WILLIAM ALEXANDER DUER, LL.D., late President of that Institution. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

IF the motto which the learned president has prefixed to his Lectures be true to the fullest extent; if it be "necessary that every citizen should understand the commonwealth;" and if by understanding be meant any very minute, or even any general knowledge of its fundamental principles, then very deplorable indeed is the situation of commonwealths, and very precarious their destinies. How few, for example, are there among the millions who exercise the right of suffrage in these United States who have any idea of the true nature of our government! The political acquirements of the body of voters consist of a few watchwords of faction, passing through their lips, and ringing in their ears. Blinded by the arts of partisans, and soothed by the flatteries of demagogues, they receive these watchwords as axioms of government which cannot be denied, and which they will not suffer even to be doubted: they think, as thought the church of the Laodiceans, that "they are rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and know not that they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." It is fortunate for republics that a universal knowledge of their fundamental constitutions is not necessary. But if it be not necessary that the foundation and constitution of republican governments should be universally known, it is important that a sound knowledge of them should be as widely extended as is practicable; and he who contributes to the propagation of sound constitutional principles in any degree, is in that degree a benefactor of the commonwealth. There are few, indeed, to whom the elevated and pure principles of our government can be minutely communicated; but these few will take with them the precious seed, and sow it throughout the land; and to this dissemination of knowledge among the people, this constant keeping alive of truth, we must trust for the safety of the commonwealth; and in these it will find safety in spite of the haughtiness of democratical pride, the selfish artifices of politicians, the false adulation of demagogues, and the ignorance and arrogance which so largely pervade representative assemblies.

The period at which these sound principles may be most advantageously implanted is undoubtedly the season of youth; and

the learned lecturer, in his high office as president of Columbia College, wisely judged that the education of an American student was singularly incomplete if he went forth from that renowned and venerable seat of learning imbued with all the lore of republican Greece and Rome, and yet ignorant of the principles of republican America; and in applying his own experience and attainments to remedy this evil, he has enabled the graduates of that institution to apply the advantages (and those advantages are not few) of an accomplished classical education to the general benefit of our beloved country. He has not only done this, but he has produced a work which elucidates, in a compact and convenient form, the general provisions of our federal Constitution, with a commentary, sufficiently extensive to be useful in schools and colleges, and not so formidable in bulk as to terrify the general reader; and we hope we do not exhibit the vanity already condemned by us, in saying, that in having conferred this benefit upon our country, he has conferred a benefit upon the world.

It is not our design to go into a critical examination of this work, nor would it be possible to do justice to it in an article of this description. To comment on a commentary would require a volume. Our object is to call attention to this subject; to induce a study of the Constitution, and of the history of the country before the Constitution; and with this view, we will offer some very brief remarks in relation to the objects had in view in adopting the federal Constitution, and the means which have been used to secure its permanent duration.

The struggles of the American colonies, which commenced fairly in 1765, and terminated in 1783 in an entire separation from the parent country, left the then states in a condition of entire exhaustion. The long agony of a conflict which, protracted through nearly twenty years, had comprehended the active energies of an entire generation, and left those old whom it had found young, had greatly endeared to the people the rights and immunities for which they had been so long contending; and their attachment had increased just in proportion to the desperate and deadly character of the strife. They had risked their lives and their fortunes to preserve rights, without which they regarded life as valueless, and which they declared to be inseparable from freedom, and incapable of alienation. The peace of 1783 proclaimed the triumph of their noble efforts. The people of the thirteen states, united by their compact of confederation, by that union alone had been able to struggle against almost hopeless odds: and when, at the conclusion of the contest, they found themselves

a nation become of age, arrived at maturity, in full possession of their birthright, even then, feeble, panting, and exhausted, they lay upon the battle-field, faint and breathless, scarcely able to lay hold of and secure the rights which they had so heroically maintained. One thing they could see, that the union which had been their hope, had likewise been their strength; and when after three or four years the ligaments of the feeble confederation, which had served to keep them together, became untwisted, and decayed, and fell off; they felt, especially the wise, and moderate, and discreet among them, that without a reunion, although they might stagger onward for awhile, yet they soon would fall, and perish amidst the wreck and ruin of establishments, to support which they had endured so many sufferings, and overcome so many difficulties. The state governments being, so far as their domestic concerns were implicated, so many petty sovereignties, might indeed be capable of meeting present exigences, and supporting for awhile their internal police; but they were, as an ingenious writer of the day described them, like a barrel composed of loose staves, without the confinement of a hoop—liable at any moment to fall into ruins. Their liberties they had achieved; their cherished hereditary institutions they had sustained: but how were they to preserve them, and insure their perpetuity? Their Articles of Confederation, which they had fondly declared to be perpetual and indissoluble, except by unanimous consent, had fallen to pieces, and lay a wreck at their feet; and it was only by forming "a more perfect union" that the "people of the United States" could "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity." Such were the views and such the words of our wise forefathers: not for *themselves alone*, but for themselves *and their posterity*. It was not enough for them to have assumed the responsibilities, and vindicated the rights of freemen; their work was incomplete until they had devised some effectual means for transmitting those rights and responsibilities (for they cannot be separated) to future and remote ages. Out of this origin arose that magnificent fabric of political wisdom, the Constitution of the United States. We wish that we could communicate to the mind of every citizen of this vast republic the deep and rooted sentiment of admiration, of reverence, of strong attachment, and if the expression could be allowed, we would say, of love, which fills our own bosom, when we contemplate this splendid monument of sound sagacity and statesmanlike patriotism; and we wish that we could transfuse into every heart the

deep indignation that pervades our own, when we see weakness, or wickedness, or faction, or prejudice, presume to raise its feeble weapons against this mighty, and, we hope, enduring bulwark of rational and tested principles of freedom.

The grand object of the union was to secure the blessings of civil liberty to the then existing generation; to transmit them unimpaired to their posterity, and to provide as far as was practicable for their perpetuity. From time immemorial the people of these states, and their progenitors, had enjoyed those blessings; and, by comparing their own institutions and customs with other countries, they knew how to value them. True it was, that these institutions had been enjoyed under a form of government possessing a hereditary executive, and a hereditary aristocracy: but since they had been transplanted from their native island to the virgin and vigorous soil of this vast western continent, those same customs and institutions had grown as strongly and had flourished as well here, without the aid of those hereditary forms. The experiment of their capability for existing without those forms had been therefore fully tried, and had been found successful: and when the states threw off the forms of royalty, and of a hereditary council or upper house, they rejected names, not substances; for they had for many years been governed by temporary executives, and a select council supplying the place of a hereditary aristocracy. They retained those identical forms; they knew they were sufficient for their purposes, perfectly and entirely sufficient; and as they never had possessed either a resident king or a resident nobility, they became, as a matter of course, as well as of choice, free and independent republics; and as circumstances made them republicans, and as they loved the republican form of their government, because they had found in kings and nobles not protectors but oppressors; and as experience taught them, day by day, that a republican constitution was capable of preserving all their hereditary freedom in full and absolute perfection; and as nature prompted the conviction, and reason sustained it, that republican institutions alone are worthy of the entire respect and reverence of intelligent men, they resolved to preserve their hereditary customs, their inalienable rights, the vindicated majesty of their insulted, but now rescued laws, in the grand but simple garb of unsophisticated republicanism. With this view, having secured the fabrics of free government which they found in the several states erected ready to their hands, and having sustained them by such means as were needful in their new position, they determined to throw a wall of union around the whole, and invest them with a permanence and strength which would com-

mand respect abroad, while it ensured tranquillity at home. The Constitution was not, therefore, as some have inconsiderately called it, a new experiment in government; it was a means of keeping together old governments; and when we hear ourselves stigmatized by European politicians as experimentalists, a proper feeling of self-respect should make us repel the imputation as an unjust and undeserved calumny. It is well known how great prudence, foresight, and mutual forbearance were displayed by the delegates of the federal convention, and the conventions of the several states which eventually unanimously adopted the system recommended to them; and we will now direct your attention to some considerations which the convention of 1787 had in view in especial reference to the permanence of the articles then adopted.

There is no more difficult problem in practical government than to determine the precise time and circumstances when it is lawful and right to alter the fundamental frame-work of society. The design of all political institutions is to secure mutual protection, and promote the universal welfare. When institutions fail in these designs, they can be no longer tolerated. The doctrine of some political casuists, that all governments being of divine institution, cannot and must not be resisted, however inefficient, or however oppressive they may become, cannot be supported by any fair conclusions from Christian teaching, and leads to practical evils that are utterly intolerable. The other extreme, but more popular theory, that the fabric of society may at any time be demolished, and its foundations torn up at the mere volition or caprice of a temporary and fleeting majority, is equally absurd, and leads directly to the most terrific consequences; and we do not now recollect any people who ever deliberately maintained so wild and foolish a notion, except the French in the most ferocious period of their revolutionary excesses. Both of these extreme opinions were equally repugnant to the sound practical good sense of our predecessors; and we cannot be too thankful to that kind Providence which, in a period of so great danger and excitement, enabled the people of this country to avoid these dangerous errors, and to preserve the middle path of reason, moderation, and wisdom. They foresaw that contingencies might arise which might make alterations, perhaps great alterations, needful; they therefore would not close the door against all change except what mere brutal force might compel; neither would they grant a power of change to the mere wishes of a majority, however great, or however respectable that majority might be. They were willing to allow it only after calm and deliberate reflection had produced a conviction of its

necessity; and they designed that conviction to be of so palpable a nature as to overspread and be acquiesced in by a vast proportion of the people. With these views, the fifth article of the Constitution, providing for future amendments, was carefully and deliberately framed, and we repeat it in order to call it more distinctly to recollection. It is in these words:—

"The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall *propose amendments* to this Constitution; *or*, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for *proposing amendments*, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress: *Provided*, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article: and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate."

It will be observed that almost unanimity is required to effect a change. Should amendments originate in congress, one-third of either house can at any time repel them, although the other should be unanimous; and should they be called for by the concurring voice of two-thirds of the states, the single veto of the president may crush the application, unless that veto be silenced by the reiterated voice of two-thirds of both houses. Should, however, the required amendments pass through that first ordeal, they may be stopped by the prohibition, *nolumus leges mutare*, of one-fourth of the smallest states; by a majority of the people sending eight representatives to congress; by a population represented by five members of congress; by a population distributed through six states, less in numbers than the population of the city of New-York, not voters, but by a *population* of men, women, and children, of less than three hundred thousand. This is indeed an extreme supposition; and yet it is a *possible* occurrence. By the deliberate and premeditated design of our government, unanimously acquiesced in by the states, and heartily approved by the people from its foundation to this present time, it may so happen that three hundred thousand persons may crush and annihilate the wishes of seventeen millions. It is indeed very improbable, so very improbable as to be unworthy of serious weight: but it is very probable that two or three millions may almost at any time prevent an amendment, and with the present numbers of the states, it is fairly pre-

sumable that the acquiescence of thirteen or fourteen millions would be necessary to carry through an amendment to the Constitution. It is true, that an ingenious arrangement can show the possibility of altering the government by even a minority of votes. But taking opinions as they run, intermixed throughout the community, the probability is, that the concurrence of thirteen or fourteen millions would be indispensable. And should it happen, as it may at any time, that the mass of the population should be disappointed in any desired change by a very small minority, such is our opinion of the virtue and intelligence of the people, that we do not doubt that they would submit to their disappointment, at first indeed with murmuring, but soon with cheerfulness; and that after the tumult produced by partisan presses and partisan politicians had subsided, they would extol the justice and wisdom of that provision which protects the sacred rights of the *whole* people against the wishes of a majority of them.

And now we will ask, Is it not *just* that it should be so? The wise sages who framed those articles found it written in their Holy Book, that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" and that we must be obedient unto "the powers that be." They knew that this meant something, and that whatever it did mean, must be an absolute and controlling law to all mankind. They felt that it could not mean passive obedience and non-resistance to any form of government in which Providence in its wisdom might see fit to place mankind, or in which they might be born. For Providence does not design governments to be either inefficient or tyrannical; and they saw that if it were their duty, under this construction, to submit to a government which ordered them to do right, it was equally their duty to submit to a government which might order them to do wrong, and thus to become actual participators in crime, which is positively absurd. They therefore supposed that it meant that Providence had so ordered and disposed those matters (which we term political) of the human race, as to lead men throughout the world to adopt a certain set of usages, habits, and rules, peculiarly suited to the diversified situation, climates, circumstances, and feelings of mankind. That these usages, habits, and rules, consolidated and observed in certain sections or portions of the globe, were called governments or political powers. They observed that there was a certain instinct implanted in the breast of men, which produced an attachment to the particular system in which persons happened to be born or brought up; and that when this attachment exceeded the usual degree, it became, in the opinion of men, a virtue, and was called patriotism. They further observed that there

was no quality which the human race so extravagantly extolled as patriotism. And as patriotism, according to the universal understanding of mankind, was nothing but attachment to the institutions in the midst of which Providence had placed them; and as all these several institutions were ordained by Providence, and admirably adapted to the wants and welfare of the several nations among which they severally prevailed, they saw that the meaning of those declarations and mandates of Scripture was plain: that the various governments and political institutions which men in their vanity suppose they have established, have been disseminated throughout the world by the silent but irresistible energy of the Almighty—an energy imperceptible to humanity in its action; known only in its results: just as the comet, fearfully rapid as is his career, seems still and motionless to the human eye: that being so established, we were ordered to be obedient to them; not in their formalities, but in their substance, their object, their design: that such obedience was not painful, for attachment to their institutions men had dignified by a noble name: and in the exercise of that Christian obedience, it became us to keep in view the general design of government, the general welfare of the community; and therefore to provide, as we might have it in our power, for such gradual or occasional changes as the changing and varying circumstances of humanity might from time to time require. Thus it was that Christianity, nature, and reason, all concurred in attaching us to a beneficent system, the value of which had been tested by centuries of experience; and hence it was that congress, in providing for such prudent alterations as might tend to perpetuate the system, threw every possible obstruction in the way of any material departure from its design. They considered our old hereditary institutions as among the most blessed gifts of Providence; "powers ordained of God;" the dew of which had fallen upon and refreshed their lands for many years, and which had been preserved to them almost by a miracle; and rashly to invade, or even carelessly to impair them, they regarded as an impious act.

From the view just taken, it follows, that with scarcely an exception, governments are devised, not *by* man, but *for* man; that they are designed not to gratify the wishes of *any portion* of the community, however large, but to promote the welfare of the *whole*. A government which consults the interests of, no matter how large a majority, without regard to the effect of its action upon the remainder; a government which sacrifices the rights of a part, in order to satisfy the clamors, or gratify the will of a

larger part; a government, to state the same idea in different words, which is willing to perpetrate injustice, in order to obey the will, or consult the good of the greater number, loses its paternal character, and sinks into a tyranny. There are maxims of justice, and rules of right, emanating from the divine will, which govern and restrain all human action, whether of individuals or of communities, and which no human authority, no matter with what prerogatives it be invested, can set aside, or disregard, without becoming at once a tyranny. A parent is invested by divine authority and by human law, to a certain extent, with absolute and despotic power over his child. Obedience is the first lesson taught to the child; and the "*sic volo, sic jubeo,*" the simple order of the parent must be obeyed without hesitation and without question. But the divine will, speaking from the Book of Life, and acting with silent but irresistible influence, checks and restrains that harsh domination by the strong rein of parental affection; and parental affection renders that restraint salutary, which would otherwise be tyrannical. And what is parental affection? Is it the love we bear to our children for the engaging innocence of infancy; for their grace, their beauty, their playfulness, their attachment to us, or their being the instruments of a sort of perpetuity of our own existence? No, no; all this is not parental affection: all this partakes of selfishness. Parental affection is something higher, purer, far more exalted, more heaven-like than this. Parental affection is an instinct implanted in the breast, which looks everywhere, and at all times, for the *welfare of our children.* This motive it is which sweetens restraint; this which softens severity. This motive alone, under any circumstances, can justify coercion; this alone has a right to demand implicit obedience. The moment a parent exercises his authority for his own interest, or to gratify his own feelings, unmindful of the welfare of his child, or regardless of it, that moment his authority becomes tyranny: how much greater tyranny would it be should he exercise it to promote his own interest in opposition to the interest of his child?

The analogy holds throughout, and perfectly with government. The supreme power is vested, it may be, in a king, or in a select aristocracy, or in the people. The object of all is the same, *the general welfare,* the welfare of the *whole,* in opposition to the welfare of *any part.* Kings are apt to forget this maxim; nobles to overlook it; the people to confound it with the welfare of the majority; and this is *the great evil* to be apprehended from democratical institutions. In democratical governments the *power*

must necessarily be lodged with the majority; but the *power* of the majority is a very different matter from the *rights* of the majority. A despotic king may do as he thinks fit; an absolute aristocracy may command and must be obeyed; and the majority of the people of a republic, speaking in a voice of thunder, may give forth their mighty mandate, and submission must follow: but if, as with the parent and the child, that authority and power be exercised without regard to the welfare of the minority, or in opposition to it, it is as much an act of tyranny as the vilest act of the vilest despot who ever disgraced humanity. It is a forgetfulness of this plain truth which gives rise to, and sustains the ferocity of factions; it is a forgetfulness of this truth, a truth the very basis of our institutions, which cripples their energies, and impairs their usefulness; it is a forgetfulness of this truth that is more likely to produce their ruin than any other cause; and it was a thorough conviction of this truth, and of the great dangers likely to result from a disregard of it, which, among other reasons, induced the framers of the articles of our Constitution to make, as the outwork and guard-tower of the Constitution, a provision, which, to hasty observers or superficial reasoners, seems repugnant to the spirit of a democracy, but which in fact lies at its very foundation; a provision which deprives a majority of a controlling voice in its fundamental laws, and requires all but unanimity for their alteration; because the object of the republic is not to promote the welfare of *any part*, however large, but the welfare of the *whole*, the *common weal*.

The space which we have already occupied, admonishes us of the propriety of bringing these observations to a close. It might have been well to illustrate the position opened before the reader, by extracts from various parts of the federal Constitution, and of the Constitutions of the several states, and by such comments on them as might tend to show that stability was one of their leading objects, and that the people did not fear to place very severe restrictions, both on their own power, and on the authority delegated to their representatives. It would be easy to produce some of the debates and proceedings of the federal convention, and of the several state conventions, held for the purpose of forming and discussing the Constitution, to show that the whole subject was fairly and fully before the minds of the people, and that the restrictions so very generally imposed on the omnipotence of the will of the majority were adopted after very careful deliberation, with a thorough understanding of their effect, and with a strong conviction of their necessity. But it is obvious that it would be idle to enter upon so ample a field without thoroughly exploring it; and although

satisfied that the treasures to be found there would well repay the labor of the search, we cannot reasonably extend these remarks. If attention be directed to a study of the principles of government, something will be gained. There will be found in our own historical archives those lofty Christian principles of political dominion which are elevated far above all human inventions, and which display much that will humble the vanity of the politician, while it exalts the dignity of the man; there will be found the vast, fundamental, radical difference between a government of the people and a government of a party; and there will be found the true republican distinction between the *power* of a majority and the *right* of a majority.

And indeed, when unmoved by prejudice, and uninflamed by discussion, we sit down calmly and reflect, what reasonable consideration can there be found for placing in the control of the temporary majority of an hour the political welfare of successive generations? The individuals who form a population are changing every moment. Death is constantly mowing down by thousands the hardy, the vigorous, the intelligent, whose places are supplied by the feeble, the helpless, the unconscious. The individual majority of yesterday was wholly different from the individual majority of to-day; and to-morrow, and each succeeding day, will still present another and another. Individuals live a few years and die; their characteristic is change. The very essence of political government is stability. Political governments are like the towering and everlasting hills; the people like the leaves on the trees upon their sides, which are renewed each successive spring, and are blighted, and fall and perish each successive autumn. No temporary and fleeting generation has *the right* to annul the wisdom and destroy the labors of past ages, and to frustrate the hopes of the future. Why then should it have *the power?* And have not the people done rightly in restricting that power? And in volunteering to restrict their own power, and for the welfare of themselves and future generations, in placing shackles on their own arms, to restrain their tremendous strength, which in a moment of excitement or thoughtlessness might be directed to irreparable mischief, have they not given an example of reasonableness and self-restraint, creditable to their wisdom and moderation, and which should silence the traducers of unbiased popular feeling?

The political institutions, in the midst of which it has pleased Providence to place us, are the result of the wisdom, the experience, and the sufferings of many preceding generations. The materials brought together age after age, erected into a goodly edi-

fice, enriched with appurtenances and embellishments, and adornments of great extent and inestimable price, the whole inheritance has descended to us a most precious patrimony; and, we will not say in destroying, but in altering or modifying any part of it, the voice of those of past ages who are slumbering in their graves should be heard and should be as potential as our own, and the voice and wishes of those of future times should be anticipated, and the same weight allowed as if they were present to enforce them. Considerations at variance with these are repugnant to genuine notions of freedom. Considerations varying from these may define the powers of a tyrant, but not the privileges of a freeman. Considerations differing from these would reject governments, as a divine ordinance. They would substitute the poor contrivance of man for the noble gift of God. Destructive considerations have not formed our principles, nor will they influence our practice, unless brutal force shall usurp the place of calm and deliberate reason; and if the experience of the past be any test in determining the action of the future, we may confidently predict, that the American people will continue more and more deeply to love, more and more devotedly to cherish, the institutions which have shed and are shedding upon them so many benefits and blessings. And we need feel no fear for the stability, we may say the perpetuity, of our free establishments, if the people will only keep themselves informed of the true grounds and principles of their government; if they will reject the treacherous flatteries of demagogues; if they will persevere in distinguishing between power and right; if they will recognize an overruling Providence as their rightful and beneficent Governor, and cease from an overweening trust in their own wisdom or in a feeble arm of flesh.

Art. VII.—*The Double Witness of the Church.* By the Rev. William Ingraham Kip, M. A., author of "The Lenten Fast." 12mo., pp. 415. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.

The character of the work before us is intended to be indicated by the motto in the title-page, which we prefer inserting here. It is as follows:—

"It may be as well, then, old and trite as the subject is, to say a few words on some of those features of our Church which bear at once A DOUBLE WITNESS against Rome on the one hand, or mere Protestant denominations on the other."—*Rev. G. W. Faber.*

"The Double Witness" arrays itself "against Rome on the one hand," and "mere Protestant congregations on the other." "Rome," however, receives but a comparatively small share of attention. The "mere Protestant congregations" are the prisoners at the bar; and in the great controversy between Rome and Protestants our "Double Witness" is all on one side. Here he justifies Rome and condemns the Protestants. If in this case he is a double witness, he certainly is not an impartial one. But we must proceed to notice the history of the book.

Not unfrequently the circumstances which call forth a book add much to its importance, and to the interest taken in it by the great public. Our author being fully apprised of this, first informs us of the events which called him into the perilous field of controversy. These are as follows:—

"The circumstances under which this volume was written are briefly these. The last winter, it is well known, was a season of strange excitement among the different denominations throughout our land. At such a time—as the best safeguard against this injurious influence—the writer thought it well to deliver to the people of his charge a course of lectures, plainly setting forth the distinctive principles of the Church. They were continued through ten successive Sunday evenings; and he had reason to believe that the effect produced was beneficial.

"The lectures were originally prepared without the most distant idea of publication. Having, however, been requested by the vestry, as well as by others in whose judgment he is accustomed to rely, to furnish the series for the press, the writer did not feel himself at liberty to decline."—*Preface.*

In all this our author may have come to very just conclusions, both as to the expediency of delivering his lectures, and then of publishing them; but certain it is, that he is entitled to no great credit on the score of discovery. For delivering lectures and writing books upon "the Church," "apostolical succession," and kindred subjects, have long been deemed by Churchmen the sovereign remedy for the "strange excitement" which often occurs "among the different denominations." Why it becomes necessary to apply the remedy to "the Church," when the evil only exists among "the denominations," might afford matter of curious speculation; but we have no time to indulge in mere curiosity. A principle is here brought out of much greater interest than the mere *modus operandi*, and that is, that presenting the high and exclusive claims of the Church is the grand remedy for those mischievous excitements called revivals!

It is doubtless well for "the Church" that the true remedy has

been discovered, for beyond all question her friends think she has suffered more from this cause than from all the numerous assaults of infidelity and Romanism which were ever made upon her.

We have not the means of judging how effectual Mr. Kip's book has been in quieting the troublesome agitations among "the different denominations" in Albany, the place of his pastoral labors, nor can we judge with infallibe certainty what will ultimately be its effects "throughout our land" at large. Time will probably tell the whole story, and for its development we must wait with patience. But we doubt not that if such a book as this of Mr. Kip's, with all its well-attested facts, beautiful poetry, and *instructive pictures*—its saints, and angels, and crosses, and candles, and other objects of pious veneration—fail to prevent these evils, the Church may well tremble for her fate. If, after all this, "the various denominations" ever raise another religious turmoil, especially in Mr. Kip's neighborhood, it will exhibit strange temerity on their part. Or should they hazard the effort, and by some strange fatality chance to succeed in setting the whole community in commotion—making "the whole multitude cry out, Men and brethren, what shall we do?"—it is difficult to predict what remedy will next be tried.

But we must proceed to the body of the work under review. This we shall do in sober earnest—candidly considering the great leading principles and arguments of the author in their true light, and in all their force.

The first lecture is upon "the necessity for knowing the reasons why we are Churchmen." With the general argument of our author upon this head we find no particular fault. It is certainly important, for many reasons, that those who are "Churchmen," in the technical sense of that term, should "know the reasons" why they are so. Whether the author presents the strongest of those reasons we will not at present inquire. But it will readily occur to the intelligent portion of the "different denominations," that there are at least as many and as weighty reasons for their knowing "why" they are *not* "Churchmen." It hence becomes them narrowly to inspect the true principles of Churchmanship—the foundation upon which they rest, and their practical tendency. If upon examination we should find that in becoming Churchmen we should build upon the sand, set up an unauthorized exclusiveness, and make war upon the best portions of the church of Christ, there will doubtless appear sufficient reasons why we are not, and ought not to be, Churchmen.

The importance of this investigation will appear upon a brief notice of the practical workings of the theory of the Church main-

tained by our author, and by, we fear, a numerous class of Churchmen. That theory calls in question the right of "the different denominations throughout our land" to expect from "the Church" the courtesies and Christian correspondence due from one branch of the catholic church to another. Here the question of the true *unity* of the church and the great practical principle of *charity* are concerned. Again: This theory denies the authority of the ministry of these denominations. And yet again, it denies their right to teach and to govern, according to what they conceive to be the true Scriptural discipline, those who are associated in their respective communions. And finally, it denies the validity of the ordinances as administered among them.

Surely, with all these grave consequences of the system before us, and in view of the fact that they are adopted and avowed by very many Church writers of the present day, there are good reasons why the subject should be carefully investigated on both sides—as strong reasons for our endeavoring to know why we are not Churchmen as for Churchmen's knowing why they are so. We consequently shall make no opposition to the general argument of this lecture, but shall merely invite attention to a few particulars which are to be found in the progress of the investigation.

After an eloquent view of the state of the original church, in which the author finds but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism," he tells us that

> "There was, therefore, nothing else to which the penitent could turn, but to one catholic, apostolic church."—P. 16.

Where, pray, was the *great Head* of the church in the days of her primitive glory? "Could" not "the penitent turn" to him? It would seem not. Even then, it seems, Christ was left in the back ground! The Church was thrown between the penitent and his Saviour, and he had no access to *Him* but through her intervention! When the trembling sinner said in his heart, "Who shall ascend into heaven to bring Christ down from above, or who shall descend into the deep to bring him up again from the dead?" he was not permitted to hear Paul say, "The word is nigh thee, even in thy heart and in thy mouth, that is, the word of faith which we preach:" but the answer was, *The Church will do this for you.* You may not come into immediate contact with Christ, for there is nothing else to which the penitent can turn but to the one catholic, apostolic Church! Now is there anything like this in the writings of the holy apostles? If so, we have yet to learn where it may be found. We call special attention to this point, because it is one of the radical principles of the Church system. It is not a mere slip of

the pen, nor an incidental remark which means little or nothing. The doctrine is, that men can only have access to Christ through the Church: or, at least, that this is God's ordinary method of dispensing salvation. "Ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins," and "efficacious sacraments," and not "faith alone," constitute the way of salvation according to our Churchmen. This system will not answer for us. "Man," says the admirable D'Aubigné, "always seeks to return, in some way, to a human salvation; this is the source of the innovations of Rome and of Oxford. The substitution of the Church for Jesus Christ is that which essentially characterizes these opinions. It is no longer Christ who enlightens, Christ who saves, Christ who forgives, Christ who commands, Christ who judges; it is the Church, and always the Church, that is to say, an assembly of sinful men, as weak and prone to err as ourselves. 'They have taken away the Lord, and we know not where they have laid him,' John xx, 2."*

No one, certainly, will dispute the position of our author, that "*our divine Master when on earth certainly founded and established a church.*" But his amplification is not quite so clear. He proceeds:—

"Had he not done so—had he merely inculcated the general principles of his faith, and left each body of believers to regulate their own ecclesiastical government—the case would have been widely different."—P. 25.

In this case, we suppose he intends to say, our divine Master would have founded no church at all: that is, if he had not founded what I conceive to be a church, he would have founded *no* church. Admirable reasoning this! The statement is not as accurately worded as is usual with Churchmen, the author seeming to confound "principles of faith" with "ecclesiastical government," whereas a broad distinction between these two things is generally kept up by the best writers of that school.† But supposing him to refer only to "ecclesiastical government," then he ought to be aware that the best and most learned of the English divines admit that there is no specific form of ecclesiastical polity drawn out in the New Testament.‡

* Puseyism Examined, p. 67.

† See Hooker's Eccl. Pol., book iii, chap. 3.

‡ The famous Dodwell, an exceedingly *high* Churchman, says,—"All the reasoning from which men conclude that the whole model of ecclesiastical discipline may be extracted from the writings of the New Testament, is very precarious. There is," says he, "no passage of any sacred writer which openly professes this design. Indeed, there is not one which so treats of ecclesiastical government, as if the author, or the writer's author, the Holy Spirit,

"The judicious Hooker," as he is often called by Churchmen by way of eminence, in the third book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, goes into a long argument to prove that "it is not necessary that some particular form of church polity be set down in Scripture." This argument he maintained in opposition to Cartwright, the great leader of Nonconformity, who maintained precisely what our high-Churchmen do in these days, namely, that "matters of discipline and kind of government were matters necessary to salvation and of faith." Now all we need do in this case is to hand over our author to the great defender of the English Church, who is quoted for an oracle by every writer of the English school since his day. And if he will but put himself, where he really belongs, into the shoes of the notorious Puritan, Cartwright, he will then see what it is to be ground to powder by the great champion, and the boast of the English Church. But our author undertakes to sustain his position.

"If at any particular time—take that of the Reformation in the sixteenth century for example—a body of men, for some reason which seemed sufficient to themselves, had a right to abandon that ministry which was derived in uninterrupted succession from the apostles, and, without any new commission from our Lord, to constitute another ministry of their own, then any individuals have at any time the right to do the same."—P. 26.

This argument we suppose is designed to apply to Luther and his coadjutors. And we understand the author to deny that these men had a right to leave the Church of Rome. Now upon the principles here maintained, no person, however corrupt the ministry of a church might become, would have a right—except under the direction of bishops having independent jurisdiction—according to the gospel, to retire from it. If the bishops should all become

had intended to describe any one form of church government as being to remain everywhere as for ever inviolate. The sacred penmen have nowhere declared, with sufficient clearness, how great a change must take place in church government when the churches should first withdraw from the communion of the synagogues. They nowhere clearly show how much was allowed to the personal gifts of the Holy Ghost, and how much to places and offices. They nowhere, with decided clearness, distinguish the extraordinary officers, who were not to outlive that age, from the ordinary ministers who were not to cease till the second coming of Christ. Indeed, all things of this nature were then so generally known, and they so suppose this knowledge in what they say, that they never for the sake of posterity explain them; concerning themselves only with present things, and leaving the future. They nowhere professedly explain the offices or ministries themselves, as to their nature or extent; which surely they would have done if any particular form had been prescribed for perpetual duration."—*De Nupero Schismate*, sec. 14.

atheists or heathen, the inferior clergy would have no right to institute a pure form of discipline and government, and provide for the future and perpetual administration of the word and sacraments. For "if they should do so, then any other persons have a right to do the same." Not indeed unless the circumstances were the same, or equally urgent. His conclusion, that all government and order must necessarily fail upon every theory except that of the apostolic succession, is against the clearest facts, and indeed is not sanctioned by the best writers of his own party. But we turn from this *argumentum ad absurdum* to one which we scarcely know how to characterize. The reader shall have it, and then he may give it a name to suit himself.

"The general belief has been that, during the forty days which intervened between our Lord's resurrection and ascension, while he instructed his disciples in 'the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,' he also inculcated the organization of the church he had founded."—P. 28.

Well now, will this Rev. gentleman be so good as to tell us what that instruction was? Upon what is this *general belief* founded? and where is the *tradition* of the plan of *church organization* which our Lord then inculcated? However "general" the "belief" is among Churchmen we cannot tell, or what this belief is founded upon, but certainly we must wait for a little more light upon the subject before we can fall in with it.

In urging the great practical importance of his system, our author, with high-Churchmen generally, puts all "dissenters" upon very dubious ground as to their future salvation. He asks,—

"If a Church has been established, and that Church is the body of Christ, unless we are members of her fold, how can we be members of Christ?"—P. 30.

Now this would be a sound argument if the author's views of the church which Christ established were sound. Cranmer, Jewel, Hooker, Field, and other defenders of the Church of England, acknowledge the legitimacy of the distinction made, by the continental reformers, between the *visible* and the *invisible* church.*

* Hooker asks,—"Is it then possible, that the self-same men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan and to the church of Jesus Christ?" and proceeds to answer:—"Unto that church which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and church of Jesus Christ, those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of

And these great authors maintain that the *promises of salvation* are only predicable of the latter. But high-Churchmen apply these promises to the visible church, and so make membership in what they call "the Church" in all ordinary cases a condition of salvation. This is to subvert the whole economy of grace, to annihilate moral distinctions, and to open the floodgate of corruption and irreligion.

Still our author in the goodness of his heart tries hard to find out a way of salvation even for *schismatics* and *heretics*, though they are not "members of Christ." He trusts that "those mighty spirits who now display so much intellectual power, while they have 'fallen out by the way,' will meet in peace before their Father's throne."—P. 34.

This charitable conclusion he arrives at by the help of the good bishop of Vermont, Dr. Milner, the great Romanist, and Mr. Palmer. His quotations from the two latter are worthy of remark:

"Dr. Milner says,—'Catholic divines and the holy fathers, at the same time that they strictly insist on the necessity of adhering to the doctrine and communion of the Catholic Church, make an express exception in favor of what is termed *invincible ignorance;* which occurs when persons out of the true church are sincerely and firmly resolved, in spite of all worldly allurements on one hand, and all opposition to the contrary on the other, to enter into it, if they could find it out, and when they use their best endeavors for this purpose. This exception in favor of the *invincibly ignorant* is made by the same St. Augustine who so strictly insists on the general rule . . . . . our great controvertist, Bellarmine, asserts, that such Christians, "in virtue of the disposition of their hearts, belong to the Catholic Church."'—*End of Controversy. Letter* xxi, p. 137, Lond., 1841.

"Again—in another place, in his letter on 'the Qualities of Catholicity,' he says, when speaking of the Church of England, and other bodies of Christians not in union with the Romish Church, 'All the young children who have been baptized in them, and all *invincibly ignorant Christians*, who exteriorly adhere to them, really belong to the Catholic Church, as I have shown above.'—*Letter* xxix, p. 190.

"The same view of this doctrine as held by the Church of Rome is given by Palmer in his *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i, p. 240. When therefore they assert—'There is no salvation without the pale of the Catholic Church,'—the question is, What do they mean by 'the Catholic Church?'"—Pp. 35, 36.

Now here is a way of salvation provided for those who are under the power of "invincible ignorance," and for baptized children who

mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder part of the visible church most execrable."—*Eccles. Pol.*, book iii, chap 1, p. 288.

are not in the Church; but what will become of those who do not come under either of these categories? We see not but they are still left to perish without hope. Some there are who are not *children*, nor can it be fairly plead for them that they are *invincibly* ignorant, nor have they a "sincere desire" to belong to what Romanists and high-Churchmen call "the Catholic Church." For such we see no hope left—even Mr. Kip's charity does not reach them. All these, however pious they may be, are beyond the reach of God's covenanted mercies.

The second lecture is headed, "Episcopacy proved from Scripture." The following is a statement of the doctrine of "episcopacy," which our author proposes to prove:—

"The first thing is—to set plainly before you what we believe to be the truth on this subject, and in what respects we differ from the various denominations around us. We contend, then, that, in accordance with directions given by our Lord, his apostles, acting under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit, established a Church, having a ministry of three orders, and which ministry has been continued by their successors down to the present time. These three orders were, 1st, the apostles—called, in the following age, the bishops; 2d, the presbyters, or elders; and 3d, the deacons."—Pp. 53, 54.

It will be seen that upon the theory here presented, it is necessary to prove that those now called bishops succeeded to the office of the apostles, or that the powers of the apostles were transmitted to *successors* who constituted an *order* distinct from, and independent of, the order of presbyters, who only had the right to ordain; and that the men of this order were, after the death of the original apostles, called *επίσκοποι*, *episcopoi*, or bishops.

The first argument by which our author attempts to sustain this hypothesis is founded upon "the analogy to be drawn from the nature of the ministry in the Jewish church."

"We find," he says, "that, in the Jewish church, God himself instituted a priesthood, consisting of three orders, namely, the high priest, the ordinary priests, and the Levites."—P. 57.

In making out the analogy between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry, our author recites the usual and oft-refuted arguments, all of which rest upon a mere assumption. How conclusively, how logically he reasons!—

"Should we not then naturally expect, that when the Christian ministry took the place of this priesthood, it would be, like everything else, conformed in some degree to the ancient model?"—P. 57.

But the very thing to be proved is, that "the Christian ministry took the place of this model." With equal force the gentleman

goes on to speak of the strictness with which "the priesthood was guarded from the intrusion of those who could not enter it by regular descent from the family of Aaron;" and to quote St. Paul's words, namely, "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron;"—and, as usual, to refer us to the dreadful fate of "Korah and his company," and of "Uzziah," as examples of the fearful hazard those run who enter the priests' office without episcopal ordination! Surely if "dissenters" are not *convinced* by all this, they must be terribly *scared*. Who will dare "enter the sanctuary an unaccredited priest" hereafter!

We do not deny but that the Christian church was grafted upon the Jewish stock. St. Paul teaches this doctrine, as the gentleman urges, in the eleventh of Romans. Nor do we deny that there is a priesthood, and a High Priest, over the Christian church. This the same apostle teaches in the fifth of Hebrews. But that the Jewish priesthood is retained in the Christian church, or that one was instituted by its great Head so perfectly analogous to it as Churchmen and Romanists maintain, we do deny; and moreover, we challenge our opponents to present the least particle of evidence of it from the New Testament. "We have," indeed, "a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God," Heb. iv, 14. But as for such high priests as our *diocesan bishops*, we acknowledge not the legitimacy of their *succession*. If they are *Jewish* high priests, let them go among the Jews; but if they aspire to be "high priests over the house of God," that is, over the church, let them know that there is but ONE such, and if there is, under the Christian dispensation, any danger of meeting the fate of Korah and of Uzziah, for sacrilegiously intruding upon the prerogatives of God, such pseudo high priests have reason to be alarmed.*

Next our author proceeds "to the direct Scripture evidence." Let us hear:—

"The first proof we advance is—*that there is a recognition in the Acts and the Epistles of the existence of three orders in the early church.* A confusion is indeed sometimes created in the minds of readers, in consequence of the indiscriminate use of the title *bishop*. A few sentences, however, of explanation will remove this difficulty. As we already remarked—the three orders of ministers were, 1st, Apostles; 2d, Bishops or elders; 3d, Deacons. After, however, the death of the apostles, who were the first bishops, those who succeeded to the

* For a more full discussion of this subject, see the first article in the preceding number of this Review, (No. for Oct. 1843.) See also Dr. A. Clarke's note upon Heb. v, 4.

episcopal office, out of respect to them, as having stood nearest to our Lord, would not assume the *name* of apostles, although they inherited their *authority*. They therefore took the name of bishops, leaving those in the second rank of the ministry to be called, as before, elders or presbyters—and the third to retain the title of deacons."—Pp. 61, 62.

Now where is "the direct Scripture evidence," that "after the death of the apostles those who succeeded to the episcopal office inherited their *authority*?" High as is the consideration to which Mr. Kip may be entitled, we are not yet quite prepared to acknowledge his lucubrations to amount to "direct Scripture evidence." But if Mr. Kip's words have not the authority of Scripture, perhaps he will find the words of some other which have. He proceeds:—

"Thus it is that the early historian, Theodoret, gives the history of this change of name. 'The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, while those who are now called bishops were called apostles. But shortly after, the name of apostles was appropriated to such only as were apostles indeed, and then the name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles.'"—P. 62.

Our author then gives us a similar passage from "the ancient author under the name of St. Ambrose," and very complacently adds:—

"Here, you perceive, is a full explanation of the change. The name however is a matter of no importance. It is the office and the authority for which we contend. We only wish to prove, that there was a grade of ministers higher in rank than the elders or presbyters."—P. 63.

These authorities are copied from Bingham,* and by consulting him, we see that he takes the latter authority, second hand, from Amalarius. Perhaps this "ancient writer under the name of Ambrose," after passing through so many hands, has really become "St. Ambrose" himself (!) and then we must, forsooth, admit his writings to be canonical!† But as to the testimony of Theodoret,

* Antiquities of the Christian Church, book ii, chap. ii, sec. 1.

† But, admitting the passage to be from Ambrose, it is not in point. For, as Powell contends,—"He does not say that bishops *exclusively* were called apostles. He knew better. 'Many were called apostles *by way of imitation*,' says Eusebius, (Eccl. Hist. lib. i, c. 12,) an earlier and better authority on such subjects than Theodoret or Ambrose. So he calls 'Thaddeus, one of the *seventy*,' an apostle. The learned Valesius's note on the place is as follows:—'*Apostle* here is to be taken in a *large sense*. After the same manner every nation and *city* termed them *apostles*, from whom they first received the truth of the gospel. *This name* was not only given to the twelve, but ALL their DISCIPLES, COMPANIONS, and ASSISTANTS, were GENERALLY called APOSTLES.'"—*Apos. Suc.*, p. 45.

notwithstanding Bishop Onderdonk, of the diocese of Pennsylvania, calls him "one of the fathers,"* and quotes him as ultimate authority upon the same point, he lived in the *fifth* century, and, of course, could know nothing personally of the matter he writes about.† And this same Theodoret, it seems, is the earliest witness Bingham, or Bishop Onderdonk, or even Mr. Kip (!) can find of the change of the name *apostle* for *bishop*. And is this his "direct Scripture evidence?" But perhaps the reader will secretly suspect that we are hardly honest in intimating that our author presents his own assertions, and those of "Theodoret," and "the ancient writer under the name of St. Ambrose," for "direct Scripture evidence." But we must candidly say, we know not how else to construe his argument. He does, indeed, proceed from the "full explanation of the change" given by his fathers to refer to the Scriptures, but in a way which does not meet the case. We will, however, let him speak for himself:—

"Now turn to the Acts, and you will find everywhere recognized the three orders, apostles, elders, and deacons."—P. 64.

Again,—

"And so it is in the Epistles. Take a single instance, in which all the orders of the ministry are mentioned together. We refer to that salutation with which the Epistle to the Philippians opens—'Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' Here are certainly three orders of ministers—the two apostles, Paul and Timothy, sending their salutations to the bishops and deacons. Now, change the titles to those which we have shown you the same orders bore in the next age, and it will read thus—'Paul and Timotheus, *bishops*, to all the saints (*laity*) at Philippi, with the *elders or presbyters*, and *deacons*.'"—P. 65.

But what is all he finds in the Acts and Epistles about "the three orders, apostles, elders, and deacons," to the point really at issue? The existence of these "three orders" in the apostolic age has never been disputed. The point to be proved is *the perpetuity of the apostolic office* under the name of *episcopacy*—that the original *apostolate* is now the *episcopate*. And this point, the only point in question between us, he proves (?) by his own affirmation and his two "fathers;" and this, too, when he professes to give "the direct Scripture evidence."

That all the evidence from the Scriptures, presented by our

* See Episcopacy tested by Scripture, p. 12.

† For further light upon the passage from Theodoret, see Powell's Apos. Suc., pp. 44, 45.

author, and by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, whom he follows, is entirely nugatory, is fully conceded by the great high-Churchman, Dr. Hammond, who depends entirely upon "the Greek and Latin fathers" for the proof of this point.*

But even the authority of the fathers is exceedingly weak and inconclusive. From these our successionists pretend to nothing earlier than Ambrose and Theodoret, and what their testimony amounts to we have already seen. But while our opponents find no earlier evidence in the writings of the fathers for their supposed transfer of the apostolic office to bishops, several of the fathers, earlier and of higher authority than those to whom they refer, apply the term apostle to ministers and preachers of the gospel generally.† IGNATIUS, indeed, makes the *presbyters*, and not the *bishops*, to have *succeeded* the *apostles*.‡ Of the amount of confidence which ought to be placed in the Epistles which bear the name of this father, we will not now speak; it is enough for our purpose that our opponents maintain them to be fully authentic, and entirely uncorrupted.

We cannot follow the gentleman through his argument drawn from the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and what St. John says *to the angels* of the churches of Asia Minor. He will find his proof from these sources abundantly refuted by Mr. Powell in his able and unanswerable work upon the "Apostolical Succession." We must not, however, omit to notice his final argument. He proceeds:—

"There is but one more fact which we will briefly notice. It is, as we have already mentioned, a favourite declaration of our opponents, that the thirteen apostles were the only ones holding that office, and

* Dr. Hammond says,—"Who were the apostles' successors in that power which concerned the governing of the churches which they planted? And first, I answer, that it being a matter of fact, or story, *later* than the *Scripture* can universally reach to, it cannot be fully satisfied or answered from thence—but will in the full latitude, through the universal church in these times be made clear, from the recent evidences that we have, namely, from the consent of the Greek and Latin *fathers*, who generally resolve that bishops are those successors."—*Apos. Suc.*, p. 26.

† Mr. Powell gives ample authorities for this statement. See Apos. Suc., pp. 45, 46.

‡ "I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: your bishop presiding in the place of God, your presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ."—*Ep. Mag.*, sec. 6.

"See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father; and the presbytery, as the apostles."—*Ep. Smyr.*, sec. 8.

that they left no successors. And yet, we find St. Paul referring to 'false apostles,' (*ψευδαποστολοι.*) There were, therefore, some even in his day, who assumed that office, and pretended they were called to the highest rank in the ministry. Now, as we cannot suppose that they endeavored to pass themselves off for any of the thirteen who were first called, it is evident that the office itself must have been widely known in the church, and their pretence was, that they had received it. Still stronger is the inference which may be drawn from that warning which St. John gives, against 'them which say they are apostles, and are not.'"—Pp. 75, 76.

This argument he strengthens in a note taken from Bishop H. U. Onderdonk's tract "on False Apostles," or rather he shows in this note whence he derived this strong case.

Now the whole force of this argument depends upon two presumptions, both of which are utterly false. The *first* is, that those who deny the succession, as held by Churchmen and Romanists, also deny that there were any but the twelve, together with St. Paul, who were called apostles. This is totally false. It is admitted, as far as we know, by all anti-successionists, that in several cases other than these "thirteen" are called *αποστολοι*, messengers or apostles.* The *second* assumption is, that upon our hypothesis, these *ψευδαποστολοι*, *false apostles*, must have pretended to pass for some of the individuals who were really acknowledged to be true apostles—or, as Bishop H. U. Onderdonk says, "counterfeited the persons" of some of them.† This is equally false with the former assumption. Bishop Onderdonk's "four ways in which the persons alluded to can only have pretended to be 'apostles,'" do not cover the whole ground. What is there against the supposition that these men "pretended to be apostles" *extraordinary*, by special revelation, or a special call from Heaven, as St. Paul certainly was? There is nothing either impossible or improbable in this supposition. It is, indeed, in our view, a more probable theory than any of those which the bishop examines, though his reasons against them are far from being conclusive.

Thus much in answer to the arguments of our author in favor of the succession of his bishops to the *apostleship*. This point, it will be seen, is absolutely necessary to the support of the theory of "apostolical succession." Were it necessary in this case to prove a negative, and had we the space, we could easily give conclusive reasons against the hypothesis maintained by our successionists. This, however, under the circumstances, we must waive. We can add but a word, and merely refer to a few authorities.

* See 2 Cor. viii, 23; Phil. ii, 25.

† See Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, p. 275. Ibid., p. 268.

As a class of officers in the church, distinct from the primitive bishops or presbyters, we deny that the apostles had any *successors*. As apostles, their office and work were peculiar, and expired with them; but as presbyters and pastors, all true ministers of Jesus Christ are their successors. HOOKER says,—"Such as deny apostles to have any successors at all in the office of their apostleship, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they will explain themselves what truly and properly apostleship is. In some things every presbyter, in some things only bishops, in some things neither one nor the other are the apostles' successors."* So far this learned writer is doubtless correct. But as he proceeds he makes "bishops the apostles' successors," in some things which we think they originally shared with presbyters.

Dr. BARROW, a Churchman of no mean rank, presents us with an unanswerable argument in proof that "the apostolic office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendence from them."†

The famous nonjuror and high-Churchman, DODWELL, says,—"The office of the apostles perished with the apostles; in which office there never was any succession to any of them, except to Judas the traitor."‡

Now if it is the succession which Dodwell admits for which our author pleads, namely, the succession from "Judas the traitor," we will not contend with him, though in that case we could not admit the *divine authority* of such *successors*.

Thus stands the question of *apostolic succession*. And is it not a little marvelous that its supporters put on so grave a countenance, and such an air of confidence, when they undertake to maintain it? That they boast of "direct Scripture evidence," and of the "unanimous consent of the fathers," in favor of a dogma which is not sustained by *one clear proof from either Scripture or antiquity?*

In these reflections it must be understood that we refer to the point in question, namely, *that the apostolic office and character were transferred to bishops, and that they were constituted apostles de facto—to remain permanently by succession an order independent of the presbytery*. Upon this point now the whole question of episcopacy *jure divino* is made to turn.

This is not the old ground taken by English Episcopalians. Formerly those passages in the Acts and Epistles which speak of *bishops* were brought as proof texts. Of this any one may be

* Eccl. Pol., book vii, chap. 4. † See Treat. on the Pope's Sup., sup. ii, sec. 4.
‡ De Nupero Schismate, pp. 55, 68.

convinced by "the form of ordaining or consecrating a bishop," in the Common Prayer. But it being urged that the same persons were called επιακοποι *episcopoi, bishops,* and πρεσβυτεροι *presbuteroi, presbyters,* the supporters of prelacy finally fell upon the expedient of making *bishops* successors of the *apostles,* and then they could admit, what they saw was undeniable, that the *episcopoi* and the *presbuteroi* of the New Testament were identical. But we must proceed, having already exhausted more time upon this point than we intended when we took it in hand.

From his "direct Scripture evidence," our author proceeds to answer objections. The first objection he anticipates is, "that Paul and Barnabas received an ordination only from presbyters," and quotes at length Acts xiii, 1–3.*

"This," he says, "we are told, was their ordination. We reply—This could not be, for they were 'prophets and teachers' before, and employed in 'ministering to the Lord.' They are placed on an exact footing with the other three. If the three, therefore, were in orders, so were Paul and Barnabas."—P. 77.

Now we cannot go into a long discussion upon this matter, but will simply propose a few queries for Mr. Kip's solution. 1. What is ordination according to the New Testament, and what forms are essential to its validity? Is it anything more than the solemn designation of a person to the ministerial work? If so, where is your proof? 2. If this case was not a case of ordination, what was it? Why, Mr. Kip says, "These two brethren were in truth in this way merely commended to a special missionary work." Why then is this plan made use of in the ordination of a bishop?† And

* "Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."

† See Ordinal. Here, in the ordination of a bishop, it is said,—"Then the archbishop shall move the congregation present to pray, saying thus to them: Brethren, it is written in the Gospel of Saint Luke, That our Saviour Christ continued the whole night in prayer, before he did choose and send forth his twelve apostles. It is written also in the Acts of the Apostles, That the disciples who were at Antioch, did fast and pray, before they laid hands on Paul and Barnabas, and sent them forth. Let us therefore, following the example of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, first fall to prayer, before we admit, and send forth this person presented unto us, to the work whereunto we trust the Holy Ghost hath called him."—*English Prayer Book.*

do laymen or presbyters ever lay on hands, in any case, in "the church," in these days? Do they *separate* men *to the "missionary work" by imposition of hands and prayer?* 3. If this transaction had been wholly under the management of the apostles—if the story had read, "Now as the twelve apostles fasted and prayed, the Holy Ghost said," &c., would not this same passage have been regarded as the most complete account of an apostolical ordination to be found in the New Testament?—would it not have been a perfect extinguisher upon all such innovations as ordinations by mere presbyters? 4. What language can more appropriately express designation to a high ministerial function than this *ἀφορίσατε εἰς τὸ ἔργον, set apart to the work.**

The next objection our author anticipates is founded upon 1 Tim. iv, 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." Upon this passage he says,—"Timothy, therefore, we are told, was ordained to his office in the ministry by the hands of a body

* Dr. Hammond, good high-Church authority, paraphrases the second and third verses thus:—"And as they were upon a day of fast performing their office of prayer to God, the Holy Spirit of God, by some afflatus or revelation, commanded them to *ordain* or *consecrate* Barnabas and Saul to the *apostleship* to which God had already designed them. And accordingly they observed a solemn day of fasting and prayer, and so by imposition of hands, (see note on 1 Tim. 5, f.,) ordained them and sent them away about the work designed them by God."—*Par. in loc.*

The learned doctor, in admitting this instance of the laying on of hands to be a true *ordination*, can only save his doctrine of the exclusive validity of episcopal ordination, by calling those prophets and teachers "bishops of the churches."—*Par.* ver. 1. That is, according to the theory we here oppose, *apostles*. Now as Barnabas and Saul are among those whom Dr. Hammond calls "bishops of the churches," they must have been ordained to the episcopate or apostolate before. Where then the necessity of ordaining them over again? Into what absurdities do our prelatists run to sustain their system! Rom. i, 1, is a parallel place with the one under consideration, and here the word *ἀφοριζω* is used for the *separating* or *setting apart* of St. Paul to the *apostolic office—ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον—set apart to the gospel.* Upon this passage Dr. Bloomfield says,—"The words — are explanatory of the preceding, and refer to Paul's being set apart for the work of the gospel, not only by the Holy Spirit, (Acts xiii, 2,) but also by Christ himself. Gal. i, 15."—*Gr. Test.*

And Dr. Hammond paraphrases the passage thus:—"One that hath received this special singular mercy from him to be an apostle, authorized and set apart (Acts xiii, 2) to that office of preaching the gospel (which God hath promised by the prophets that it should now be revealed, to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, to all the world, by the ministry of the apostles.")—*Paraph. in loc.*

of elders." To this argument he gives us two replies, so that if one does not answer the purpose the other may. We ought not to complain of this, as he might very easily have given us the trouble of meeting half a dozen without even then having exhausted the resources upon which he draws for these two. He proceeds:—

"We reply—First, it is not clear, by any means, that the word here translated *presbytery* does not refer to the *office* conferred, and not to the *persons* who conferred it. In that case it would read thus—'With the laying on hands to confer the presbyterate or presbytership.' Such was the opinion of Jerome, Ambrose, Eusebius, and Socrates, among the ancients, and Grotius, Calvin, and many of the leading Presbyterian writers among the moderns."—Pp. 78, 79.

We have read with attention what Bishop H. U. Onderdonk has written in defence of this hypothesis, but are not a convert. The object of the argument seems to be to throw doubt over the ordinary, and, as we must still suppose, the most natural construction. Now if the bishop has succeeded in his object, he has gained but a trifle. Maintaining as he does the exclusive right of bishops to impose hands, *jure divino*, he must perceive that a passage in the New Testament which probably, or even possibly, teaches the validity of ordination by presbyters, is fatal to his system. He must show that it *can* mean no such thing, or he does nothing to the purpose. But this he does not pretend to have done by the aid of his criticism. The bishop says,—"The Presbyterian construction has only the merest chance of being the true one."* Now though this, in our humble judgment, is taking quite too strong ground, yet, admitting it, then there is at least "the merest chance" that the whole prelatical theory is wrong—there is doubt hanging over it. And would God leave a positive institution doubtful, upon which he had made the validity of the ordinances and the very existence of the church to depend?

But let it be especially considered, that according to the theory of the bishop, Timothy was, at the time this epistle was directed to him, a bishop or an apostle, and of course had received episcopal ordination—the main evidence which our prelatists present to prove this being derived from St. Paul's Epistles to him. Is it then at all probable that the apostle would dwell with such emphasis upon his having received "the presbyterate!" The *episcopate* which he had received was a much more elevated *gift*. When our diocesans are about to set apart a person to the order of a bishop, do they dwell upon the dignity of the *presbytership?* And if a newly-ordained bishop were to receive a charge from a

* Episcopacy Examined and Re-examined, p. 196.

senior bishop, would the argument run upon the presbytership, which he had long since received, and which would now be lost in the dignity of the higher order? Would there not be a manifest impropriety in this? But into this impropriety do our prelatists run the great apostle by the construction in question.

Again: let the natural meaning of the language be considered. Would any man, who had not a theory to support, ever suppose that the word *presbytery* here means the *office* imparted, and not the agency employed in its communication? Is there any tolerable sense in the passage according to this construction? Look at it. If this construction is the right one, St. Paul says, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the laying on of the hands of the gift." Who could tell what *the hands of the gift, or the hands of the office of the presbytership*, might mean? But it seems the apostle must be made to speak enigmatically—to talk without sense—or even to utter nonsense, rather than he should seem to favor ordination by presbyters. Bishop Onderdonk and Mr. Kip do indeed make the apostle speak good sense upon their hypothesis, but then they do this by supposing an ellipsis which, in this case, may not be taken for granted—they supply the sense by putting words into the apostle's mouth which he did not see proper to utter. In this way what may not the Scriptures be made to prove?

But we must give some attention to the authorities adduced in support of this interpretation. Mr. Kip here reiterates what Bishop H. U. Onderdonk asserts, and we maintain that they have both presented a most partial, and, upon the whole, a most erroneous statement of the case. As to the opinion of the "ancients," the bishop seems to derive his information from Poole's Synopsis; and upon examination it will appear that Poole takes the report of Scultetus for that. The following is the authority: "Ita vocem hanc accipiunt Hieron. Amb. Græci in Conc. Nicen., can. 2, Ancyr., can. 18, Euseb. et Soc."—*Epis. Ex.*, &c., p. 190, note. This, the bishop tells us, "Pool says in his Synopsis." He should rather have said, this is the report of Scultetus as given in Poole's Synopsis; but Poolee himself explicitly dissents from the construction. For after presenting this exposition, with the authority upon which it is based, he adds, "*non placet*," and then proceeds to give three reasons against it. The following is the passage:—

"It is not satisfactory: 1. *With the imposition of the hands of the dignity of presbyterate*, is a forced rendering. 2. Πρεσβυτέριον often occurs in the New Testament, but never signifies an office, (which is πρεσβυτερεῖον,) but a college, as in Luc. xxii, 66; Acts

xxii, 5. 3. The authority of Timothy was greater than can possibly be affirmed of πρεσβυτέριον, because he possessed authority over the presbyters, (chap. v, 19,) or secondly, over the assembly or college of presbyters, to wit, of the elders, that is, bishops."

In proof of this construction he gives us Cameron, Estius, Munsterus, Tirinus, Calvin, Vatablus, Zegerius, Schlegelius, (or Schmidius,) Beza, and Menochius. This is more properly what "Poole says in his Synopsis," for he takes this side of the question himself, and gives far more ample authorities for it than for the other construction.

The bishop is equally partial in quoting "the Critica Sacra of Sir Edward Leigh." He says from Lampriere that Sir Edward "was a member of the long parliament, and of the assembly of divines, and also a parliamentary general." We shall now quote all that is necessary to show with how little reason the learned bishop makes such a flourish with the name of Sir Edward Leigh, who he says was "surely an unexceptionable witness," for "he was learned," and besides all the rest, "a violent Presbyterian!" Well, what says this "learned violent Presbyterian?" Hear him.

"Πρεσβυτεριον, *Seniorum ordo, Presbyterium.* It signifieth a company of elders. *Presbyterium* in Latin is used by Cyprian, lib. 3, epist. 11, and l. 2, epist. 8 and 10, for a consistory of elders. 1 Tim. iv, 14. [Vide Beza.] It doth signify (saith one) not only a company of presbyters, but also the *office* and *function* of a presbyter."

In connection with each opinion he gives his authorities, the whole of which for the second the bishop gives, and only a portion of that which is adduced for the first.

Now let the reader attentively examine what the bishop quotes from Leigh. The first sense he gives of πρεσβυτεριον, is "*Seniorum ordo,** *Presbyterium.*—It signifieth a company of elders." He then quotes Cyprian as authority. Then he proceeds to the other opinion in this remarkable language, which the bishop quotes accurately, "It doth signify (saith one) not only a company of pres-

* The bishop understands by *Seniorum ordo*, "the *degree* or order of elders." If this were not the grave comment of a *bishop* upon a *Latin phrase*, we should be disposed to doubt its correctness. We were so stupid as to suppose that Leigh, by *Seniorum ordo*, meant the *class* of elders, and that if he had meant by the word "*ordo*," *degree*, or office, he would not have used the genitive plural, *Seniorum*. "The order of elders," [*elders*, in the plural] for "the degree" of *an elder*, is scarcely warranted by good use. Besides, it is evident that Leigh by *Seniorum ordo* did mean *the class of elders*, from the fact that he puts the words in apposition with *Presbyterium*, which he shows from Cyprian means "a consistory of elders."

byters, but also the *office* and *function* of a *presbyter*." Who this "ONE" is, who "*saith*" this, Leigh does not tell us, but it would be absurd enough to suppose he meant himself. His own opinion he had given in his first definition. Such then is the ground upon which the bishop claims the authority of this "violent Presbyterian" in support of the construction under consideration.

But let us return to the authorities adduced from Poole. Here he quotes from Scultetus the second canon of the Council of Nice, and the eighteenth of the Council of Ancyra, adduced in proof of the construction for which he contends. We have before us "the Canons of the six Œcumenical Councils, translated by Rev. Wm. A. Hammond, of Christ's Church, Oxford, 1843." And upon examination we find in the canons referred to, not the word "presbyterate, or presbytership," but "presbytery." This rendering turns those ancient councils directly against the bishop. How he will reconcile the matter with the Oxford translator, we, for the present, are not able to determine.

The bishop, and his copyist, Mr. Kip, are equally unfortunate, or unfair, in other cases. They claim CALVIN as a patron of the construction under consideration. Now the fact is, that though Calvin gives this construction in his Institutes, in his Commentary upon the place he goes wholly for the other view. These are his words: "*Presbyterium*—qui hic collectium nomen esse putant pro calligio presbyterarum postium, recte sentiunt *meos judicion:* that is, they who understand the word presbytery, in this place, to be a collective noun, put to signify the *college of presbyters*, are, *in my judgment*, right in their interpretation."

GROTIUS, another of their authorities, is in the same predicament. The bishop borrows from Dr. Cook a passage from this author which goes for construing the word *presbytery* for the office of presbyter, quoting in its support Jerome, Calvin, and others. But in his Annotations he, like Calvin, takes the other side, interpreting the word as a collective noun, for the college of presbyters. The following is his note upon the place:—

"That is, a serious invocation of divine aid accompanied the prophecy at the time when hands were placed upon thee. Paul himself had placed his hands upon Timothy, (2 Tim. i, 6,) but the custom was, for those presbyters who were present to impose their hands at the same time with the president of their assembly.—*Clemens Constitutionum*, viii, 16. Africa retained this custom for a long time; for we read in the acts of the Carthagenian synod, that when a presbyter was ordained, the bishop pronounced a benediction, and held his hand upon his head, and also, all the presbyters

present held their hands above his head next to the hand of the bishop. When the apostles, or assistants of the apostles, were not present, the ordination was performed by the president of the assembly, with the consent of the presbytery. But when the apostles or their assistants were present, this honor, as well as the right of presiding, belonged to them. But, notwithstanding, they did these and similar things in concert with the presbytery, as we see in this case. Thus, among the Jews, the president of the sanhedrim placed his hands upon judges who were chosen in behalf of the sanhedrim."

Now admitting, what seems to be the fact, that these learned commentators have given one construction in one place, and a different one in another place, the most that can be said is, that they have neutralized themselves, and are not good authority on either side. All we ask, then—and this we have clearly shown is our right—is, that these authors should not be adduced as authority on the other side. It is not fair, or consistent with truth, to urge that they go for interpreting the word *πρεσβυτερίον* as a term of office, when, in their notes upon the very passage in question, they make it a collective noun, standing for the college of presbyters. The most, as above urged, that can be plead on the opposite side is, that they have given their sanction to both interpretations, and so have said nothing to the purpose.

We have dwelt longer upon this point principally because there is such a display made of authorities. And after a tolerably extensive examination, we have come to the conclusion that all the authorities that can in justice be plead are of no weight at all. In the only places in the New Testament where the word *πρεσβυτερίον, presbuterion*, occurs, (Luke xxii, 66; Acts xxii, 5,) it must certainly be taken as a collective noun, for the *council of elders*. This being all the light we have upon the New Testament *use* of the word, there is no contrary evidence to be derived from that source. All the lexicographers we have access to interpret the word for a council of elders—a college of presbyters—an assembly of aged men—senate—or a presbytery. The commentators and critics run in the same channel. In this the best authorities—Romish, Episcopal, and Presbyterian—seem all to agree. We have consulted Erasmus, Cardinal Hugo, Hammond, Benson, Whitby, Bloomfield, Hewlett, Westminster Assembly, Diodati, Poole, Continuators of Henry, Macknight, Doddridge, Coppius, Rosenmuller, Wesley, Coke, A. Clarke, J. Benson, &c., &c., all of whom refer the word to the college of elders, and not to the office.

The construction here opposed was long since rejected by *Bax-*

ter, and fully refuted by *Gillispie*, by the Westminster Assembly, and by "the provincial synod of London."* And we venture to doubt whether Mr. Kip's "many of the most leading Presbyterian writers," who, he says, have given this construction, will not, upon due examination, dwindle down to two or three individuals, among whom must be reckoned Calvin and Grotius, and how far they are to be relied upon we have already seen.

Bishop Onderdonk himself, after all he urges in favor of this construction, does not adopt it, but rather concludes, that the apostle refers, in the passage in question, to an extraordinary commission, like that in Acts xiii, 1–3.

The same author also questions whether *χαρισματος*, *gift*, refers at all to the powers of the ministry. By this course he is obliged to give up 2 Tim. i, 6, and so to conclude that there is no allusion made in the Acts or Epistles to Timothy's ordination. Mr. Kip, however, does not venture out quite so far at sea, but admits *ordination proper* to be referred to in both passages. And then he disposes of the difficulty by supposing that Paul was the real *ordainer*, and that the presbyters laid on hands with him, "in token of their concurrence." In this he assumes what ought to be proved.

If the two passages refer to the same transaction, then Paul constituted a part of the presbytery, and his act is to be regarded not in the abstract, but in the concrete. This seems evident from the fact that, (in 1 Tim. iv, 14,) he mentions, in connection with the communication of the *gift*, the "laying on of the hands of the presbytery," as the instrumental cause of that which was imparted. Now if there were any such difference between the objects and purposes for which the hands of Paul, and those of the presbytery, were laid upon Timothy, as our prelatists pretend, why is it that the apostle gives no intimation of it? How can it be accounted for, that in the first place where he notices the transaction he leaves himself, who, according to them, was the *sole ordainer*, entirely out of the question? If the presbyters merely *gave consent*, while Paul did the work, how comes the apostle to lay the stress in this case upon *their* act? Was it not giving undue importance to an immaterial circumstance?

Our author, following his great leader, makes a shift to get rid of this difficulty. He proceeds:—

"If we critically examine these two passages, we shall find that the

* See Baxter's "Five Disputations on Church Government," p. 244—1659; Gillispie's "Treatise of Miscellaneous Questions," p. 89—1649; Annotations of the Westminster Assembly, in loc.; and "Jus Divinum Evangelici," pp. 181, 182—1654.

words selected clearly point out the different shares of the ordaining apostle and the consenting presbyters. He was ordained, St. Paul tells us, '*by* (*δια*) the putting on of *my* hands,' '*with* (*μετα*) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.'"

Now this learned criticism, so far as the real question at issue is concerned, really amounts to nothing at all. There is no evidence that the *μετα*, *with*, refers to the act of Paul referred to 2 Tim. i, 6. Indeed, the most rational conclusion is, that it refers to *προφητείας*, *prophecy*. The construction upon this supposition is perfectly clear. We paraphrase the passage thus: Neglect not the gift which was given thee *δια*, through, or according to a well-known prophecy concerning thee, *μετὰ*, also, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. "The words selected" are so far from clearly pointing out "the different shares of the *ordaining* apostle and the *consenting* presbyters," that if there were, in fact, any such "different shares," they make no allusion to it whatever.

The fourth lecture is headed, "Episcopacy proved from History." To the examination of this section we can give but a small amount of space, and we have no cause of regret on this account, because *very little* is called for.

The author's evidence from Clement and Polycarp is not at all to his purpose, as neither of these fathers makes the slightest allusion to the "three orders" of ministers. Nor do they anywhere intimate that the *episcopate* was the original *apostolate*. But he must make a show of authority from the earliest age, whether it possesses the least pertinency or not. The epistles we have from these two fathers are probably more free from corruption than any records of the church we have from the first age. And here the figment of apostolical succession finds no countenance.

As to the Epistles of Ignatius, upon which he draws so heavily, there is, to our mind, the clearest prima facia evidence that they have been sadly corrupted. His making the presbyters to fill the place of the council of the apostles, as we have already noticed, is wholly against the prelatical theory, and his putting the bishops in the place of God and Christ, and making obedience to them the condition of salvation, and a sure passport to heaven, is entirely *Popish*. The soundest Episcopalians have conceded that the language of the Epistles of Ignatius is far better suited to the fourth or fifth, than to the first age of the church. With these general remarks, we must pass on.

In this lecture our author turns aside, in a note, to inform his readers that "there is a body of Christians, called 'Methodist Episcopal,' which" he had "not included in" his "list" of "*Episcopal*"

churches, "because, although they have the office of bishop, yet it is in name only, and without any legitimate authority."—P. 137. Very well—say his high-Church readers—but all this we knew before—we could but know there was such "a body of Christians," for they have insinuated themselves into almost every nook and corner in the wide world, and that their bishops "are without any legitimate authority" we have seen in print, and heard asserted a thousand times. But, good sirs, wait with patience, for Mr. Kip has something more to tell you. Of Mr. Wesley he says,—

"After professing, through his whole life, that he did not intend to abandon the Church, or create a schism, when eighty-two years old he was induced to lay hands on Dr. Coke, and thus pretend to consecrate him a bishop for America."—P. 138.

Yes, indeed! and he did still worse things, for he ordained several of his preachers *presbyters* for *England!* And still he "did not intend to *abandon* the Church"—not at all—nor did he do so to the last. John Wesley's position was simply this: By an extraordinary system of efforts—efforts not contemplated in the economy of the Church of England—he had, under God, been the means of raising up a numerous Christian communion, who looked to him for pastors and discipline. Finding it impossible, in this exigency, to attend to their wants without departing in some measure from canonical order, he determined to provide for them upon Scriptural principles, and if the bishops would permit him to do so, still to remain in connection with the national Church. He went on, and they did not disturb him. Now where is the responsibility? If the English bishops were too kindly disposed toward Mr. Wesley, or too indifferent to discipline to bring it to bear upon so flagrant an offender, with what grace do Churchmen now fall upon him as an arch schismatic? Every such effort is an assault upon the Church of England. It shows clearly that there was no discipline in that Church—that it was a dead carcass, whose very bowels might be devoured without the least resistance.

Our author next proceeds to the evidence. And first he has a part of Charles Wesley's letter to Dr. Chandler. Charles Wesley was a most excellent man, and a zealous coadjutor of his brother in the great reformation in which he was engaged; but was a better poet than he was a philosopher. Indeed, he was rather an inconsistent Churchman, and hardly a consistent Methodist; while John, though not a very good Churchman, was a good Methodist—and consistent reformer. In this letter Charles finds fault with John's ordinations upon Church principles, when those principles were, by himself, equally disregarded in other matters. He charges his

"brother" with violating "the principles and practices of his whole life," when he had only carried out those principles to their legitimate results. After all, it appears from a "P. S." to his letter, which, by the way, Mr. Kip does not give, that the great distress of Charles arose from an apprehension that the "poor Methodists" in America had not the men among them whose disinterestedness and wisdom would carry them safe through the crisis. "After my brother's death," says he, "which is now so very near, what will be their end? They will lose all their influence and importance; they will turn aside to vain janglings; they will settle down upon their lees, and, like other sects of dissenters, come to nothing." We need scarcely say that these fears were wholly groundless.

Another point in the letter is the confidence he expresses in the success of Bishop *Seabury* in his plan to import "the succession" from the nonjurors of Scotland. This part of the letter is always referred to by Churchmen with emphasis. They must put the sentences, "*his ordination would indeed be genuine, valid, and episcopal,*" and "A REAL PRIMITIVE BISHOP," in italics and capitals. In this Mr. Kip follows the fashion; just as though the world did not know that in all this Mr. Charles Wesley was wholly misled. Bishop Seabury was not even permitted to constitute the third man in establishing "the succession." When they had the canonical number without him, they did, indeed, permit him to lay on hands in the ordination of bishops, perhaps merely by way of "*consent.*" But this letter must be kept stirring. We doubt if there is a file of Church papers in the land of any considerable extent that does not contain it, and some there are in which, if we are not mistaken, it can be found more than once.

The next important fact he presents is, that "Dr. Coke himself felt his ordination to be invalid, and often by his acts admitted it.' This we roundly deny. But let us attend to the proof adduced. He proposed to Bishops White and Seabury, for their consideration, the union of the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal Churches, and offered to submit to a reimposition of hands. And just before he left England for India, he proposed to Mr. Wilberforce to receive episcopal consecration from his grace of Canterbury, and go upon that mission under the auspices of the Church of England. Now the facts are not denied, but we contend that they do not prove the position. Dr. Coke did not consider ordination "an indelible imprint upon the soul," nor a commission from Jesus Christ: but a mere recognition of his divine call and solemn designation to the work, by a branch of the Church, whose authority is merely human, and only extends to those within its

own pale. And consequently he did not suppose that submitting to a reimposition of hands was conceding that his former ordination was "invalid." This he fully and explicitly declared with regard to his proposition to Bishop White, and the same must be presumed to have been his view in the proposition he made to Mr. Wilberforce.

But the doctor mistook his course, and it is now quite obvious that he mistook his men. He was simple-hearted and confiding; but his ardor often led him into errors which he found it necessary afterward to retract. But what should be thought of the man's head or heart who can exhibit these instances of inconsistency in a good but sometimes mistaken man, as evidence of base hypocrisy? Mr. Kip closes the account in these remarkable words:—

"Failing in this, he was obliged to settle down for life with the conviction that his office was a pretence, and his *episcopal* shield deformed by the *bend sinister*."—P. 139.

It would be well for the Church and the world if no man's "episcopal shield" had ever been more "deformed by the *bend sinister*" than that of Dr. Coke. But we must forbear. We have no pleasure in animadverting upon such hasty, mistaken, uncatholic, and unjust censures as this, especially upon the dead. After all, we are willing to leave the question for a candid world to determine, which is presented in the most advantageous position before posterity, the good but mistaken Dr. Coke, or those who have abused his confidence by publishing to the world his *confidential* communications, contrary to his expectations and requests.*

We marvel not at all, after all this array of *proof*, that our author makes up this grave conclusion: "Such, then, is Methodism in this country—*without a Church or a ministry*." Here then we are, and here I suppose we shall continue to be, "without a Church or a ministry," until we can be won over by the *reasoning*, *courtesy*, and *kindness* of such high-Church teachers as the author of "the Double Witness."

The fourth lecture is upon the "Antiquity of the Forms of Prayer." The gentleman's authorities do not serve his purpose. Bingham, upon whom he relies for proof of his main positions, admits that "every bishop," originally, "had liberty to frame the liturgy of his own church,"—and that "in after ages—about the year 506—

* The reader will find this whole matter fully discussed and explained in Bishop Emory's Defence of our Fathers, Dr. Bangs' History of the Methodist E. Church, and Mr. Jackson's Letter to Dr. Pusey—all of which are on sale at the Methodist Book Room, 200 Mulberry-street.

efforts were made to reduce the liturgies to uniformity." And that "those liturgies which were certainly compiled in books in the earlier ages, are now in a great measure lost by the injuries of time." And of "the old Gallican, Spanish, African, and Roman liturgies," this learned Churchman says "there is nothing but fragments and dismembered parcels now remaining."* Still Mr. Kip, following Mr. Palmer, tries to prove that these "primitive liturgies" now remain in all their integrity, and that "it is difficult to assign their origin to a lower period than the apostolic age." All this Du Pin proves most conclusively to be totally groundless.† Against such authorities Mr. Kip, and even his friend Mr. Palmer, are of but little weight.

The want of space forbids our following the author through in regular order. We had marked many passages, good, bad, and indifferent, which we intended to notice. We also designed to sketch out *the Church system*, and give our objections to it, but this we must waive until another opportunity shall occur. A few gleanings is all we can now add.

We might give several specimens of the horror with which the author regards the Reformation. One must suffice :—

"The reformers indeed have given a mournful illustration of that declaration made by Irenæus, with regard to the heretics of his time—'No correction can be made by them so great, as is the mischief of schism.'"—P. 128.

So the blasphemies of Leo X., the licentiousness of the monks, the impudent sale of indulgences by Tetzel, the acknowledged heresies of the Council of Trent, the gross idolatry of the Romish worship, and the shameless wickedness of the great body of the clergy, all together constituted a *less evil* than the simple separation of the reformers from the communion of the Romish Church! Such is the Protestantism of the author of "the Double Witness!" A minister, indeed, he is, in "the *Protestant* Episcopal Church;" and though he doubtless loves her much, there is no slight indication here that he "loves Rome more."

It is quite amusing to find our author so deluded with the notion that "her wonderful increase" is the cause of concerted opposition to "the Church"—that for this reason "now there is on every side a rallying to stop her progress!" Such has been this "wonderful increase," that at this moment, if we are correctly advised, the whole number of her communicants do not amount to more than

* Origines Ecclesiasticæ, book xiii, chap. v, sec. 1, 2, 3.

† See Eccl. Hist., vol. i, pp. 8, 9.

one half the number of the *net increase* of the Methodist Episcopal Church during *the last year!*

Our author talks about "carping;" "ignorance and fanaticism;" and "renouncing for a time all dependence on reason, and suffering the imagination to be awakened to a perfect delirium," and of "'a mixed multitude,' which encircle the camp of the true Israel as it journeys through the wilderness." All this is so connected as to show his great self-complacency, and utter contempt for "the different denominations."

But we find in a note a passage from the quaint old writer, Thomas Fuller, which affected us quite pleasantly. Small as our space is, we must give the passage:—

"What may be the cause why so much cloth so soon changeth color? It is because it was never wet wadded, which giveth the fixation to a color, and setteth it in the cloth. What may be the reason why so many, now-a-days, are carried about with every wind of doctrine, even to scour every point in the compass round about? Surely it is because they were never well catechised in the principles of religion."—P. 284.

There is a world of good sense here, which Mr. Kip did not fail to perceive. He had undoubtedly often noticed that many of those who come into "the Church" from "the denominations" give sad proof that they were never "wet wadded." And it is generally only by delivering lectures upon "Church principles," and publishing books, pamphlets, &c., that they can give the requisite proof of that "fixation" which is absolutely necessary to a Churchman. Hence it comes to pass that some of the most violent assaults which "the different denominations" receive from Churchmen, in these days, come from those who were baptized within their pale, and whose fathers, mothers, and friends still live in their communion. Much good may these "*never wet wadded*" children do their *step-mothers!* "the different denominations" can do without them.

We have now done with "the Double Witness." Notwithstanding the criticisms which we have thought called for, we would say, there are some clever passages in the work. There is, indeed, little that may be properly called evangelical truth. Still there is displayed, in many portions of the work, no little effort at representing religion in a lovely and winning form. In all this, however, there is too much Oxford *sentimentality*. A beautiful drapery will never remedy the radical defects of a false system.

We must in justice to the publishers finally say, that this book, whatever we think of the matter, is a beautiful specimen of the art.

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Treatise on Infant Baptism.* By Rev. F. G. Hibbard, of the Genesee Conference. 12mo., pp. 328. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

The work now before us is designed as the second part of a complete work on the subject of baptism; the part upon the *mode* having been previously published. The whole, in our opinion, constitutes the best work upon the subject extant. The author has brought into requisition an amount of learning, judgment, and perseverance not very common in these times. His research into the *historical* evidence has been thorough, and the results, especially to those who have not access to Dr. Wall, and other authorities, to which he refers, are peculiarly important. The author has gone upon the principle that the argument is *cumulative*, and consequently that a great variety of facts and considerations which abstractly would have but little weight, in connection with each other, and as parts of a whole, are really important. He has not only discussed the subject with reference to the system of our Baptist brethren, but also as it is affected by the views of high-Churchmen. We commend this instructive work to all who wish to enter into a thorough investigation of the subject. The two parts, bound together, make a book of respectable size, and should be found in the library of every Methodist preacher.

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2. *History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. Robert Emory. 12mo., pp. 350. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

We have here what has for years been a desideratum. Our Discipline is an anomaly. It has come into existence piecemeal, and every four years it undergoes a revision, and the preceding edition is superseded. The history of the book is now personally known to but few. And as the history of many of the regulations of the Discipline sheds much light upon their meaning and design, that history has been increasing in importance with the multiplication of questions with regard to them, and of changes proposed to be effected in their provisions. The author has certainly been exceedingly fortunate in obtaining his materials, and has arranged and adjusted them most happily. His industry and zeal in perfecting a work of so much difficulty and delicacy are truly commendable. Though from the nature of the work it cannot be what is sometimes called *a readable book*, and furnishes the author little opportunity for speaking or being seen himself, yet he, merely to serve the interests of the church, and especially to meet a pressing emergency, has delved through the whole course of investigation with a patience and perseverance by no means common. We heartily thank our learned and worthy brother Emory for this timely and necessary production. We hope it will be carefully studied, especially by those whose situation will require all the light upon the past history of

every part of the Discipline which can possibly be obtained. It will, we trust, guide our General Conference in some salutary changes, and serve to prevent any wrong action. We make this suggestion with the utmost respect for that body. We have often felt the need of such a work, and we doubt not but many of our venerated seniors have felt the same.

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3. *Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense, or an Answer to the Question, What constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice.* By GEORGE PECK. 12mo., pp. 472. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

WE place the title-page of this work among those issued during the past quarter from the Book Room press, for the information of the public, and advantage of the Concern. We were led into the investigation from a conviction of its real importance, and an impression that a small work upon the subject would meet an urgent demand. Nothing of the sort has ever been issued from our press, while great interest is taken by all classes of Christians in the controversy occasioned by the publication of the Oxford Tracts. The great principles in question, and the development of the origin and tendency of the heresy which we oppose, now eminently call for the attention of all enlightened Protestants. The Methodist Episcopal Church has as much at stake in the great question of *the rule of faith* as any other branch of the great Protestant family. And certainly she ought to take her appropriate part in the great battle now in progress. Supposing we had availed ourselves of the means of presenting the subject clearly and fully, and fearing that no one possessed of like facilities, and better qualified to improve them, would engage in the work, we have made an attempt to meet the exigency. We have done our best, and shall hope for a measure of the success which alone can compensate us for the toil and anxiety which the execution of the work has cost us. Our object is the good of the church at large, but especially of that branch of it with which we are immediately connected. That the argument may, by those who are best qualified to judge, be considered conclusive, whatever becomes of the author, is the principal object of our solicitude.

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4. *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution in* 1789, *to the Restoration of the Bourbons in* 1815. 4 vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

THE character of Alison's Europe is already too well established to stand in need of commendation, or to fear criticism; but if it were not, we should not presume to discuss a question of such moment, within the compass to which we are here restricted: we have therefore, in this notice of it, only to express our entire concurrence with the public voice, in regard to its value as an historical work, and con-

fine our present remarks to the American edition just issued from the press of Harper and Brothers.

It was rather a hazardous undertaking at this time, when the public craving is so strong for light and frivolous literature, to venture upon a reprint of ten thick octavo volumes of history, and it is to be hoped, for the encouragement of the publishers, that they will derive a profit from it proportionate to the moral and pecuniary benefit they have conferred upon the community. The work has received the stamp of a standard history, and of course may claim a place in every public and private library. The period which it embraces is one of unequaled interest in the annals of the world, and it will never be treated with more ability, correctness, and impartiality by any English writer, until the deep-rooted national prejudices of the English are eradicated. In the American edition we have this history in a very convenient form, on good paper, in a fair, well-defined type, for one-tenth of the cost of an English copy. We have so far compared it with the third Edinburgh and London editions, as to be able to say that it is Alison's whole history; and we may add, that it is quite as correct, typographically, as the original. Its merits, therefore, may be briefly summed up as follows:—It gives us, for a very small price, a work of great intrinsic value to every reader, and of indispensable necessity to the historical inquirer, equally complete and correct, and every way as good for general purposes as the very costly, and, to most persons, inaccessible original; in other words, it puts into circulation among us thousands of copies for every single one that there would otherwise have been. But there is one consideration which gives to the edition of the Harpers a value superior to that of the English; the seventy-sixth chapter, which relates wholly to this country, as here printed, has passed the author's revision, and the many flagrant errors by which it was disgraced are either corrected by him in the text, or are pointed out and refuted in the accompanying notes. As it now stands, it must satisfy our most sensitive national pride; the bane carries with it its antidote: in fact, it is even better to have an opportunity of circulating such triumphant refutations of erroneous charges and misrepresentations than that they should never have been made. In justice, however, to Mr. Alison, it should here be said, that in his remarks upon America he has evidently been guided more by his political principles than by his personal feelings—every disorder, defect, and inferiority which he thinks he discovers in our institutions, or in our social, moral, and intellectual condition, he attributes to his great first cause of all evil—democracy; apart from this, he, with some exceptions, shows a kind spirit toward us, and justly appreciates our country and character.

We observe that the American publishers have added an index to their edition, which is a great convenience in using it as a book of reference, and without which no book of any extent can be considered perfect. This alone is of sufficient importance to make it preferable to the English edition as a library book.

5. *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. 3 vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is the long anxiously expected work from Mr. Prescott, the announcement of which excited the highest anticipations of interest, as well from the romantic nature of the subject, which has all the excitement of a novel, as from the general admiration of the high historical qualities of the author's Ferdinand and Isabella. This expectation will not be disappointed. The work is unaffected and simple in style; historical difficulties are calmly weighed; the incidental illustrations in the notes are happily introduced; the political and social remarks are in a vein of good sense and enlarged humanity. The liberal and scholarlike tributes to the labors and good fame of the original historians form one of the most attractive portions of the work, and prepare the reader to welcome warmly the merits of the historian himself, who pursues his task under difficulties scarcely inferior to those endured by the most persecuted of his predecessors, though of a different kind. Mr. Prescott tells us, in his preface, that he has written this work (by the help of a writing-case made for the blind) without being able himself to read or correct his original draft. It would require a learned reader to detect this from the book itself, which is especially free from all repetitions and redundancies, and particularly furnished with those illustrative comments which require peculiar care and diligence, and seemingly great nicety of eye as well as discipline of mind. The circumstances under which Mr. Prescott's books are produced will be as memorable in literary history as the books themselves will be lasting. The present work embraces, in addition to the History proper, a view of the ancient Mexican civilization, in which Mr. Prescott reverses the order of Robertson, who gives us this portion of his work last. Either method has its advantages. With Robertson, we pursue the natural order of discovery, and first notice the natural features of the country, the productions of the soil, the manners and habits of the natives, their altars and superstitions, as they successively come into the view of the first invaders; and at the close, when the brilliant drama of Cortés is finished, we sit down and review the resources of the land, its pomp and grandeur, and the fatal elements of its weakness. Mr. Prescott admits us at once behind the scenes, anticipates the discoveries of the conquerors, but makes us at home in the country, so that we may weigh impartially the difficulties, dangers, and prowess of the little army of Cortés. The introductory portion of his work, Mr. Prescott tells us, has cost him as much labor and time as the remainder of the History. It is admirably prepared. Learning never appeared more amiable than in these well-informed, picturesque pages. Let the reader, who would note the advancement of historical science, compare the details of these chapters with the similar portion of Robertson's History, (which all value and honor who can appreciate an eloquent, harmonious style, and a refined spirit of observation,) and observe the new and important illustrations Mr. Prescott has added.

This work is of a still more popular character than the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, and we anticipate for it a still wider circulation. It is admirably printed, and furnished with maps and portraits. The engravings are very spirited.

We shall probably take occasion again to speak of this elegant and valuable work.

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6. *The Æneid of Virgil, with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, a Metrical Clavis, and an Historical, Geographical, and Mythological Index.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 942. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

THE laborious diligence of Professor Anthon has just produced a new volume of his series of illustrations of the classics, in a full and completely annotated edition of the Æneid. The Georgics and Eclogues are reserved for a separate volume. And a rare couple of volumes they will prove, enriched by the labors of the best European scholarship, and acceptable alike to young and old. Verily the children of this generation should be wiser than their forefathers with such "appliances and means to boot." Here, in addition to the storehouse of learning—the essence of no small library—are the most literal pictorial illustrations of former medals, coins, vases, antique sculpture, of the dress, manners, public monuments and mythology of the ancients, executed in the finest outline, and introduced among the notes just where they are most needed to aid and give life to the text. In this respect the present work is beautiful and unique. If such incentives, with such a book of poetry appealing to the eye, the ear, and the imagination, do not create scholars by inspiring a taste for liberal learning, there is no charm in literature. Such a book is a Virgilian library in itself. How it would have been treasured, the pillow-companion by night, the bosom friend in many a solitary walk and quiet hour by day, if such a book could have been produced at the revival of classic literature in Europe! These Roman vases which now adorn the page were then buried in Herculaneum and Pompeii; no zealous antiquarian had removed the tangled bushes and way-side dust which covered the monuments and inscriptions of Rome; no German students had solved the mysteries of prosody. Where, indeed, was the German language—which now echoes the nicest distinctions of the classic literature in the most varied metres—at that time? Charles V. said it was the language for horses. It is something after all to be a modern—to stand on the shoulders of the old giants. Even now we fear we live an age too soon. Here, in Professor Anthon's notes to the text, perplexities are solved, elegantly and intellectually, which in our earlier day were indoctrinated by the birch and ferula. There is something about the books which deserves to be noticed. They make teachers as well as scholars! There is mental capital enough for the stock in trade of a whole academy.

This is not only the best library edition, but the very cheapest school-boy edition of the Æneid that has been published. The same

information contained in this volume is not accessible to the young student in any other shape, for much of it is otherwise locked up in foreign languages, and that portion of it which may be obtained in English would cost tenfold the price of this book. In fine, this is a volume of nearly *a thousand pages*, of which the text in large open type forms about one-fourth, and the notes, in very compact small type, occupy the remaining *three-fourths*. The reader can judge better from this fact than from any other statement that could be made in a brief literary notice, of the learned industry of the author.

Professor Anthon's series of school and college classics now comprises fifteen volumes, including the necessary elementary works—editions of Sallust, Cesar, Cicero, Horace, and the Greek Reader, the Classical Dictionary, and the Dictionary of Antiquities. The whole are printed and bound uniformly.

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7. *Mesopotamia and Assyria, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time; with Illustrations of their Natural History.* By J. Baillie Fraser, Esq., author of "An Historical and Descriptive Account of Persia," &c. With a map and engravings. 18mo., pp. 336. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

The land of Abraham, of Nineveh and Babylon, of the conquerors of the apostate kingdoms of Judah and Israel, must possess peculiar interest to the mind of the Christian; and the qualifications of the author of the present account are such as to warrant the confidence of the public in him as a faithful and exact writer. He has sought his materials, in addition to the sacred Scriptures, throughout the works of ancient and modern travellers and historians: and in his personal observations of the country he has found much to throw light upon the subject. The drawings which illustrate the volume were made by himself on the spot; and everything about the volume bears the evidence of truth and accuracy.

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8. *American Biography.* By Jeremy Belknap, D. D. *With Additions and Notes.* By F. M. Hubbard. 3 vols., 18mo., pp. 370, 333, and 315. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

Dr. Belknap's work has, for the last forty years, been referred to as a standard authority by more recent writers on American history; and it is a worthy monument of the fidelity, correct judgment, candor, elegance of style, and industry of the author. The present edition has been enlarged by copious and valuable notes, comprising the results of a close comparison of the original work with the authorities used by Dr. Belknap, and a careful examination of documents and works not accessible to him. These notes add greatly to the value of the work. Among the more prominent of the persons noticed are Columbus, De Soto, Raleigh, Gilbert, De Fuca, Champlain, Lord Delaware, Gosnold, Robinson, Gilbert, Carver, Winslow, Standish, Winthrop, Lord Baltimore, Penn, &c.

9. *Natural History: The Elephant as he exists in a wild State, and as he has been made subservient, in Peace and War, to the Purposes of Man.* 18mo., pp. 300. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE elephant is one of the most remarkable creations of the divine skill. His size, strength, and sagacity, his docility and acuteness, demand our reverent admiration of his Creator; while the reflection that man, by the faculties with which he has been endowed, has been able to tame and render subservient to himself this formidable animal, should tend to increase our wonder and awe in view of the Mind which framed all things. The present volume comprises a very full and particular account of the elephant, his habits and characteristics; and it is filled with entertainment and instruction. The anecdotes related are of the most amusing cast; and the volume is embellished by thirty-seven well-executed engravings.

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10. *Polynesia; or, an Historical Account of the Principal Islands in the South Sea, including New-Zealand; the Introduction of Christianity; and the Actual Condition of the Inhabitants in regard to Civilization, Commerce, and the Arts of Social Life.* By the Right Rev. M. RUSSELL, LL. D. and D. C. L., (of St. John's College, Oxford,) author of "View of Ancient and Modern Egypt," "Palestine, or the Holy Land," "Nubia and Abyssinia," "History and Present Condition of the Barbary States," &c. With a map and vignette. 18mo., pp. 362. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

DR. RUSSELL'S contributions to popular literature have been of the most attractive and valuable character; and his present subject is full of interest, both on account of recent political movements in the South Sea Islands, and of the wonderful spread of Christianity there since its first promulgation by missionaries in 1795. In one or two instances, the author being a clergyman of the Church of England, has permitted his peculiar views of church ordinances to be prominent; but not sufficiently to impair in the least the value of the book. The groups described in this volume are the Georgian, Society, Marquesas, Low, Austral, Hervey, Tonga, Fegee, Navigators, New-Hebrides, Louisiade, Solomon, Ladrone, Sandwich, and New-Zealand; and the field which it occupies, with the able manner in which it is cultivated, cannot fail to render the work extensively popular.

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11. *Perilous Adventures; or, Remarkable Instances of Courage, Perseverance, and Suffering.* By R. A. DAVENPORT. 18mo., pp. 335. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS volume comprises historical notices of remarkable personal adventures, and is designed, aside from its intrinsic interest, to show the power of the human mind to overcome difficulties and dangers, when exerted with self-possession and perseverance. The various accounts contained in the work describe the adventures of Prince

Charles Edward, the first Pretender; J. J. Cazanova, a Venetian state prisoner; Charles II., in his attempt to recover the throne; the earl of Nithsdale, one of the Jacobin rebels of 1715; Stanislaus Leczinski, the good but unfortunate king of Poland; and Cortés, in his expulsion from and reconquest of Mexico.

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12. *Hand-book for Readers and Students, intended as a Help to Individuals, Associations, School Districts, and Seminaries of Learning, in the Selection of Works for Reading, Investigation, or Professional Study.* By A. Potter, D. D. In three parts:—I. Courses of Study. II. Standard Authors. III. Books for Popular and Miscellaneous Libraries. 18mo., pp. 330. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This work supplies an important desideratum. The difficulty experienced by young associations in furnishing themselves with suitable libraries is very great; and private individuals, whether of limited or ample means, have found it not an easy task to dispose of their money to proper advantage, or to make a well-assorted and useful selection of books. Dr. Potter having been requested by the Young Men's Association of the State of New-York to prepare a work which should obviate the want thus created, has given the present volume to the public; and for the intended purpose it is extremely valuable. It is interspersed with very useful suggestions in reference to the selection of books, and contains, wherever practicable and necessary, short notes on the scope, design, and value of the works indicated.

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13. *Woman in America; being an Examination into the Moral and Intellectual Condition of American Female Society.* By Mrs. A. J. Graves. 18mo., pp. 262. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a book eminently worthy of the attention of all females. It is intended to awaken them to a sense of their true duties, and to stimulate them to take their proper position in society. It examines the various classes of American females, as domestic, fashionable, religious, intellectual, and morally great women; and abounds in the most instructive lessons, and in the purest inculcations. There is a spirit of earnest piety running through the work, which cannot fail to enforce the truths set forth.

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14. *Vegetable Substances used for the Food of Man.* 18mo., pp. 271. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is devoted to an interesting and instructive subject. It is intended to give every information in reference to our daily food, showing the original locality of the plants producing the various substances, their subsequent diffusion, the modifications they have undergone, their different properties, the methods adopted for their cultivation, their commercial importance, &c. It forms a very curious and entertaining work; and teaches, if we will but heed them, lessons of

the divine goodness and wisdom. The principal items treated of are wheat, rye, oats, rice, maize, buckwheat, potatoes, arrow-root, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sago, peas, beans, turnips, carrots, parsnips, beets, cabbages, spinach, asparagus, onions, lettuce, mustard, cresses, celery, radishes, pie-plant, parsley, mint, thyme, sage, marjoram, balm, mushrooms, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, ginger, pepper, allspice, coffee, cocoa, tea, sugar, &c. The volume is illustrated by 45 engravings.

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15. *Essays, Moral, Economical, and Political.* By FRANCIS BACON, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. And *The Conduct of the Understanding.* By JOHN LOCKE, ESQ. With an *Introductory Essay*, by A. POTTER, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Union College. 18mo., pp. 299. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

A FAVOR is conferred upon the youth of our land in the publication of these excellent and popular portions of the works of the great philosophers, Bacon and Locke. There is so much of the flippant and trifling in modern education, so much of the superficial and trivial in the works now issued for popular use, that the appearance of works of such solid stamp and sound sense as this is extremely gratifying to the true friend of the people. We trust its circulation will be commensurate with its value.

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16. *Memoir of the Life, Labors, and Extensive Usefulness of the Rev. Christmas Evans: a distinguished Minister of the Baptist Denomination in Wales. Extracted from the Welsh Memoir.* By DAVID PHILLIPS. 12mo., pp. 258. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

THE subject of this Memoir was an extraordinary man. We cannot give a better idea of him, and of the book in which his history is sketched, than will be gathered from the following *recommendation* of the Rev. Dr. Williams:—

"The name of Christmas Evans is already widely known. The extract from one of his sermons, generally published under the title of the '*Specimen of Welsh Preaching*,' has been sufficient, among Christians speaking the English language, to establish his character as a preacher of sublime genius, and of lofty powers of imagination. For his genius and power in the pulpit, Robert Hall is well known to have had him in high admiration. It is not perhaps as generally known among American Christians that he was equally eminent for piety and ministerial usefulness. The Memoir prepared for the use of English readers by his countryman, the Rev. D. Phillips, as exhibiting his unremitted labors, and the blessing of God that accompanied them, and the simplicity, devotedness, and disinterestedness of his character, will be found, in the judgment of the subscriber, one of interest and value.

"To the Baptists of the United States it may have also still another recommendation, as bringing to their view the character and habits of the numerous and flourishing churches of their denomination in the principality of Wales."

17. *The History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, 1688. By Thomas Vowler Short, D. D., Bishop of Sodor and Man. First American, from the third English edition. 8vo., pp. 352. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1843.

The History of the Church of England is a portion of ecclesiastical history which has been variously drawn out. By the admirers of the Establishment its faults have been concealed or extenuated, and by its enemies the elements of true Christianity which it contains have been purposely veiled or sadly misunderstood. A few writers like Bishops Burnet and Short, though members of the English Church, have nevertheless written with a good degree of impartiality. They have not hesitated to acknowledge that there are some things wanting to make that Church strictly conformable to the primitive pattern. They confess and mourn her want of discipline. They feel the trammels of the state, and sigh for some melioration of her cumbrous ceremonies. And they are willing to allow to "dissenters" some share in the covenanted mercies of God. The writings of such Churchmen we peruse with pleasure, and are happy to see them reissued from the American press. The publishers of Bishop Short's History have rendered a valuable service to American Christians, by giving them an edition of this well-written and generally impartial history of the English hierarchy in a convenient form and at a small price. To all students of the ecclesiastical affairs of Great Britian we most cordially recommend Bishop Short's History.

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18. *Ecclesiastes Angelicanus: being a Treatise on Preaching, as adapted to a Church of England Congregation: in a Series of Letters to a Young Clergyman.* By Rev. W. Gresley, M. A., late Student in Christ Church. First American from the second London edition. With Supplementary Notes, collected and arranged by Rev. Benjamin J. Haight, M. A. 12mo., pp. 340. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: G. S. Appleton. 1843.

Though, as might be expected, from the title of the book before us, it contains canons on sermonizing not precisely suited to a Methodist preacher, yet it is, upon the whole, a work of great merit, and well worth the study of all young ministers. The author suits his advices to the plan of "writing sermons" and "preaching" them from the paper. And upon his plan few in this country will doubt the propriety of his advice: "Always write your own sermons." For if men will "*preach*" *written sermons*, surely they ought to write them themselves.

Many of the principles presented by the author are equally applicable to written and oral discourses—to preaching with and without notes; and hence the work may be profitably read by extemporaneous preachers. We might take several slight exceptions to this book, but we readily waive them for the sake of the sound philosophical, rhetorical, and Christian maxims which it contains. The minister who follows out its leading principles will not fail to be a successful ambassador of Christ.

19. *Modern History*, from the French of M. Mitchelet. *With an Introduction.* By A. Potter, D. D. 18mo., pp. 433. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is designed as a text-book in modern history for seminaries of learning, as well as a work for general reading. It is free from the general fault of such concise sketches, and invested with a considerable degree of spirit and interest. It occupies the period from 1453 to 1789, and is written with much candor and judgment. Dr. Potter's Introduction sets forth the merits of the History in a clear and advantageous light.

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20. *The Writings of Jane Taylor.* In three volumes. New-York: Saxon & Miles. Boston: Saxon & Pierce.

These volumes embrace the memoirs and correspondence, and the miscellaneous productions—in prose and verse—of a most pious and gifted lady. There is much here calculated to improve the understanding, to rectify the life, and to please the imagination. The vices and follies of youth are graphically painted and strongly rebuked, and parents are presented with a variety of examples and facts, which, if well considered, will not fail to help them in the important and highly-responsible business of directing their offspring in the way they should go. The volumes are neatly got up, and will constitute a pleasing and useful appendage to the family store of books with which every household should be provided.

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21. *The Christian Student.—Memoir of Isaac Jennison, Jun., late a Student of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.* Containing his Biography, Diary, and Letters. By Edward Otheman. 18mo., pp. 271. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

This is emphatically a *good* book. The subject of this Memoir was an ardently-pious and highly-promising young man. He was cut down in the morning of life—at the opening of a career of extensive usefulness. But he has left upon record a portrait of his pious breathings and struggles, from which, we trust, many of our youth will derive profitable instruction. How sublime a spectacle have we here! A youth diving into the very depths of perfect love! May the spirit of this manual be diffused through our schools and colleges!

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22. *Memoir of Miss Catharine Reynolds, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y. With Selections from her Diary and Letters.* Edited by Rev. George Coles. 12mo., pp. 212. New-York: Published for the proprietors, at the Methodist Book Room, 200 Mulberry-street. 1844.

This is an admirable volume. The subject was a most gifted and devoted young lady. Her pious reflections while under God's chastening hand, present most edifying specimens of the sovereignty of grace. The triumphant joy with which she gradually approached the grave, and the courage with which she met her last foe, exhibit the most lucid proof that she had followed no "cunningly-devised fable." How advantageously does such a mind contrast with the class of vain, novel-reading young ladies of the present age! Our friend, the editor, has arranged and presented the matter in fine taste, and his own contributions are, as might be expected, in perfect keeping with the chaste and beautiful productions of his subject. We most heartily recommend this work to all, but especially to the female portion of our readers.

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23. *The Christian's Inheritance: or a Collection of the Promises of Scripture.* By Samuel Clarke, D. D. 18mo., pp. 192. New-York: Saxon & Miles. Boston: Saxon, Price & Co. 1843.

An excellent pocket companion. The promises of Scripture are here arranged under appropriate heads. A Christian will scarcely be brought into a state of mind, in which by the aid of this manual he will not be conducted to a rich store of blessed promises in God's word, which will be applicable to his condition, and afford him support.

REV. WILLIAM RICE.

of the New York Conference.

Published by G. Lane & P. P. Sandford 200 Mulberry St. N.Y.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1844.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church: principally from the Collection of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., &c., &c.*

THERE are, comparatively, few faultless hymns. The reason is obvious. In the first place, although a vast amount of what is called poetry has been written, and almost everybody has perpetrated more or less rhyme, the world has produced *few poets*. As the *halt* and the *maimed* were unfit for sacrifice, so the medium through which praise is offered to the Most High should be *without blemish*. Common-place thoughts, feeble expressions, unmeaning expletives, cost nothing. When tortured, for the service of the sanctuary, into limping doggerel, and slipshod jingling, they become an—abomination.

Again: something more than poetry is needed It is not enough that he who versifies for the church militant has sipped from the waters of Helicon, or plumed his wings on Mount Parnassus. He must be familiar with Calvary, and have been baptized with fire from Heaven's own altar. In a word, none but he who is both a poet and a Christian *can* write a hymn worthy to be used in that service which is common to the worshipers in the upper and the lower sanctuary.

> "*They* sing the Lamb in *hymns* above,
> And *we* in *hymns* below."

The *subject* of a hymn, we remark in the next place, should be evangelical. There are many passages of the Old Testament Scriptures that, having been versified, may subserve a useful purpose, but are totally unfit for the public worship of a Christian congregation. Even the Psalms of David, beautiful and appropriate as many of them are, contain sentiments that do not seem to be in unison with the great law of love as enforced and exemplified by

our blessed Redeemer. Take, for instance, from the Protestant Episcopal version, Psalm lxix, 22:—

"Their tables, therefore, to their health
Shall prove a snare, a trap their wealth;
Perpetual darkness seize their eyes!
And sudden blasts their hopes surprise.
On them thou shalt thy fury pour
Till thy fierce wrath their race devour,
And make their house a dismal cell,
Where none will e'er vouchsafe to dwell!"

Or the following, from Watts, Psalm vii, 8:—

"For me their malice digg'd a pit,
But there themselves are cast;
My God makes all their mischief light
On their own heads at last.
That cruel, persecuting race,
Must feel his dreadful sword;
Awake, my soul, and praise the grace
And justice of the Lord."

And from the same author, Psalm xxxv, 1:—

"Now plead my cause, almighty God,
With all the sons of strife,
And fight against the men of blood
Who fight against my life.
Draw out thy spear, and stop their way,
Lift thine avenging rod;
But to my soul in mercy say,
'I am thy Saviour God.'
They plant their snares to catch my feet,
And nets of mischief spread;
Plunge the destroyers in the pit
That their own hands have made," &c.

We have not selected these specimens for the purpose of finding fault with the versification; nor of calling in question the inspiration under which they were originally written; but to illustrate our meaning of the word *evangelical*, when applied to poetry prepared for the use of a Christian congregation. We say such sentiments are unsuited to the dispensation under which it is our happiness to live; and although the leading denominations* of our country

* The Protestant Episcopal Church, by a standing ordinance, decrees that "a certain portion or portions of the Psalms of David in metre *shall* be sung" whenever God is praised in their congregations. Their version is far inferior to that of Watts.

persist in putting this language into the lips of the mixed multitudes who compose their congregations, we contend that such was never the design of the great Head of the church. David was a prophet and a poet. Many of his sentiments are truly evangelical, and form the basis of some of the best hymns in the language; but he lived in a day of comparative darkness; and we have the warrant of the Saviour for saying that he who is least in the kingdom of heaven—that is, under the gospel dispensation—is greater than he. Dr. Watts himself saw the impropriety to which we allude;* and hence omitted to versify many of the Psalms: but with strange pertinacity, the Presbyterian Church in this country requested of Dr. Dwight "to supply the deficiency," as they termed it, by whom it was accordingly done, and the entire collection, thus increased, was officially approved by that body, in the beginning of the present century.

In the next place, hymns should be *sound in sentiment.* We were going to say—orthodox; but there is no hope that the meaning of that word will be agreed upon until we sing the new song in heaven. Thus, with our Calvinistic brethren the following lines of Dr. Watts's one hundred and thirty-eighth Psalm are orthodox:—

> "Grace will complete what grace begins,
> To save from sorrows or from sins:
> *The work that wisdom undertakes*
> *Eternal mercy ne'er forsakes.*"

Of course *we* should question the propriety of putting such language into the lips of a known backslider; especially as verse makes a deep and often ineffaceable impression. Nor should we be willing to take the responsibility of imprinting upon the heart even of him

* The doctor, in the preface to his Hymns and Spiritual Songs, under date of March 3, 1720, makes the following remarks with reference to this subject:

"When we are just entering into an evangelic frame, by some of the glories of the gospel presented in the brightest figures of Judaism, the very next line, perhaps, hath something in it so extremely *Jewish* and cloudy, that it darkens our sight of God the Saviour. Thus, by keeping too close to David in the house of God, the veil of Moses is thrown over our hearts. Some sentences of the Psalmist may compose our spirits to seriousness, and allure us to a sweet retirement within ourselves, but we meet with a following line which so peculiarly belongs but to one action or hour of the life of David or of Asaph, that breaks off our song in the midst; our consciences are affrighted lest we should speak a falsehood unto God.—Far be it from my thoughts to lay aside the book of Psalms in public worship; but it must be acknowledged still, that *there are a thousand lines in it which were not made for a church in our days to assume as its own.*"

who most assuredly standeth these lines by Toplady, which we find in the twentieth edition of Rippon's selection :—

"Our Saviour and Friend
His love shall extend,
It knew no beginning and never shall end:
Whom once he receives,
His Spirit ne'er leaves,
Nor ever repents of the grace that he gives."

Almost involuntarily, when reading such lines, or hearing them sung, we ejaculate the (obsolete ?) prayer of the Psalmist :—"Take not thy Holy Spirit from me." Nor does the sentiment of the following please us any better than the poetry :—

"Behold the potter and the clay,
He forms his vessels as he please (s):
Such is our God, and such are we,
The subjects of his high decrees (s).
May not the sovereign Lord on high
Dispense his favors as he will,
Choose some to life, while others die,
And yet be just and gracious still?"—*Watts.*

As an antidote to similar strains, in the days when controversy waxed hot, the caustic muse of Charles Wesley sung, carrying out the doctrine to its legitimate results, in verses that we think have never been republished in this country :—

"They're d——d for falling short
Of what they could not do;
For not believing the report
Of that which was not true."

And again, to suit the modification which the doctrine had undergone :—

"He did not do the deed,
Some have more mildly raved;
He did not d——n them, but decreed
They never should be saved."

It is vain therefore to hope for uniformity in the sentiments clothed with verse for the use of the various Christian denominations, while such a difference exists in their theological tenets. What we contend for is, that every hymn should not only in subject be evangelical; but that every line should be, when tested by the authorized criterion—sound in sentiment. It is exceedingly unhappy when aught is found in the collection of hymns used by any deno-

mination that has even the semblance of being at variance with the standards of their faith. Nor should the poet be allowed too much latitude in the language used by him. It is not so indispensable that his verse sparkle, as that it be kept pure. Poetry, sung in public congregations, sinks into the soul; and sentiments thus imbibed are regarded by multitudes with reverence scarce inferior to that which belongs only to holy writ. Even truth itself may be so presented as to make a false impression; and while we do not question the literal correctness of the sentiment in the following lines, for instance, we fear that sinners may have been lost by the apparent invitation held out to procrastinate :—

> "Life is the time to serve the Lord,
> The time t' insure the great reward;
> *And while the lamp holds out to burn,*
> *The vilest sinner may return.*"—*Watts.*

Unity is another essential to a perfect hymn. A string of unconnected verses, though the sentiments be unobjectionable and the rhyme faultless, is not a hymn. This is the prevailing characteristic of many specimens of sacred poetry. They are *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis;* they have, in reality, neither beginning, middle, nor end. You may drop a verse here or there; you may make the last first, and the first last; transpose them in any way, and there is no harm done. Take, as an illustration, that expansion of the words of the Psalmist :—"Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee," which has a place in our collection as hymn 109. We select this, not by any means because it is the worst we have met with, but because it is from the pen of an eminent poet, and because the reader may refer to it without our occupying space by transcribing it. The poetry is fully equal to the author's average; and yet, if perhaps we except the first verse, it might be transposed in any way imaginable. The remaining seven verses might, either of them, be omitted; or thrown altogether, and their stations decided by lot. Indeed, the probability is, that the hymn would be improved by such a process. The chances, at any rate, would be against the "lame and impotent conclusion" as it now stands in the miserably-prosaic line :—

> "O Jesus, raise me higher !"

Obsolete and uncommon words should be avoided in poetry designed for the public worship of God. An instance of the former we have in hymn 39 of our collection :—

"Most *pitiful* Spirit of grace;"

and of the latter, in hymn 655:—

"O Source of uncreated heat,
The Father's promised *paraclete*."

The word *pitiful*, as used by Wesley in the former quotation, is in strict accordance with its literal meaning—full of pity; and is withal Scriptural in that sense; but it is more generally used at the present day, improperly we know, but still generally, as equivalent to pitiable, mean, despicable. Of the meaning of the word *paraclete*, we suppose nine-tenths of an ordinary congregation would be profoundly ignorant.

Once more: a hymn should not be too long. Six verses of the short, or common metre, are as many as can, on ordinary occasions, be sung profitably. In this respect many in our collection might have been improved by judicious omissions. Space would have been thereby gained for the admission of others, and a greater variety obtained, without increasing the size of the book.

The great majority of the hymns in our collection are from the pen of Charles Wesley; and the adjective *Wesleyan*, when applied to sacred poetry, conveys an idea no less distinct than when it is used to designate peculiarities of religious doctrine. The lyrics of the Methodist poet are, like the prose of his elder brother—*sui generis;* and as the sermons of the one will ever remain standards of our faith, so the verse of the other will always constitute the peculiar medium through which, as a people, we offer praise to the Most High. Our collection is not confined, however, to the productions of Wesley. We have many of the best of the hymns written by Dr. Watts; a few from Addison, Cowper, Doddridge, Steele, Cennick, and others. They were first selected, arranged, and published by Bishops Coke and Asbury, with such assistance as they saw proper to employ. A second part was prepared by Daniel Hitt, under the supervision of Bishop Asbury, and presented to the General Conference of 1808; by which body it was approved and ordered to be printed.* In the year 1819, the agents, with the assistance of the Book Committee, revised the entire collection, and made a number of alterations, omitting about fifty hymns, and blending the two parts into one. The result of their labors was presented to the General Conference of 1820. The selection thus

* The original title was, "The Methodist Pocket Hymn-Book, revised and improved, designed as a constant Companion for the Pious of all Denominations, collected from various Authors."

prepared has continued, without alteration, until the present day; save that the lamented Emory, while at the head of the Book Concern, made many verbal amendments,* and restored the hymn,—"Am I a soldier of the cross,"—which, by some means, had been left out of its proper place. In 1836 was added the "Supplement," in accordance with the recommendation of the General Conference of 1832.

By this supreme judicatory of our church, whose quadrennial meeting will be held in the month of May next, the propriety of revising our present Hymn-Book will probably be discussed. Two points connected with such discussion may be taken for granted. The first is, that a greater variety in the hymns suitable for public worship is desirable;† and the second, that the book is already sufficiently bulky. It will be a question then for the united wisdom of the church to decide, whether our present collection could not be materially improved without increasing its apparent dimensions? Whether there are not a number of hymns which are seldom if ever used; some that are in fact mere duplicates of others;‡ some that are below mediocrity in their versification; and a few that are questionable in their theology? Might not all such be omitted in future editions, and their places be supplied by others? Might not a great many be abbreviated, and thus rather improved than injured? These are questions that, we think, can be answered only in the affirmative; and if so, a greatly-improved collection could be made by selecting from sources that were inaccessible, and that did not exist, when our present Hymn-Book was prepared. This could be done too without materially affecting the value of the copies now in the hands of our people, which would not be the case were an entirely new selection to be made.

With these views, we have given our collection a patient revision. In the remarks which follow, while it will be our aim to settle the question of authorship of each individual hymn, so far as our

* Among his amendments, we may mention the addition of the final s to the word Jesu, in a great number of places. It was a peculiarity of Charles Wesley to use the words indifferently; and the Wesleyan collection, to this day, we believe, (we have no edition later than 1831,) retains these instances of bad taste and altogether unnecessary corruption of language. What possible advantage can there be in clipping off the s, and reading "*Jesu*, lover of my soul!"

† "Too great a variety of evangelical hymns for public worship," says an eminent divine, "is a thing scarcely conceivable."

‡ Compare hymn 529 with hymn 695; especially verses 2, 3, 4, of the latter, with verses 3, 4, 6, of the former. There is no other instance, in the recent editions, quite so bad.

researches have enabled us to do so; and to intersperse information that may be interesting to the general reader; we wish what we may say on the subject of omitting and superseding hymns now in our collection, to be considered merely as hints to those who may hereafter have it in charge, from the constituted authorities of the church, to prepare for our use a revised Hymn-Book. That this will be done at no very distant date we have no doubt. Our own impression is, that it ought to be done now. Within the last few years, the different leading denominations in our country have all published new and enlarged collections of hymns. They have borrowed freely from all sources; and, although as a *volume of poetry* we have seen none to compare with our own, yet we are unwilling that a just complaint should be heard from any quarter, that the collection used by the largest body of Christians in the Union is deficient in variety, or in adaptedness to every occasion.

It will be understood that those hymns which we pass without comment, and to which we do not assign another authorship, are believed to be Charles Wesley's. We deem it equally due to *them*, and to his fair fame—our most precious legacy—that he be not chargeable with the productions of others.

Hymn 1. We have frequently heard objections to the line in the second part of this hymn:—

"With me, *your chief*, ye then shall know."

We would not have it altered. *He* being dead, yet speaketh; and we love to bring him thus near, and to share with him in the joy arising from the knowledge of sins forgiven.

Hymn 2. This hymn, which is a great favorite in many parts of the United States, was written by *Hart*. It has undergone a few alterations, which are, on the whole, improvements. The first line was, originally,—

"Come, ye sinners, poor and *wretched*;"

and the fourth,—

"Full of pity *join'd with* power."

The second line of the fourth stanza was, in the original, "*Lost and ruin'd*," instead of "*Bruised and mangled by the fall*." A second part, added by *Fountain*, a Baptist missionary, is found in some collections. His first stanza shows in a strong light the difference between the poet and the hymn-maker. He says,—

"Sinners, you are now address-*ed*
In the name of Christ our Lord;

He hath sent a message to you—
Pay attention to his word;
He hath sent it,
Pay attention to his word."

Hymn 3. From this hymn, those who prepared our collection struck out, with propriety, two verses, which are the fourth and fifth in the Wesleyan collection. We would omit our fifth verse, for reasons which will occur to the reader; and verse 7, in which we have the unpoetical word—*acceptable*. The hymn will then contain five verses, ending with what is now the sixth.

Hymn 4. The fourth double stanza may be omitted with propriety.

Hymn 5. In the fifth verse Wesley wrote,—

"The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost
Is ready," &c.

Our book says *are* ready. We prefer the original, implying, as it does, unity in the Godhead. The entire second part, five verses, might be omitted.

Hymn 6. This has been credited to *Toplady;* we believe erroneously. From his hand it received several alterations, and the addition of the following verse:—

"Ye bankrupt debtors, know
The sovereign grace of Heaven;
Though sums immense ye owe,
A free discharge is given:
The year of jubilee," &c.

His alterations are no improvements, and certainly constitute no claim to the authorship of the hymn.

Hymns 7, 8, might both, perhaps, be superseded by others.

Hymn 11. We know not by whom these lines were written.

Hymn 12. The last five verses might, with propriety, be omitted.

Hymn 13. This is a paraphrase of Isaiah lv, 1, &c., by *Dr. Watts*. Three verses have been, with evident propriety, omitted in our selection.

Hymn 14. We would omit the third stanza of part first, and let the hymn end with the first stanza of part second.

Hymn 17. An evident improvement, so far at least as unity of sentiment is regarded, would be made in this hymn by omitting the latter half of the third stanza, and inserting in its place the last four lines of the fourth; with which the hymn may properly end.

Hymn 19 was written by *Watts*. It is a part of his version

of the fifty-first Psalm. The alterations generally were made with taste. In the first verse the doctor says,—

"Lord, *I* am vile," &c.;

and

"Corrupts *the* race," &c.

In the third,—

"O make me wise betimes to *spy*."

And in the last,—

"And make my broken *bones* rejoice."

Hymn 20. *Fawcett*, the author of this hymn, wrote, (verse 3,)—

"Your way is dark and leads to *hell*;"

and

"Can you in endless torments *dwell*."

We have also, for no good reason, substituted the word *naked* for "crooked" in the fourth verse.

Hymn 21. Verses 1, 2, are good poetry and expressive; as however they have no very intimate connection with the rest of the hymn, and it might be wanted for other than an *evening* sacrifice, we should prefer to omit them, and to commence with what is now verse 3:—

"Is here a soul that knows thee not?"

Hymn 22. The sentiment in verse 6 is but a repetition of that in verse 4, and might be spared without injury to the hymn.

Hymn 24. An error, which is not in the Wesleyan collection, runs through all the American editions that we have seen. It is the superfluous word *is* in the fifth line of the third stanza. The entire hymn is beautiful. Perhaps some of the expressions in the last stanza are too strong for ordinary occasions, especially the lines,—

"Let it not my Lord displease
That I would die to be thy guest."

He is a bold man who will undertake to alter it; and the stanza must remain as it is or be omitted entirely.

Hymn 25. In verse 6 we have again the unpoetical word—acceptable. It has a very harsh sound in many tunes, especially when the first syllable is dwelt upon:—"Make this the *ax*." Some poet may suggest an alteration. If not, read,—

"Make this *to me the joyful* hour."

Hymn 26. In this hymn there is a remarkable want of that prime

characteristic—unity. The sentiments are in general good, although the connection between some of the verses is not very apparent; as for instance in verse 8:—

"With labor faint thou wilt not fail,
Or wearied, give the sinner o'er,
Till in this earth thy judgments dwell,
And, born of God, I sin no more."

Hymn 27. This is *Watts's*, with alterations, and the omission of one verse.

Hymns 28, 29. From each of these, one stanza (the third) might be omitted without material injury.

Hymn 30. Two stanzas of this beautiful hymn, as found in the Wesleyan collection, have been omitted in our book. It is not necessary to add them now; and although the hymn as it stands is too long to be sung at once, we cannot recommend any further omission. It may very conveniently be divided at the end of the third stanza.

Hymn 31. For other reasons than the length of the hymn, we should advocate the omission of the third and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 32. We dislike the expression in verse 5,—

"That dear disfigured face;"

and the prayer in verse 6,—

"Wrap me in thy crimson vest."

Were we to omit verses 5, 6, 7, and substitute the word *might* for "I," in verse 8, it would please us better. It would then read,—

"Didst thou not in our flesh appear,
And live, and die below,
That I might now perceive thee near,
And my Redeemer know—
Might view the Lamb in his own light,
Whom angels dimly see;
And gaze, transported at the sight,
To all eternity?"

Hymn 33. This hymn would not be materially injured by the omission of the fourth and fifth stanzas.

Hymn 35. We know not who *first* affixed the name of *Cowper* to this beautiful poem; nor whether it was designed as a compliment to him, or to Charles Wesley, its undoubted author. It seems to be a settled point that Cowper is to have the credit of it hereafter, as each succeeding compiler seems to be struck with its beauty, and follows in the footsteps of his predecessors.

Hymn 36. The last stanza is not found in the Wesleyan collection. It is quite equal to the rest.

Hymn 39. In the fourth line of the first stanza our collection has substituted "in" for *and*. Wesley has it,—

"And bring me assurance *and* rest."

In the last line of the same stanza the substitution of *thy* for "the" is unhappy. Wesley wrote,—

"And sprinkle his heart with *the* blood."

The address is to the Holy Spirit; inattention to which fact has perhaps caused the alteration. We should incline to the omission of the fourth and fifth stanzas.

Hymn 41. Two errors, perhaps in the first instance typographical, have crept into this beautiful hymn. In the sixth line of the first stanza we have it,—

"A covert from *this* tempest be,"

instead of

"A covert from *the* tempest," &c.

In the fourth stanza, at the end of line 6, Wesley placed a semicolon; in ours there is a comma, which very materially alters the sense. Perhaps the line,

"I shall hang upon my God,"

might be softened. Otherwise the hymn is faultless.

Hymn 43. The third stanza might be omitted.

Hymns 44, 45. Great liberty has been taken with these hymns of *Dr. Watts*. Much as we dislike alterations not absolutely necessary in the poetry of one so eminent as the doctor, and especially of one belonging to another communion; in the instances before us, perhaps it were best to leave them as they are in our book. They have become familiar to our people, and a restoration would seem strange. If the reader will compare the last verse of hymn 45 with the following, he will incline to the opinion that the alteration in this case was no improvement:—

"*Then shall our active spirits* move;
Upward our souls shall rise;
With hands of faith, and wings of love,
We'll fly and take the prize."

Hymn 47. The second and third stanzas might be omitted.

Hymn 49. This is by an unknown author. The poetry is of very humble pretensions.

Hymns 50, 51. These, containing each eight verses, long measure, may be divided into two equal parts. The fiftieth at the end of verse 4, and the second part to commence :—

"*Jesus*, a word, a look from thee," &c.

The fifty-first in a similar manner, ending with verse 4, and the second part commencing :—

"Though eighteen hundred years are past
Since *Christ* did in the flesh appear,
His tender mercies," &c.

Hymn 56. The entire eight verses of this hymn might be omitted, and their place occupied by others better adapted to public worship.

Hymn 57. The second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas might be omitted.

Hymn 58. Omit the fourth verse.

Hymn 63. This is a beautiful poem. It is divided into two parts, each containing ten verses, and both, consequently, too long to be sung in public worship. It might be divided into four; the first to end with the fourth verse, and the fourth to begin with verse 7 of part second.

Hymn 64. Verse 6 of this hymn might be omitted. There is something to our ear unpleasant in the line,—

"My God through Jesus *pacified*."

Wesley has it,—

"My God *in* Jesus pacified,"

which is better; but the hymn ends very well without the verse.

Hymn 66 would be improved by the omission of verse 3.

Hymn 67. Verse 6 of part first seems to be needed, if by some means it might be converted into poetry, which it is not.

Hymn 68 is long, but in too lofty a strain for the hand of criticism. It must stand as it is.

Hymn 69. Verse 2 of part first is objectionable, and very few, we suppose, can sing it, or the latter lines of verse 5, part second, with the spirit and the understanding. Perhaps the space occupied by the entire hymn might be filled, if not with better poetry, with sentiments better adapted to a public congregation.

Hymn 71. Verses 4, 6, 7, might be omitted.

Hymn 72. This is the latter part of the two hundred and ninetieth of the Wesleyan collection. The line,

"My God, my Saviour, and my *spouse*,"

is objectionable, and not knowing how to mend it we would omit the entire hymn.

Hymn 74. This is one of Charles Wesley's spirited translations from the *German*. Others from the same source will be noted as they occur.

Hymn 75 is by *Addison*.

Hymn 76. This hymn, written by *Dr. Doddridge*, has undergone numerous alterations. The first verse as written by the author is:—

> "*Lord shed a beam* of heavenly day
> To *melt* this stubborn *stone* away;
> *Now* thaw, with rays of love divine,
> This heart—this frozen heart of mine."

Instead of the vapid iteration of the word "something," as we have it, in the fifth verse, the author says,—

> "But ONE can yet perform the deed;
> That *One* in all his grace I need," &c.

Hymn 78. The second line of verse first is a strong hyperbole; and the entire hymn, being very similar to the one immediately preceding, might well be spared.

Hymn 80. The first part of this hymn might end with the third stanza; the fourth and fifth are unequal. The second part is good, and there is nothing in the whole range of sacred poetry more striking than the closing stanza.

Hymn 81. Verses 5 and 6 may be omitted.

Hymn 82 may be divided into two equal parts.

Hymn 83. Stanzas 4 and 5 may be spared.

Hymn 84. The concluding stanza is not in the Wesleyan collection, and may be omitted without injury.

Hymn 85. The second and fourth stanzas may be omitted.

Hymn 86. This hymn is not in the Wesleyan collection. We know not the author, nor exactly what to do with it. The first part appears to be a favorite with many of our people—perhaps on account of the metre. Its theology does not quadrate exactly with the doctrines of Methodism. The second part, which seems to be less admired, we should vote for striking out also. It is beneath criticism.

Hymn 87 would not be materially injured by omitting stanza 4.

Hymn 88. We know not the author of this hymn. Perhaps the line,

> "Butter and honey did I eat,"

might be altered for the better; and the last line of verse 6 would be improved by substituting the word *how* for *now*.

Hymn 89 is *Cowper's*, with a few slight alterations that are of little consequence.

Hymn 90 is a part of *Dr. Watts's* nervous version of the fifty-first Psalm.

Hymn 92. Intermediate verses, amounting to one half of this hymn, as found in the Wesleyan collection, have been judiciously omitted.

Hymn 93. The prosaic line in verse 4,

"Fury is not in thee,"

mars the beauty of the hymn. Perhaps no great injury would be done by leaving out the second and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 94. Verses 2, 5, 6, might be omitted.

Hymns 95 to 100 inclusive are unobjectionable. In 99 occurs an instance, of which there are several in Wesley's poetry, where the word *Spirit* is crowded into one syllable. It is unhappy. The line,

"And done thy loving Spirit despite,"

might be altered to

"And to thy Spirit done despite."

The word despite in this connection is frequent in Wesley's poetry. It is Scriptural.

Hymn 101. The line in the third stanza,

"It is not my desire, but thine,"

is susceptible of an emendation. We would read,—

"*Not only* my desire, but thine."

Hymn 102. The expression,

"Ah! canst thou find it in thy heart,"

is perhaps too familiar. The stanza might be omitted.

Hymn 103. The third stanza is harsh, and if (with the seventh) it were omitted the hymn would be long enough.

Hymn 104, with the exception of the first stanza, is below Wesley's general average. The word *displacence* is not English, and to emphasize it on the first syllable, as is here requisite, is uncouth. The line,

"A *keener appetite* for thee,"

is hardly proper to put into the lips of a mixed congregation. The entire hymn might be spared, or materially modified.

Hymn 105. Omit the fourth stanza.

Hymn 107 is in Wesley's favorite style. We cannot spare any

part of it. Two little alterations seem to have been made without any kind of necessity. In the second stanza Wesley has it,—

"Thy *grace* is always nigh."

In ours, "thy *blood*." In the fourth stanza, the word "*buy*" has been substituted for the word *gain*, with no advantage to the sentiment or the poetry.

Hymn 108. In this hymn, two stanzas, which are the third and fourth in the Wesleyan collection, have been with propriety omitted in our book. The hymn is faultless with the exception of the last line of the first stanza. We can never be reconciled to reducing the third person of the Trinity to one syllable—Spirt for Spirit.

Hymn 109 is by *Dr. Watts*. The only alteration that has been made is the substitution of the interjection "O" for the adjective *dear*, in the last line. To this the doctor himself would not, probably, have objected.

Hymn 110. This would end quite as well at the sixth verse. The seventh and eighth are unequal, and appear rather out of place.

Hymn 111. Verses 6 and 7 may be spared.

Hymn 113 is in a metre of which we have perhaps too many. The phrase, "woman's seed," is frequent, but objectionable when used as in the first stanza.

Hymn 114. Perhaps the substitution of the word *and* for "*love*," in the third line of the second stanza, would be an improvement.

Hymn 115. This is *Watts's* version of the sixty-third Psalm. It is in his happiest vein. Three verses have been omitted; and several alterations have been made, which are on the whole, perhaps, improvements. Watts wrote,—

"*My* life itself, without thy love,
No taste or pleasure *could* afford;
'Twould *but* a tiresome burden prove,
If I were banish'd from *the* Lord."

The reader may compare it with the fourth verse in our book.

Hymn 117, with our consent, would be omitted.

Hymn 121. We do not find this in the Wesleyan collection. The line,

"With thy *sap* my spirit feed,"

appears to strain the metaphor. The sentiment in the latter part of the third verse we have, repeatedly, in other hymns.

Hymn 122. This is by *Hammond*.

Hymn 123. The five concluding verses of this hymn are probably but seldom used in public congregations. It might end very properly with verse 6.

Hymn 124. This is by an unknown author. The sentiments are common-place.

Hymns 126, 127. These two are one (one hundred and sixty-third) in the Wesleyan collection, with the exception of the fourth verse of the one hundred and twenty-sixth, which appears to have been added in this country.

Hymn 128. This is evidently Charles Wesley's, but is not in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book. As it contains eight verses, perhaps the second and third might be omitted.

Hymn 129. This is by *Dr. Watts*. It is so well known among our people that it would be unwise to restore it to its original state, nor indeed is it necessary.

Hymn 131. In the third verse the Wesleyan collection reads:—

"*All my wants thou wouldst relieve*
In this th' accepted hour."

The third line of verse 5 commences with "*for*" instead of "*and*." The sixth is better than ours:—

"*How would my fainting soul* rejoice
Could *I* but see thy face:
Now let me hear thy quickening voice,
And taste thy pardoning grace!"

Hymn 132. These two verses were written by the *founder of Methodism*. It were sacrilege to touch them.

Hymn 134. This is a beautiful poetic prayer. Perhaps we shall be deemed fastidious in our objection to the last word of the last verse, when applied to Him whose name is love; especially as we have no substitute to offer.

Hymn 137. We have not met with this in any other collection. The line,

"We long t' *experience* all thy name,"

is not Wesleyan. If the hymn must be retained, the seventh verse at least may be spared. The transition from "*our* souls" to "*mine* eyes" is rather precipitate, as is the change from "*standing*" to "*taking seats*" in the verse preceding: but the whole hymn is faulty.

Hymn 138 is a paraphrase on a part of the Revelation. It is not in the Wesleyan collection. It is objectionable; especially the fourth verse:—

"A golden girdle binds his *breast*,
Whence streams of consolation flow,
Milk for his new-born babes, who rest
In him, nor other comfort know."

The entire hymn might well be superseded.

Hymn 139. We are in doubt as to the authorship of these lines. It is a matter of no great consequence. Perhaps it may remain, as it is in a metre exceedingly rare in hymnology.

Hymn 140. This is a part of *Watts's* version of the one hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm. We prefer, perhaps from early association, the doctor's own language. In the first verse he wrote:—

"*In all my vast concerns with* thee,
In vain my soul would try
To shun thy presence, *Lord*, or flee," &c.

In verse 4 the doctor wrote:—

"*Enclosed* on every side."

This is better in our judgment than the word "beset," as we have it.

Hymn 141. This is one of Charles Wesley's translations from the German.

Hymn 142. "Soul," for "*souls*," in the second stanza, is probably a typographical error that has been perpetuated in our collection.

Hymn 143. This has been omitted in the English collection. The third stanza would be improved by reading:—

"Thy loving, pow'rful Spirit shed;
Speak thou our sins forgiven:
And haste, throughout the lump to spread
The sanctifying leaven."

Hymn 145. By omitting the third and fourth stanzas we should get rid of the prosaic line, and unscriptural phrase,

"And fix thy *agent* in our heart;"

as well as the strong expression, "God-commanding;" at the same time the unity of sentiment would be as well preserved.

Hymn 146. For other reasons than that the rhyme at the close of each stanza, save one, is faulty, we would omit this hymn entirely.

Hymn 148. The second, fourth, and sixth stanzas being omitted, this hymn would sustain no injury.

Hymn 150. The expressions in the eighth and ninth verses of this hymn,

"Brought them to the birth in vain,"

and,

"Bid every struggling child be born,"

are to a Christian perfectly intelligible; and the thought, especially in times of revival, appropriate. The language might be uttered

in secret prayer, but is scarcely proper for singing. We would close the hymn with verse 5.

Hymn 151. We suppose this to be but seldom used in our congregations. We pray that the time may never again come when it will be appropriate.

The hymns under the head of "Prayer and Watchfulness," from the one hundred and fifty-third to the one hundred and seventy-fifth, inclusive, are immeasurably superior to any others of that character in the language. With the exception of the one hundred and sixty-first, which is *Watts's*, the one hundred and seventieth, which is by an unknown author, and the one hundred and seventy-fourth, which was written by *Hart*, they are all Charles Wesley's. The most of them have been, with alterations, but generally without acknowledgment, transcribed into the more recent collections of our sister churches. Two or three of them are sufficiently long to be divided, but none of them need the pruning-knife.

Hymn 161 was written, so says tradition, by the good doctor, after the unsuccessful issue of a love adventure.

It may perhaps amuse the reader to compare the first stanza of hymn 164, as it stands in our book, with the same in the Wesleyan collection :—

> "*How many pass* the guilty night
> In revelling and frantic mirth ;
> The creature *is their* sole delight,
> *Their* happiness the things of earth :
> *For us*, suffice the season past ;
> We choose the better part at last."

Hymn 182. We would omit the third and fourth stanzas.

Hymn 183. The language in the last stanza,

> "And lo ! I come thy cross to share,
> Echo thy sacrificial prayer,
> And with my Saviour die !"

is perhaps too strong. The hymn would close beautifully with the fourth stanza.

Hymn 185. The fourth, fifth, and sixth verses might be omitted.

Hymn 186. In the second stanza,

> "Feel, my soul, the pangs divine ;"

and in the third,

> "*Rival* of thy passion prove ;"

are sentiments that can be used only by those who, like the poet, are borne aloft on the wings of the seraphim. It is a magnificent

poem, and steals its way deeper into the heart of the reader at every perusal.

Hymn 187 appears to be a favorite in many places. There is no accounting for tastes. We would willingly have its place supplied with something else.

Hymns 190 and 191 are by *Watts*. They have both been altered, and, by omissions, improved.

Hymn 192. We know not the author of this hymn. It might well be spared.

Hymn 193. The seventh, eighth, and ninth verses might be omitted.

Hymn 194, being very similar in sentiment to the preceding, might be omitted. It was first published by *Whitefield*.

Hymn 195. The lines,

> "Give me to feel thy agonies,
> One drop of thy sad cup afford,"

were strongly objected to by Dr. Clarke. The whole hymn is highly impassioned, too much so for ordinary use.

Hymn 196. Two stanzas from this hymn have been omitted in our collection. In one of them, a new epithet is applied to the Saviour; to ears unacquainted with the Greek bordering on the ludicrous:—

> "Dies the glorious Cause of all,
> The true eternal Pan!"

As we have a great many hymns very similar in character, it being a theme on which the great lyrist delighted to dwell, its place might be supplied by one or two others.

Hymn 197 might be divided at the end of the fourth stanza.

Hymn 198. The apparent abruptness with which this hymn commences, renders the meaning of the first line doubtful without some thought. The second line, as written by Wesley, reads:—

> "*Federal* head of all mankind."

The adjective appears necessary to preserve the connection between the two lines. Neither this nor the one following will ever be much used in congregational singing.

Hymn 201. This beautiful hymn is believed to be the production of *Dr. Watts*. It is found in many collections, and in no two that we have seen is it the same. Some have added, others have omitted, and all have made alterations. In our book, the first line reads,

> "Father, how wide thy glories shine,"

an alteration which mars the rhyme. In all others, including the Wesleyan collection:—

"Father, how wide thy *glory shines.*"

The doxology at the close, in our collection, appears to have been added in this country, perhaps by Bishop Coke.

Hymn 203. This is also *Watts's.* The only objection to it is its length. In Rippon's collection it makes a beautiful hymn, by the omission of verses 3 to 9 inclusive.

Hymn 204. This is Charles Wesley's paraphrase of the one hundred and forty-eighth Psalm. It is superior, in some respects, to either of the three versions given by Watts of the same psalm. It is not found in the Wesleyan collection; omitted probably on account of its length and the difficulty of dividing or abbreviating it.

Hymn 205. The first four stanzas would constitute a hymn of sufficient length, strikingly expressive and finished.

Hymn 206. The last line of verse 1 has been improved in our collection. Wesley wrote:—

"*Our songs we make of* thee."

We have omitted his second verse:—

"Thou neither canst be felt nor seen;
Thou art a Spirit pure;
Thou from eternity hast been,
And always shalt endure."

Perhaps the fourth verse as it stands in our book might also be omitted.

Hymn 207. This is a long poem on the attributes of God, containing some striking thoughts happily expressed. It was not designed as *a hymn*, and is seldom if ever used in the public worship of God. It occupies space that would suffice for four or five hymns of ordinary length.

Hymn 212. In this hymn of Dr. *Watts's* an evident improvement has been made in the second verse. He says:—

"The lowest step around thy seat
Rises too high for Gabriel's feet;
In vain the tall archangel tries
To reach thine height with wond'ring eyes."

The alteration,

"Thee while the first archangel sings,
He hides his face behind his wings,"

appears to be borrowed from hymn 213,

"Thee while dust and ashes sings,"

or, as it is in the Wesleyan collection,

> "Thee while *man, the earth-born*, sings,
> Angels shrink within their wings."

Hymn 214. This was written by *Samuel Wesley*. It is, as are also the one preceding, and the two following, a beautiful tribute of praise to the Trinity. Perhaps it would be an improvement to read the third line of the third verse :—

> "And Thee, Spirit of holiness."

A similar amendment might be made in the last line of verse 3, hymn 216.

The hymns under the head "Sacramental," from hymn 219 to hymn 236 inclusive, are all appropriate. In this department our book is much richer than is the collection in use among our Wesleyan brethren in England. Hymns 219, 222, 224, and 229, are of doubtful authorship. Hymn 231 was written by *Steele*, and hymn 232 by *Doddridge*. We know not, nor is it of much consequence, who manufactured hymns 234, 235. The second verse of the former is taken verbatim from *Watts*, as is also the first verse of hymn 235.

The hymns in the next division, "Rejoicing and Praise," are by a variety of authors. Thus to *Watts* belong hymns 252, 257, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, and 276. Hymn 244 is from the *German*. Hymn 249 was written by *Newton*. Hymn 250 by *Robinson*. *Rippon* has published hymn 259, which we do not find in the Wesleyan collection, as his own. Perhaps it is, although so far above his usual level that we cannot help doubting, especially as he has forgotten to give credit for that admirable poem of Charles Wesley's—"Jesus, let thy pitying eye," &c. Hymn 270 is an enduring monument to the memory of *Olivers*. Hymn 272 is *Hart's*. Hymn 278 was written by JOHN WESLEY. In the collection used in England it is in the short metre. By comparing the first stanza, the reader will see how this metamorphosis has been effected. In the Wesleyan collection,

> "Ye simple souls that stray
> Far from the paths of peace,
> That *lonely*, unfrequented way,
> To life and happiness;
> *Why will ye* folly love," &c.,

and thus throughout the entire hymn, with the exception of the third stanza, which is not in the Wesleyan book. Of hymn 280 we are not able to name the author with certainty, and hymn 298 is the well-known version of the nineteenth Psalm, by *Addison*.

Considerable additions might be made to this general division, and improvements by mending or omitting the second verse of hymn 237; by finding substitutes for hymns 238, 247, 260, 282; by abbreviating hymns 244, 285, 293, 297. Hymn 248 is a parody on the national anthem—God save the King—and one of the best we have ever met with. It is a little remarkable that the loyalty of our British brethren has not induced them to give it a place in their selection. It was first published by *Madan*. For the substitution of "sweetly" for *swiftly*, in the second verse of hymn 257, we see no good reason. Perhaps it was originally a typographical error. Hymn 262 has been improved by the omission of two stanzas, and especially by two little alterations made by a master hand. Watts wrote,

"I'll praise my Maker *with my* breath,"

and,

"The Lord *hath eyes to give* the blind;"

which are tame when contrasted with

"I'll praise my Maker *while I've* breath,"

and,

"The Lord *pours eyesight on* the blind."

The second verse of hymn 271 has been altered. The latter lines, as written by the author, are:—

"And since I knew thy graces first,
I spake thy glories more."

For the sake of preserving the connection we should incline to restore, between the third and fourth verses, one of those which has been omitted:—

"How will my lips rejoice to tell
The vict'ries of my King;
My soul, redeem'd from death and hell,
Shall thy salvation sing."

Hymn 274 is deservedly a great favorite. Five stanzas, equally beautiful with the rest, have been omitted. Three of them would make another perfect hymn; and to show the riches that yet remain in the treasury of Charles Wesley, we transcribe them:—

"A stranger in the world below,
I calmly sojourn here;
Nor can its happiness or wo
Provoke my hope or fear:
Its evils in a moment end,
Its joys as soon are past,

But O the bliss to which I tend
Eternally shall last.

To that Jerusalem above,
With singing I repair;
And even now, my hope and love,
My heart and soul are there:
There my exalted Saviour stands,
My merciful High Priest,
And still extends his wounded hands,
To take me to his breast.

Then let me suddenly remove,
That hidden life to share:
I shall not lose my friends above,
But more enjoy them there.
There we in Jesus' praise shall join,
His boundless love proclaim,
And solemnize, in songs divine,
The marriage of the Lamb."

Hymn 275. We are in doubt as to the authorship of this hymn. It commences in a noble strain, but flattens amazingly in its progress. The second stanza, for instance, appears to have been concocted with violent effort. No *muse* had any hand in it:—

"*While* in affliction's *furnace*,
And passing through the fire, (fi-er)
Thy love we praise, which *knows no days*,
And ever brings us *nigher*," &c.

A kind of nocturnal love, that, "which knows no days;" but then it "brings us nigher,"—to the fire!

Hymn 276. The second and third verses of this hymn are not found in any other collection we have met with. The allusions to "the rose," and "the lily," and "the lark," appear to have been suggested by the generalized language of the author:—

"Nature in every dress
Her humble homage pays,
And finds a thousand ways t'express
Thine undissembled praise."

Instead of the prayer for the descent of "celestial fire," and the "flames of pure desire," as we have it, Watts wrote:—

"Create my soul anew,
Else all my worship's vain;
This wretched heart will ne'er be true,
Until 'tis form'd again."

Hymn 277. This is in a measure in which, so far as our knowledge extends, there is no faultless hymn in the language. The last three verses, the third and fourth especially, are below mediocrity.

Hymn 279. This spirited amplification of Romans x, 6, etc., is in that mingling of Iambic and Trochaic verse in which the poet of Methodism has never had an equal.

Hymn 280. This is no favorite with us. The pretensions to rhyme in the triplets ending with "blood," "God," "word," and "man," "name," "reign," excite a feeling of pity for the toiling author, which is converted into something else when we stumble upon his plagiarism from hymn 266 :—

"When rolling years shall cease to move."

Hymn 284. Perhaps some would differ with us in a suggested alteration of the first verse. Instead of

"Wash'd in the sanctifying blood
Of an expiring Deity;"

we would prefer

"Wash'd in the sanctifying blood
Of Him who died on Calvary."

Hymn 295. The *poetry* of this hymn is unobjectionable. The *sentiments* will not bear rigid criticism, more especially verse 4 :—

"Let *life immortal* seize my *clay*;
Let *love* refine my *blood*," &c.

It is by an unknown author.

We come now to the distinguishing glory of the Methodist Hymn-Book. The hymns under the head of "Full Redemption," although several of them are not found in the Wesleyan collection, as, for instance, hymns 329, 337, 354, 355, and two or three others, are all, with one exception, the fruits of the sanctified muse of Charles Wesley. Hymn 301 is a translation from the *French*, and hymns 304 and 307 are from the *German*. The exception is hymn 310, which was written by *Whitefield*, before Calvinism had infused its bitterness into his spirit. The second stanza, as it stands in our collection, was added by Charles Wesley. It has been omitted in the later editions of the collection used in England, our brethren there preferring that Whitefield's composition should remain as originally written. Plagiarists have taken more liberty with the hymns in this division than any others. Some of them have been treated cruelly; patched with rags of a coarser texture, and even of a different color; cropped, so that they appear, to use an expressive vulgarism, lop-sided; disguised, maimed, mutilated

to such a degree that neither the eye nor the ear of their own father would readily recognize them. It is consoling that the name of the original author has not been attached to his much-abused offspring, by those from whose hands they have received this treatment. Indeed, there seems to be, on the part of many hymn-compilers, a conscientious regard for the reputation of the Methodist poet, for which we ought to be thankful. That, or some other motive, prompts them to omit his name, and by various little artifices to cover from the world's knowledge the fact of their indebtedness. Thus, in books professing to give the names of the authors of the various hymns, we find some credited to J. C. W., without a hint as to the meaning of those letters; others are said to be—Toplady's *alteration;* a few we have met with credited to Meth. Col.; others to Luth. Col.; and yet others to Hart. Col. Multitudes are left without acknowledgment, so that the reader may attribute them to the pen of the compiler; or infer, that "they were furnished expressly for this work by some of his friends."

That we may not startle the reader by the amendments we are about to suggest in this division of the Hymn-Book, we shall notice, in the first place, some of the alterations that have been already made.

Hymn 300. One verse has been omitted with propriety, and the epithet *lovely* as we read it, (verse 1,) is in the Wesleyan collection, "*glorious.*" From hymn 301 two verses have been omitted. They are good, but the hymn is long enough without them. From hymn 309 we have expunged four verses, and one from hymn 311. The eighth verse of our three hundred and twenty-third hymn is not in the Wesleyan collection. Our book omits the second and the last verses from hymn 324; and from hymn 330, two verses, which ought to be restored. In the second verse of hymn 336 we read *powers;* Wesley, "choirs;" and we have rejected the four latter verses. The fourth in Wesley's collection reads in the two last lines,—

> "My heart no longer gives the lie
> To my deceitful prayer."

With less propriety we have omitted one verse from hymn 343. It comes in between the last two:—

> "According to our faith in thee
> Let it to us be done!
> O that we all thy face might see,
> And know as we are known!"

Hymns 346 and 347 constitute but one hymn in the Wesleyan collection.

In hymn 350 we have substituted *waiting* for "gasping," ver. 1. Hymn 356 has been altered. In the second verse Wesley wrote,

"The seed of sin's disease,"

instead of

"*This inward dire* disease,"

which is a very doubtful improvement. One entire verse has also been omitted.

Hymn 359 is three verses taken from the three hundred and sixty-first of the Wesleyan collection; part of the remainder constitutes our three hundred and eighteenth.

If now the reader will turn to the Hymn-Book he will find reasons—we have not room to specify them—for agreeing with us in wishing to substitute others for hymns 304, 313, 320, 329, 333, 335, 345, 361, 369, 376. We would also submit the propriety of shortening hymn 299, by omitting verses 2, 3, 7; hymn 303, by omitting verses 5, 6, 7. Hymn 307, by omitting verses 7, 8. We dislike the "*Till*" in the first and second verses of hymn 318. It would certainly be improved in every respect by commencing it at what is now verse 3. From the second part of hymn 321 we could spare the third stanza. Hymn 328 would end well with the fourth stanza. We would omit from hymn 332 the fifth, eighth, and ninth verses; and from hymn 341, the sixth and seventh of part first. Hymn 361 would not be injured by omitting stanzas 3, 6, 7, 8, nor hymn 367, by commencing it at the second. From hymn 368 we would omit stanza 3; and the fourth and fifth from hymn 373. Several of the hymns in this division may also be happily divided. The poetry and sentiments are too good to be lost, and their length is their only objection.

With respect to the authorship of the hymns under the next head, "Trusting in Grace and Providence," we give credit to *Addison* for hymns 377, 388; to *Watts* for hymns 379, 381. *Hill* is the author of hymn 378, without exception the best he ever wrote. To *Cennick* belong hymns 380, 382. To *Newton* hymn 387. To *Cowper* hymn 389, and to *Rippon* hymn 390.

From hymn 377 the Wesleyan collection has left out verses 2, 8. Perhaps verse 3 might also be omitted.

Hymn 378. Of this, the Wesleyan collection omits stanzas 4, 5, and adds one that is not in our book.

Watts includes verses 3, 4, of hymn 381, in brackets. They might be omitted.

The lines of hymn 384,

"And whatsoe'er thou will'st
Thou dost, O King of kings," &c.,

are not in the Wesleyan collection. They are unequal to the rest of the hymn.

Hymn 385 is a translation from the *German.* It would lose nothing by the omission of the last verse.

Hymn 387. This was written by Rev. *John Newton*, and first published in a collection made jointly by himself and the poet Cowper. Of that peculiar measure it is the best we have seen. Two verses might be spared; and if we were to decide, they should be, with some hesitancy, verses 3, 4.

Hymn 390 has undergone numerous alterations. In one edition of Rippon, the second line reads,—

"Let fear in me no more have place."

The third stanza has also been altered; and the fourth in the original is as follows:—

"In hope—believing against hope,
His promised mercy will I claim:
His gracious word shall bear me up
To seek salvation in his name:
Soon, my dear Saviour, bring it nigh!
My soul shall then outstrip the wind,
On wings of love mount up on high,
And leave the world and sin behind."

We would omit the sixth and seventh stanzas of hymn 392, and the fourth and fifth of hymn 394, and could readily be persuaded to dispense with the three hundred and ninety-eighth entirely.

The two concluding stanzas of hymn 399 are eminently beautiful. They would make a hymn by themselves, and would thus be more likely to be used in our congregations. It is a translation from the German.

Hymn 400, which introduces us to the division entitled "The Christian Warfare," is one of the most spirit-stirring exhortations that was ever "married to immortal verse." It is a perfect poem, and is happily followed in our collection by the sounding of the trumpet in hymn 401. He who touches them does it at his peril. To attempt to mend either would be to "gild refined gold." In our book the little preposition *in* has crept into the fourth line, stanza second, of hymn 401, in place of "*with.*" We want that word restored.

Hymn 402 is by *Dr. Watts*, a great favorite everywhere.

In hymn 403 our collection has very properly omitted two verses; and one stanza of hymn 404.

Hymn 408. The second stanza,

"I cannot see thy face and live!
Then let me see thy face and die!" &c.,

has been omitted in the later editions of the Wesleyan collection. We would omit also the fourth:—

"Moses thy backward parts might see," &c.

Hymn 411. In a volume entitled "Select Hymns, adapted to the Devotional Exercises of the Baptist Denomination, by James H. Linsley, and Gustavus F. Davis," we find this beautiful hymn credited to—Miller! We are aware that the lines,

"Which saves us to the uttermost,
Till we can sin no more,"

might have been deemed heterodox by their readers, had they been assigned to Charles Wesley; and can very well appreciate the situation of the compilers: but they were not wise. Had they assigned it to *Cowper*, their readers would not have been led to ask the unanswerable question, Who is that Miller? The remaining hymns, under the head of "Christian Fellowship," are also Wesley's, with the exception of hymns 443, 445, 452. The last is by *Fawcett*, and the two former are parts of *Watts's* common and short metre versions of the one hundred and thirty-third Psalm. The four hundred and forty-third has been altered, we know not by whom. Watts wrote,—

"Lo, what an entertaining sight
Are brethren that agree,
Brethren, whose cheerful hearts unite
In bands of piety."

From each, our book has omitted one verse, so that there can be no objection to them on account of their length.

Hymns 412 and 414 are beautiful specimens of the Anapœstic measure. Taking versification and sentiment together, there is nothing in the range of English poetry that exceeds the stanza,—

"In assù-rance of hòpe, we to Jè-sus look ùp,
Till his bàn-ner unfûrl'd in the air
From our grâves we shall sèe, and cry òut—It is HE!
And fly ùp to acknòwledge him therè."

From hymn 414 we might omit stanzas 7, 8. The lines,

"With his mercy's full blaze,
With the sight of his face,
Our beatified spirits he feeds,"

do not convey a very definite idea; nor are we quite sure that we know in what sense we should understand the line,—

"Eternity seems as a day!"

Hymn 424. From this hymn our collection has cut off the larger part; four verses, not much inferior to those retained. One of them has been dovetailed into the four hundred and twenty-seventh, in our book.

There is something very striking as well as Scriptural in the third verse of hymn 426:—

"With us *thou art* assembled here," &c.

The same thought occurs in even stronger language in the third stanza of hymn 436:—

"Present *we know thou art*," &c.

Stennett, versifying the same passage, writes,—

"There, says the Saviour, *will I be*
Amid this little company."

The Saviour's language is—"*There am I.*"

Hymn 429 might be divided at the end of verse fourth; and a competent hand would do the church a service by dividing or abbreviating the two following. They are both beautiful, and we see nothing to alter unless it be the lines:—

"Clothed with the sun, we smile to see
The moon beneath our feet."

Hymn 432. From this hymn our collection has omitted four verses which are retained in the English collection. The omission has done it no injury.

Hymn 434. The second stanza, being an allusion to Lot's escape from Sodom, is not equal to the rest of this admirable hymn. There is thrilling poetry in the last stanza.

Hymn 435. Two stanzas have been with propriety omitted.

Hymn 438 is readily susceptible of division at the end of the fourth verse.

Hymn 439. The rhyme is faulty in verse 3. If it were omitted, and verse 4 also, the connection would not be broken, and the hymn would be improved.

Hymn 441. Perhaps another word for the rhythm's sake might be substituted for "cemented," in the first stanza.

Hymn 442. The lines,

"A drop of that unbounded sea
O Lord, resorb it into thee!"

do not convey a very intelligible idea. If by the *drop* we are to understand "our love," we doubt the propriety of wishing it to be *resorbed.*

Hymn 447. This is taken from a long poem which we find

cature in the Wesleyan collection, making four separate hymns. Several of the couplets have been transposed, and it has been skilfully done.

Hymn 448 being on a subject frequently dwelt upon, and in a metre of which we have a great many, might be omitted.

Hymn 452 was written by *Fawcett.*

Hymn 454. We have two verses, (6, 7,) that are not in the Wesleyan collection.

Hymn 456 is by *Watts.*

Hymn 457 is below Wesley's general standard, and might with propriety be superseded.

Hymn 458 is faulty in the third verse, and might also be spared.

Hymn 459. We know not to whose muse to attribute this. The two first lines are evidently taken from Wesley's :—

> "Comfort, ye ministers of grace,
> Comfort *my* people, *saith your God !*"

The remainder is on a different subject. It is not in the English collection, nor are the two following, which nevertheless, from internal evidence, we pronounce to be Wesley's.

Hymns 462, 463, which are translations from the *German,* beautified in their passage by the poet of Methodism, make but one (the two hundred and seventy-ninth) in the Wesleyan collection. It has been happily divided.

Hymn 464 might be omitted.

Hymn 465. The second stanza, as written by Wesley, has been omitted in our collection. It is as follows :—

> "Not all the powers of hell can fright
> A soul that walks with Christ in light :
> He walks and cannot fall :
> Clearly he sees, and wins his way,
> Shining unto the perfect day,
> And more than conquers all."

The reason for its omission is evident, though not valid, for certainly *while* a soul walks with Christ it cannot fall. We should prefer the omission of the last stanza, in which occurs the bravado :

> "And if he can obtain thy leave,
> Let Satan pluck me thence."

Hymn 466. From this hymn of *Dr. Watts's* have been omitted his third and fifth verses. We advocate the restoration of the latter. The hymn is incomplete without it :—

"He spake, and light shone round his head,
On a bright cloud to heaven he rode;
They to the farthest nation spread
The grace of their ascended God."

Hymn 468. The third verse of this beautiful hymn was omitted in the editions prepared by father Hitt. For what reason it is impossible to say. Instead of it, he gave us the following, which, if it were written by himself, is the best specimen of his poetic skill that we have met with:—

"O that my Jesus' heavenly charms
Might every bosom move!
Fly, sinners, fly into those arms
Of everlasting love."

Hymn 469 is by an unknown author. In the fourth verse we should have read "stand" instead of *stood;* but "rhymes are more imperative than kings." As it is, the verb *look*, in the last line, ought also to have been in the past tense.

Hymn 471. This was written by the pious *Doddridge*. By some means the word *And* has usurped the place of "All" in the beginning of the fourth verse.

Hymn 473 is a very appropriate prayer for one who would be wise to win souls. As we have others on the same topic, which are not so personal in their character, it might perhaps be omitted in a collection designed for the public.

Hymn 475. We have not met with these lines in any other collection. They are, we suspect, of cisatlantic origin.

Hymn 476. This is a long, and not very literal paraphrase of the Lord's prayer. The poetry is good; but its length, and the difficulty of selecting from it parts suitable for singing, are, with us, reasons sufficient for wishing the space it occupies otherwise filled.

Hymn 479 is a part of *Dr. Watts's* paraphrase of the seventy-second Psalm. We know not who supplied the second verse. It is not found in the doctor's collection; nor in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book, which adds from the original three verses:—

"Blessings abound where'er he reigns;
The pris'ner leaps to lose his chains;
The weary find eternal rest;
And all the sons of want are blest.

Where he displays his healing power
Death and the curse are known no more:
In him the tribes of Adam boast
More blessings than their father lost.

Let every creature rise and bring
Its grateful honors to our King;
Angels descend with songs again,
And earth prolong the joyful strain."

The last line is evidently an improvement on the original:—

"And earth *repeat the long Amen.*"

Hymn 481. The apparently strange prayer in the last lines of this hymn is accounted for by the fact that it reads in the original,—

"Wisdom, pure religious fear,
Our *king's* peculiar treasure prove."

Father Hitt, to suit it to republican America, altered the word, and we now pray that "piety sincere" may prove the "peculiar treasure" of our *land*, and that *it* may be inspired with "humble love."

Hymn 482 is a collection of Scriptural sentiments, in general well expressed, but lacking unity.

Of the hymns under the head—"Christmas," we find but two (485, 490) in the Wesleyan collection. Hymn 488 is by *Watts*. Hymn 489 is the very best specimen of the versification of *Tate* and *Brady* that has fallen to our notice. Hymn 491 is by *Medly*. The rest are Charles Wesley's, with the exception of hymn 487, which is by an unknown hand. The feeble *For*, in the fifth line of the first stanza, was necessary for the metre's sake, but destroys the *poetical* reputation of the author. From hymn 485 we would omit the second stanza, the latter part of which is not literally true; and the fourth, which is unnecessary. We should incline also to find substitutes for hymn 486, which is too discursive, and for hymn 488, which is very similar to the one immediately following. In the collection of our Protestant Episcopal brethren, (certified by B. T. Onderdonk, 1832,) our four hundred and ninetieth is very ingeniously altered, and as it is one of the few alterations that can honestly be deemed improvements, we would accept it. They read, beginning at the third line of the second stanza:—

"Late in time behold him come,
Offspring of *the* virgin's womb!
Veil'd in flesh the Godhead see!
Hail th' incarnate Deity:
Pleased, as man, with man to *dwell*,
Jesus, *now Emanuel.*
Ris'n with healing in his wings,
Light and life to all he brings;
Hail the Sun of righteousness,
Hail the heaven-born Prince of peace."

With these last four lines transposed, as the reader will observe, they conclude the hymn, omitting the remainder.

Our hymns for the "New Year" are unobjectionable. They are all Wesley's. Under the head of "Family Worship," we have a sufficient variety. Many of them have no place in the Wesleyan collection, and a few might with propriety be shortened. Of those under this head, we are indebted to *Watts* for hymns 500, 501, 502, 504, 509. They have undergone sundry alterations; some have been abbreviated and improved. The last two verses of hymn 502 have been transposed. We prefer them as originally written, the prayer for the guidance of the Spirit following, instead of preceding, the determination to resort to the Lord's house:—

4. "*But* to thy house will I resort,
To taste thy mercies there;
I will frequent thine holy court,
And worship in thy fear.

5. "O may *the* Spirit guide my feet," &c.

In the third verse of hymn 504, the original says,

"I yield myself to thy command;
To thee *I consecrate my* days,"

instead of,

"To thee devote my nights and days,"

as we have it.

From hymn 509 our collection omits, with propriety, two verses.

Hymns 503 and 507 were originally published by *Rippon*, for whose collection they were furnished by unknown authors. From the former, three verses have been omitted; and in the latter, the second verse, as found in our collection, has been substituted for the fourth, as originally written.

In the fourth stanza of hymn 513, an alteration, which we think should be made in all similar cases, has happily found a place in our collection. Wesley wrote,—

"That taught by thy good Spirit and led."

We have it,—

"That by thy Spirit taught and led."

There is a hiatus between the conclusion of the first, and the commencement of the second part of hymn 517, as it stands in our book. Two verses as written by Wesley have been properly omitted. We would omit the entire hymn. After the line,

"To murderer Moloch, through the fire,"

Wesley wrote, and the lines still stand in the Wesleyan collection,—

"O let us not the demon please;
Our offspring to destruction doom!
Strengthen a sin-sick soul's disease,
Or damn him from his mother's womb!

Rather this hour resume his breath,
From selfishness and pride to save;
By death prevent the second death,
And hide him in the silent grave!"

Two or three others in this division might, with propriety, be superseded, and those which are too long might, by a skillful hand, be abbreviated without injury. We would, at any rate, make room for a part of the well-known morning hymn of the good old *Bishop Ken*:—

"Awake, my soul, and with the sun
Thy daily course of duty run," &c.;

and for the evening song of the same author,—

"Glory to thee, my God, this night,
For all the blessings of the light," &c.

It is not generally known that the doxology,

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow," &c.,

which is called hymn 606 in our collection, was originally attached to these effusions: and that to *Ken* the church is indebted for a doxology, more simple, more expressive, and more frequently used than any other.

Hymn 522 is a hymn for Easter. It is the production of *Samuel Wesley*. There is nothing, even in the poetry of his brother Charles, to exceed the energy of the thoughts and the expression in the third and fourth verses. The fifth and sixth are feeble by the contrast. They were added by another hand, and have no place in the British collection.

Hymns 523, 525. These are on the same subject, by Charles Wesley. The Protestant Episcopal collection has appropriated them both. In the second stanza of the former they have substituted the word *radiant* for "ethereal," for no good reason; and in the third verse of hymn 525 they read *power* for "pomp." They omit also the last two verses.

Hymn 524 is one of Dr. *Watts's* lyrics, and is deservedly a great favorite. It is found in many collections. In some that we have

seen, we find an alteration in the latter part of the second stanza, thus:—

"*Ye* saints *approach! the anguish view*
Of Him who *groans* beneath your load;
He gives his precious life for you,
For you he sheds his precious blood."

The alteration was made, we believe, by *Dr. Dwight.* We prefer the simpler strain of the author as it stands in our collection; and should like to have, instead of the line included in parentheses in the second stanza,

("In vain the tomb forbids his rise,")

the original restored:—

"Up to his Father's courts he flies."

We know not by whom this amendment was made.

Of the hymns "For the Sabbath," hymns 526 and 528 are *Watts's.* The five hundred and twenty-ninth was written by *Stennett.* The two verses called hymn 527 are by an author unknown; and hymn 530, which is not in any other collection we have met with, was written, we think, by Charles Wesley. From hymn 526 our collection has left out five verses, and the third has been transposed. Watts has it:—

"*But* I shall share a glorious part,
When grace *hath well refined* my heart,
And fresh supplies," &c.

It is, with the exception of the first verse, a tame affair; rather better, perhaps, before it was altered, but not much.

An evident improvement has been made in the third verse of hymn 528. Watts says,—

"One day *amidst* the place
Where my *dear* God *hath been*," &c.

The Episcopal collection has it,—

"One day *amidst* the place
Where *Jesus is within*,
Is *better* than ten thousand days
Of *pleasure and of* sin."

We prefer their amendment of the last verse: Watts says, as in our book,—

"My willing soul would stay
In such a frame as this,
And sit and sing herself away
To everlasting bliss."

The amendment is in the latter lines,—

> "*Till it is call'd to soar away*
> To everlasting bliss."

Hymn 534, on "Reading the Scriptures," was written by *Dr. Stennett*, the first and second verses having been omitted, and a slight alteration made in the third, with which the hymn commences in our collection; and *Steele* is the author of hymn 535.

Hymn 539. This is a very popular hymn of *Dr. Watts's*. It is found in many collections. In our own, two verses have been omitted. They have a place in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book, and constitute the fourth and fifth, as originally written:—

> "But tim'rous mortals start and shrink,
> To cross this narrow sea,
> And linger, shiv'ring (*trembling* in some copies) on the brink,
> And fear to launch away.
>
> O! could we make our doubts remove
> Those gloomy doubts that rise,
> And see the Canaan that we love
> With unbeclouded eyes."
> ("*With faith's illumined eyes*," in one collection.)

Hymn 546 is in a similar strain by *Dr. Stennett*. *Dwight*, disliking the epithet "stormy," applied in the first verse to the banks of the Jordan, altered it to *rugged*. The last verse as it stands in our collection is not in the original, nor do we find it anywhere else. It is altogether unnecessary.

Hymn 547. We have been unable to discover the author of this hymn, nor do we find it in any other collection.

Hymn 548. Perhaps for public congregations, the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas might be omitted. The remainder makes a perfect hymn.

Hymn 549 is in the strong language which can be used only by one who has fought the fight and gained the victory. It is doubtful whether even such a one ought to indulge in "passionate longings for home." The hymn is omitted in the English collection, and we would suggest the propriety of substituting for it those admirable verses of Charles Wesley, beginning,—

> "Come let us join our friends above,
> Who have obtained the prize."

We know not how it happened that this hymn found no place in our original collection, nor in the additional hymns, nor yet in the Supplement. It was a great favorite with John Wesley; and is

frequently sung in the British Conference when the death of a member of that body is announced. Peculiarly touching, on such an occasion, as well as highly poetical, are the lines,—

"*One family* we dwell in HIM,
One church above, beneath,
Though now *divided* by the stream,
The narrow stream of death;
One army of the living God,
To his command we bow;
Part of his host have cross'd the flood,
And part are crossing now."

And the majestic power of faith by which the very gates of the new Jerusalem are thrown open, was never more strikingly displayed, than in the lines,—

"EV'N now by faith *we join our hands*
With those that went before;
And greet the blood-besprinkled bands
On the eternal shore!"

Of "Funeral Hymns" our collection contains a sufficient variety. To *Watts*, whose muse delighted to dwell on gloomy subjects, we are indebted for hymn 550; hymn 553, which is a part of his version of the ninetieth Psalm, with some omissions and alterations; hymn 554, in which the substitution of the word *ever* for "often," in the third verse, is a slight but manifest improvement; and hymns 562, 563, and 565. Hymn 557 is in a strain of *hyper*-hyperbole. It was written by *Whitefield*, and might well be superseded, especially as we have hymns 558 and 560, in the same metre, and similar in sentiment, without the objectionable exaggeration. Hymn 559 is by an unknown hand. It is unworthy the space it occupies. To hymn 566, which, in the English collection, concludes with the prayer so often offered by the founder of Methodism,

"My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live,"

our collection has added, from some source now unknown, two rather meagre verses. The beautiful lines, constituting hymn 568, were written by *Samuel Wesley;* the prosaic sentiments of hymn 570 were "done into rhyme" by *Hart;* and hymn 571, in which occur the oft-quoted lines,

"Millions of infant souls compose
The family above,"

was written by *Stennett*. The hymns in this division, with the

exceptions adverted to, are all Charles Wesley's, and are, in our opinion, superior to any others, on similar subjects.

In the next division, "Describing Judgment," are found some of the same author's loftiest flights; but, as the reader will have observed, it is no part of our design to specify beauties, or we should have been tempted into a volume scarcely less in size than the Hymn-Book itself. Hymn 573 was written by *Olivers*, although we have seen it attributed to another hand. It is not equal to his "God of Abraham," (hymns 270, and 660, in our collection,) but that is only saying what might be said of nearly every hymn in the language. In that glorious outburst of triumphant faith, hymn 576, a faulty punctuation occurs at the close of the first stanza. It should end with a colon instead of a period; and a mark of admiration (!) should take the place of the comma at the close of the first line of the second stanza. Hymn 579 is by *Watts;* altered, and improved by omissions; and hymns 577, 585, are of doubtful origin. The latter is below par; and, with our consent, would be expunged.

The "Additional Hymns," from hymn 588 to hymn 605 inclusive, were taken from the collection used in England. They are all from the pen of Charles Wesley, and are, with one or two exceptions, below his average standard. To adapt them for general use in congregational singing they all need more or less revision. To say nothing of these, we have already indicated omissions in the main body of the book, which would give place for *at least one hundred and fifty additional hymns* of suitable length. In doing this we have not suggested the rejection of one that is really valuable, or the omission of a verse that is essential to the unity or the beauty of a poem *considered as a hymn for the use of a congregation in the public worship of God.* The question then is—Can suitable substitutes be obtained for these proposed omissions?

We know that poety equal to many of the hymns in our collection is not to be found; but there is a large number of very fair hymns on various subjects, from which a judicious hand might make a selection, that while it would greatly add to the variety of our book, would not materially lessen its poetic merit. There is, in the first place, poety of *Charles Wesley's*, that has never been thus appropriated; and some that, having been in possession of his heirs, has but recently been made public. In making selections from that source, and indeed from any other, it ought to be borne in mind that we have already more than a fair proportion of hymns that are seldom used, in many places, solely on account of the measure in which they are written. More than *one-eighth* of our book is

in that variety denominated *six lines eights*, and nearly a hundred, almost *one-sixth* of the whole, are in one or other of the varieties of *sevens*.* We would admit no more *particular metres*, unless for very cogent reasons; simply because we have enough already; and confine the additions to long, common, and short measure hymns, in which last our book is rather deficient, they being fewer by twenty per cent. than the seldom used "*six lines eights*."

In perusing the poetry of *Dr. Watts*, we have been struck with the taste and judgment of those who prepared our collection, as evinced in their selections from that author. They have given us nearly all that is worth having; and he who forms his estimate of the doctor's poetic merit, simply from our collection, will rate him far above his deserts. He wrote a great deal of very middling rhyme. Indeed, he has but one additional hymn that we had marked as worthy of being perpetuated; and that, with several others of less value from the same author, has found a place in the "Supplement." It is hymn 671,—

"Give me the wings of faith," &c.

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* There are of Sevens and Sixes 21
Four Sevens 14
Eight Sevens 23
Six Sevens 7
Sevens, Sixes, and one Eight . . . 19
Eights and Sevens 7
Two Sixes and four Sevens . . . 3
Six Sevens and two Eights . . . 2
Four Eights and two Sevens . . . 1
97

Then we have, of Six lines Eights . . . 76
Four Eights and two Sixes . 24
Eight Eights 16
Tens and Elevens . . . 14
Four Sixes and two Eights . 10
Other Particular Metres . . 24 164
Making in all 261

The remainder is made up as follows:—
Of Common Metre Hymns . . 158
Of Long Metre Hymns . . 127
Of Short Metre Hymns . . 61 346
Total 607

In the "Supplement" we have an addition of ninety, making in all six hundred and ninety-seven. The collection in use among the Wesleyan Methodists in England contains *seven hundred and sixty-nine*.

But although nothing more may be drawn from that source, there are others within our reach. *Cowper* versified many passages of Scripture, which may be found in the collection published by Newton, and which he distinguished from his own, although that was hardly necessary, by the letter C. A few of them are worthy of a place. From *Doddridge*, although but a moderate poet, several more, of eminently evangelical sentiment, might be selected. *Steele*, and *Hart*, and *Stennett*, to whom we are also already under several obligations, might be pressed for further contributions. In more modern days *Montgomery*, and *Heber*, and *Hemans*, and *Henry Kirke White*, and others less known to fame, have severally written hymns that deserve to be enrolled in every collection.

We are not disposed to find fault with the *titles* of the several divisions in our collection, nor to cavil at the *place* given to some of the hymns in those particular departments. Doubtless improvements might be made in both these respects. We contend that every preacher ought to be as well acquainted with the hymns in his own Hymn-Book, as he is—to use an expression of Bishop Asbury's—with his hat. The "*Table of Texts*" is very scanty, and ought to be enlarged, or omitted altogether. The "*Index of Subjects*," prepared, we believe, by the present assistant editor of the Christian Advocate, is a valuable addition; but the *Alphabetical Index* needs revision. The hymns commencing with the same letter are, indeed, grouped together, but they are not alphabetical in those groups. See, for instance, the first line, "All thanks to the Lamb," &c. Not finding it between "All praise," and "All things," one would be led, hastily, to conclude that it is not in the book. So too, "Father of all, whose powerful voice," to notice no others, is a long way out of its place. These are, however, small matters, needing only to be pointed out to insure speedy correction; and should any of our readers incline to the opinion that we have been too minute in our criticisms generally, we have only to plead the importance of the subject: the Hymn-Book, second only, in the esteem of every true-hearted Methodist, to the Bible itself; and we would remind such of a celebrated saying of Napoleon:—Trifles make perfection, and—perfection is no trifle.

In closing this article, we may be permitted to say, that although our proposed *alterations* should not be deemed, in every case, *improvements*, even by readers of correct judgment; they are the result of much thought and patient study. We have suggested nothing rashly, nor without reasons that have appeared to ourselves satisfactory; but within the limits to which we have been necessarily confined, it was not possible, in every case, to spread

them out in detail. Whatever may be the result, we shall have the consciousness of having aimed at a good object. Neither here, nor hereafter, shall we regret the time that has been devoted to the close examination of every collection of sacred poetry within our reach, and we leave the subject with a more settled conviction of the world's indebtedness to the muse of Methodism,—a deeper feeling of gratitude to that God who touched the lips of Charles Wesley with fire, that shall kindle the incense of praise, on living altars, until, in his own language, the saints shall

> "See this universe renew'd,—
> The grand millennial reign begun;
> And sing with all the sons of God
> Around th' eternal throne!"

F.

Danbury, December, 1843.

ART. II.—1. *Essays on the Church of God.* By JOHN M. MASON, D. D. Edited by the Rev. EBENEZER MASON. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.

2. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ: Designed chiefly for the Use of Students in Theology.* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALMER, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. With a Preface and Notes. By the Rt. Rev. W. R. WHITTINGHAM, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland. In two volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841.

3. *The Book of the Church.* By RICHARD FIELD, D. D., some time Dean of Gloucester. A new edition, with additional Notes and References, by the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M. A. Vol. 1. London: John Baker. 1843.

MR. WESLEY says, "A more ambiguous word than this, *the Church*, is scarce to be found in the English language." The reason for this is, that it is variously used in the Scriptures, and by ecclesiastical writers its application has been still further diversified. Dr. Mason says,—

"The word 'church,' derived from the Greek *κυριακὸν*, signifies 'the house of the Lord;' and marks the *property* which he has in it. But the original words which it is employed to translate, signify a different thing. The Hebrew words קָהָל (*cahal*) and עֵדָה (*gheda*) in the Old Testament; and the corresponding one *ἐκκλησια* (*ecclesia*) in the New, all signify *an assembly*, especially one convened by invita-

tion or appointment. That this is their generic sense, no scholar will deny; nor that their particular applications are ultimately resolvable into it. Hence it is evident, that from the terms themselves nothing can be concluded as to the nature or extent of the assembly which they denote. Whenever either of the two former occurs in the Old Testament, or the other in the New, you are sure of an *assembly*, but of nothing *more*. What that assembly is, and whom it comprehends, you must learn from the *connection* of the term, and the *subject* of the writer."—Pp. 3, 4.

The learned author gives us the New Testament use of the word *church*, as follows:—

"In like manner ἐκκλησία, (*ecclesia*,) rendered 'church,' is applied to the *whole body* of the redeemed. Ephes. v, 24, 27. To the *whole body* of professing Christians. 1 Cor. xii, 28. To *local* organizations of professing Christians, whether more or less extensive; as in the apostolic salutations, and inscriptions of the epistles. To a *small association* of Christians meeting together in a private house. Col. iv, 15; Phil. i, 2. To a civil assembly *lawfully* convened. Acts xix, 39. To a body of people *irregularly* convened. Acts xix, 32."—Pp. 4, 5.

He then proceeds "to prove that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of a *visible church catholic*, composed of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion."

Dr. Field says,—

"Concerning the church, five things are to be observed. First, what is the definition of it, and who pertain unto it. Secondly, the notes whereby it may be known. Thirdly, which is the true church demonstrated by these notes. Fourthly, the privileges that do pertain unto it. Fifthly, the divers degrees, orders, and callings of those men to whom the government of the church is committed.

"Touching the first, the church is the multitude and number of those whom almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness, by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good he hath revealed in Christ his Son, and such other precious and happy means as he hath appointed to further and set forward the work of their salvation. So that it is the work of grace, and the heavenly call, that give being to the church, and make it a different society from all other companies of men in the world, that have no other light of knowledge, nor motion of desire, but that which is natural; whence, for distinction from them, it is named *ecclesia*, a multitude called out."—P. 32.

In order to a clear understanding of the several passages of Scripture which speak of "the church," and the interest we as individuals have in them, several distinctions must be made. Writers upon this subject have generally divided the church into

visible and *invisible*. But so much has been said upon this distinction calculated to darken the subject, and bewilder the honest inquirer, that we shall discuss it somewhat particularly.

By reference to the passages referred to by Dr. Mason, it will be seen that in the New Testament the word church is sometimes used in a more, and in others in a less restricted sense. Attributes and associations are sometimes appropriated to the church which necessarily confine its application to *true believers*, and in other instances it will admit of a general application to the society of professing Christians. The same may be said of the use made of the term by the ancient Christian writers. But the particular form of the distinction now under consideration was devised by the reformers. Luther denied that the Romish Church was the true church of Christ. The Romish doctors then demanded, where was the true church before the Reformation? To this he answered, that it was *invisible*. By this he meant that the true church, during the reign of superstition and corruption which he was laboring to reform, had been confined to those Christians who had "worshiped God in spirit and in truth," but had been under the necessity, from the pressure of circumstances, of seeking retirement; as in the days of Elijah, amidst the general prevalence of corruption, there were "seven thousand" true servants of God, who were not even known to the prophet.

From this time the *visible church* was, by Protestants, understood to embrace *nominal Christians*, and the *invisible church* all *real Christians*. And although some have found grave fault with this distinction, yet there are few writers, either Protestant or Romish, that are worthy of notice, who do not admit the thing intended: that is, they all admit the difference between the nominal and the real church of Christ. Dr. Field presents the subject thus:—

"By that which hath been said, that none but the elect are of the church in that principal and high degree before mentioned, we may easily understand their true meaning, and the truth of their meaning, who say that hypocrites, wicked men, and castaways are in, but not of the church. 'Puto,' saith Augustine, 'me non temere dicere alios sic esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi etiam sint domus Dei;—alios autem ita dici esse in domo [Dei] ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferæ pacificæque justitiæ.' 'I think I may very advisedly and considerately say, some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of God; and that some are so in the house of God, that they pertain not to the frame and fabric of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitful and peaceable righteousness.'

"Of them that are in the church there are three sorts. For there

are some only *numero*, some *numero et merito*, some *numero, merito et electione*: that is, there are some that only in external profession; some that in profession and affection; and some that in profession and affection with never-altering resolution, join themselves to the company of the believers, and have their hearts knit unto God for ever; as the elect of God called according to his purpose. These are *intrinsecus et in occulto intus*, as Augustine speaketh; and whosoever are thus in the church, are most fully of the church, and are of the special number of them that communicate in the most precious effects and most happy benefits of effectual and saving grace. In the two former sorts many are in the church, which though they be also of the church, in that they have fellowship in some outward things with the elect and chosen servants of God, yet principally, fully, and absolutely are not of it, nor of that special number of those that have part in the benefits of effectual and saving grace."—Pp. 41, 42.

But a still further analysis is necessary to a full understanding of the subject. We would divide the bodies of professing Christians into two classes, namely, into those whose faith and practice entitle them to be considered, in the judgment of charity, as true Christians, and those who hold obvious heresies, or are irregular in their lives: the latter may be regarded as *false*, and the former as *true* churches. The true churches, or those communities of professing Christians whose doctrines are orthodox and evangelical, and who exercise a godly discipline, constitute, in the aggregate, or in their collective capacity, *the visible church catholic*. It is to this body the reformers refer in the nineteenth article of the Church of England, where they say, "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same." "Faithful men" here must imply something more than mere professors of Christianity. As Mr. Wesley well observes, "At the same time our Thirty-nine Articles were compiled and published, a Latin translation of them was published by the same authority. In this the words were '*Cœtus credentium*,' a congregation of believers; plainly showing that by *faithful men*, the compilers meant, men endued with living faith."*

The *visible church of Christ*, then, is made up of such congregations of Christians as receive the system of divine truth set forth in Holy Scripture, and, as far as human wisdom can determine, bring forth the fruits of a living faith. Let it be carefully observed, however, that we do not go upon the supposition that all who, in the judgment of charity, may be presumed to be true Christians,

* Sermon of the Church—*Works*, vol. ii, p. 157.

are really such. We cannot fathom the depths of the human heart, nor are our decisions in relation to external developments infallible. The garb of hypocrisy may long cover a corrupt heart, and our most honest judgments may be prejudiced. And as to all those who attach themselves to a Christian church, whose profession of faith and course of life harmonize with the great moral precepts of the gospel, we are bound by the laws of Christian charity to presume they are genuine Christians.

In the purest church there doubtless are those who are not sound at heart. With their hearts we have nothing whatever to do until their corruptions break out into irregularities, in the form of heresy or irreligion. It is to those whose lives furnish no just cause for disciplinary proceedings, but who are still inwardly corrupt, that we suppose our Saviour to refer in the parable of the wheat and the tares, and of the net cast into the sea. By "the tares," which "at the end of the world" are to be "gathered and bound in bundles and cast into the fire," and by "the bad," which are to be "cast away," we suppose such false-hearted Christians, as are able to elude all wholesome discipline in the church to the last, are to be understood. This may be inferred from the fact that rules of discipline are expressly instituted for the separation from the church of all manifest heretics and evil livers; but in this case we are forbidden to make the separation. "Let both grow together till the harvest." It is consequently a manifest error, and in its practical effects destructive of the purity of the church, to interpret these passages, as Mr. Palmer does, so as to justify the continuance in the church of "manifest sinners."

Upon these explanations should be founded the principles of intercommunion among the different churches. Those churches whose faith and discipline, in all essential points, harmonize with the acknowledged rule of faith and practice, should be acknowledged members of the visible church catholic, and should enjoy the privileges of communion and fraternal correspondence with all other branches of the universal church; while, upon the other hand, those communions who have departed in essentials from the faith of the gospel and the purity of Christian discipline should be treated as heretics and heathen—as constituting no part of the catholic church of Christ. By this we do not mean that they should be treated with intolerance or undue severity. Even a heathen community should be treated with kindness, and addressed as reasonable beings. Nor must it be inferred that we suppose all the individuals who belong to false or antichristian churches are necessarily sinners and in the way to hell. There may be a

strong minority in several corrupt communions, who belong to the mystical body of Christ, and who are entitled to our strongest Christian sympathies. It would doubtless be their duty, had they the light upon the subject, to leave their corrupt communion and connect themselves with some evangelical church, and such a course would contribute much to their spiritual comfort and improvement. But the prejudices of education, or a want of the proper means of information, may prevent this; and so they may work their way, in spite of the bad influences around them, to the place of the blessed. But there being several, or many, good men in this or that corrupt communion, is no reason why we should acknowledge such communion, as a whole, to be a part of the church catholic.

If the doctrinal standards of a church are heretical—if its governing powers are corrupt—and if its very forms of worship are idolatrous and antichristian, what claim can such a church have to be recognized as a part of the visible church catholic? The good men in such a church are able to reform nothing, and they do not give character to the institution. They are to be sought after, and mourned over, as sheep out of the true fold, having no shepherd. But we can have no fellowship with their ungodly communion—for we must neither touch nor handle the unclean thing.

We shall not in this place give any specimens of false churches; but after having laid down the great principles to be applied as tests, shall, for the present at least, leave our readers to work out for themselves the problem as to which are the sound branches of the catholic church. Further light will, however, be reflected upon the subject as we proceed in this investigation.

Mr. Palmer and Dr. Mason both argue strongly for the *visibility* of the church, and the former, we think, beats the air through his whole argument—endeavoring to refute a theory that none maintain, and to answer objections which are never seriously urged. None maintain, as far as we know, that the militant church is *in all respects invisible*, like the church of the first-born in heaven; nor that the real church, which is the body of Christ, "has apostatized." Christians "are the light of the world," and consequently cannot be wholly hid from human view. But what has been asserted, is, *first*, that during the prevalence of the great Roman apostasy, the true church of Christ was in retirement and comparatively out of view. And *secondly*, that the lines which separate between the real disciples of Christ and those who are only so in profession are not always discernible. The following are the views of Dean Field upon this point:—

"If a man shall further urge that Luther, and some other that were in the beginning of the reformation of the church, did think the church to be sometimes invisible, not only in those respects above specified, but even in the truth of profession, and practice of those things that to salvation are necessary, we deny that any such thing can be collected out of any of their writings which they have left unto posterity. For how should there be a church in the world, the perpetuity whereof they almost constantly defend, and none found to profess the saving truth of God, which all are bound to do that look for salvation? But this surely both they and we do teach, that though always the open, known, and constant profession of saving truth, be preserved and found among men, and the ministry of salvation continued and known in the world; (for how should there be a church gathered without a ministry?) that yet sometimes errors and heresies so much prevail, that the most part, not only of them that are apparently without, but even of them also that hold and possess great places of office and dignity in the church of God, either for fear, flattery, hope of gain, or honor, or else misled through simplicity, or directly falling into error or heresy, depart from the soundness of Christian faith, so that the sincerity of religion is upholden, and the truth of the profession of Christians defended and maintained but only by some few, and they molested, persecuted, and traduced, as turbulent and seditious men, enemies to the common peace of the Christian world. In this sense then the church is said to be sometimes invisible, not because there are none seen, known, or found that possess the truth of God; but because even in that company which is the true church of God, many, and those the greatest, are carried into error, so that but some few, and they such as (if we should judge by outward appearance) are most unlike to uphold and maintain the truth, are left to defend the same; multitude, authority, reputation and opinion of greatness in others, obscuring them in such sort, that they which measure things by outward appearance can possibly take no notice of them. This was the state of the Christian world in the time of Athanasius, when in the Council of Seleucia and Ariminum the Nicene faith was condemned; and all the bishops of the whole world (carried away with the sway of time) fell from the soundness of the faith, only Athanasius excepted, and some few confessors that *sub Athanasii nomine exulabant*, as Hierome noteth, writing against the Luciferians; 'Ingemuit totus orbis, et miratus est se factum esse Arrianum,' 'the world poureth forth sighs, marveling how it was become an Arian.'"—Pp. 44–46.

It is observable that Mr. Palmer, after battling severely with what he seems to suppose the view of the reformers upon this point, comes round and admits all that they ever contended for. He says,—

"It is true, indeed, that the sanctified and elect are principally and essentially the church of Christ; but besides them are many sinners and hypocrites who belong to the church, though only externally, temporarily, and imperfectly."—Vol. i, p. 58.

Again he says,—

"While, therefore, we admit that those who are essentially members of the church are not discernible *as such* from hypocritical professors or false brethren, and are therefore in one sense *invisible;* we maintain that they always openly profess Christ, and are therefore always and essentially visible."—Vol. i, p. 59.

The great importance of the distinction for which we contend, arises from the necessity of a right application of the promises of Christ to the church, and the privileges bequeathed to her. Upon this point Churchmen are generally misty. They represent the church as composed of persons who have certain external qualifications—such, for instance, as have been baptized—and then, the church thus constituted, composed of "the sanctified and elect," together with "sinners and hypocrites," is "the body of Christ," his "spouse," "the pillar and ground of the truth," &c. Thus Mr. Palmer:—

"The Scriptures and the universal church appoint only one mode in which Christians are to be made members of the church. It is baptism which renders us, by divine right, members of the church, and entitles us to all the privileges of the faithful: 'For as many of you who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.' 'Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' Gal. iii, 27, 28."—Vol. i, p. 144.

This is a fair specimen of Church teaching upon this subject. And the great objection we have to it is, that it fosters, in those who hold a mere outward relation to the church, the erroneous notion, that in virtue of that relation they are "one with Christ," and are of course heirs of all his promises. We will here give several authorities to show that the fathers and defenders of the English Church entertained no such notions of the virtue of an external relation to the church as are now propagated by high-Churchmen.

Archbishop Cranmer says,—"This holy church is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it, but God alone, who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from others that be but bastards. This church is the pillar of the truth, because it resteth upon God's word, which is the true and sure foundation, and will not suffer it to err and fall. But as for the open known church, and the outward face thereof, it is not the pillar of truth, otherwise than it is, as it were, a register or treasury to keep the books of God's holy will and testament, and to rest only thereupon. For if the church proceed further, to make any new articles of faith, besides the Scripture, or contrary to the Scripture, or direct not the form of life according to the same, then it is not

the pillar of truth, nor the church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan, and the temple of antichrist, which both erreth itself, and bringeth into error as many as do follow it."*

Again: "For there be two manner of churches; one true, perfect, and holy in the sight of God; and another, false, imperfect, and ungodly. Truth it is, that the true church of God, being grounded and set upon his holy word, (I mean the gospel of grace,) cannot err unto damnation. But the other, how shining and glorious soever it appear, if it wander abroad, and be not contained within the compass and limits of the word written, is no true, but a feigned and forged church. That church as it is without the compass of God's promises made in truth, not only may, but also doth commonly, yea, continually, err and go astray; for they are not coupled to the head Christ, which is the life, the way, and the truth. Paul, the apostle of God and elect vessel of salvation, writing to the Galatians, hath these words: 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than we have preached, hold him accursed.' And yet the Papists, not fearing the curse of God, dare be bold to teach things which Paul never knew, yea, things clean contrary to his evident and manifest teaching. Such gross ignorance (I would to God it were but ignorance indeed) is entered into their heads, and such arrogant boldness passeth their hearts, that they are bold to affirm no church to be the true church of God but that which standeth by ordinary succession of bishops, in such pomp and glorious sort as now is seen."†

Hooker says,—"That church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, (albeit their natural persons be visible,) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a large multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and saving mercy which God showeth toward his church, the only proper subject thereof is this church. Even so on the other side when we read of any duty which the church of God is bound unto, the church whom this doth concern is a sensibly known company."‡

* See Cranmer's Works, Oxford edition, vol. iii, pp. 18, 19, 20.

† Works, vol. iv, pp. 154, 155.

‡ Eccl. Polity, vol. i, pp. 285, 286. Oxford edition.

The reader will remark this radical difference between the views presented by these great writers and our modern high-Churchmen. The former apply the promises wholly to the *invisible*, and the latter to the *visible* church. This places them as distant from each other as the poles. High-Churchmen urge that we are under obligation to attach ourselves to *their* church, for the promises of God were given to *the* church: that there could never have been a general apostasy of the visible church, for God has promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it:" that the succession must have been preserved in the church, for God promised to be with her ministers "always, even to the end of the world," &c. Now all this is wholly nugatory upon the theory of Archbishop Cranmer and "the judicious Hooker." For though these promises have never failed the real or invisible church of Christ, yet they may have failed the visible church—or rather, they were never given to her. Even some Romish writers have advanced the same views, and wholly abandoned the ground generally taken by Romanists, that if the Romish Church has apostatized, the promise of God has failed.*

But Churchmen and Romanists, generally holding that the promises are made to the visible church, and that the visible church is a united corporate body, and claiming that their church is that body, find it necessary to set up a justification of that claim. Mr. Palmer tells us there can be but one church in the same place, and of course if there are several Christian communions in the same place, all save one are false churches. All Catholics, both Roman and Anglican, tell us there can be but one catholic church, and that church must be in visible unity with itself. These views necessarily impose upon those who maintain them the burden of showing the signs or attributes of the true visible church, so that men may be able to distinguish between the true church, or true branches of the visible church catholic, and "the denominations" or spurious churches. We will now attend to the rules by which we are instructed to make up our judgment in the case. Says Mr. Palmer:—

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* *Perus*, upon Matt. xvi, 18, 19, says,—"Christ speaks not here of the church as it is commonly understood of the collection of all Christians, whether good or bad, but of the church according to the Spirit, which comprehends only the elect."* And *Lupus* affirms that "the church which received the keys, is not the universal communion of the faithful in the lawful sacraments, but the sole congregation of the just, or communion of saints."†

* Fer. in Matt. † Lup. in Concil, tom. iv, p. 618.

"The precepts of Christian prudence require that we should take the *briefest* course consistent with a security of arriving at a sound conclusion in a practical question of such vital importance. 'The time is short' to run the race of Christianity, even when we have entered on it; how necessary is it then that we should endeavor to find speedily, as well as certainly, the arena in which it is to be run. It is with such views that theologians in various ages have endeavored to lay down rules for the discrimination of Christ's church, by a comparatively short and intelligible process; and these rules are styled *notes* or *signs* of the church. By notes of the church are meant some of its more prominent attributes, which may be ascertained and applied to all existing communities of professing Christians, without any very lengthened discussion of obscure and difficult points."—Vol. i, pp. 45, 46.

Dr. Field thus lays down "the nature" of these "*notes*:"—

"Perpetually and absolutely that is proper to a thing, which is inseparable and incommunicable, as never being not found in that to which it is proper, nor ever being found in anything else. Those things which are thus and in this sort proper to a thing, either are of the essence of that to which they are proper, or that is of the essence of them: by both these, a thing may be known from all other whatsoever, but more specially by them that are of the essence of that which we desire to know. These things, thus generally observed touching the nature of the notes of difference, whereby one thing may be discerned and known from another, if we apply particularly to the church, we shall easily know which are the true, certain, and infallible notes thereof, about which our adversaries so tediously contend and jangle, delivering them confusedly without order, and doubtfully without all certainty."—P. 87.

Here we have the general principles upon which the notes of the church must be drawn out. *First*, they must be *plain*, so as to be easily understood. *Secondly*, they must be "inseparable" from the church—always found where the church is. *Thirdly*, they must be "incommunicable"—never found in any community except the church. So far our authors go on with confidence. But they stop short of their main point, and that is, that these notes should be proved, by some legitimate authority, to belong to the church—to constitute its "essence." If this point is merely assumed without evidence, the whole superstructure falls to the ground.

This plan of finding the church by certain infallible signs has been adopted by both Romanists and Churchmen; and, indeed, by the continental reformers. And there can be no objection to the general principles of the plan, provided a legitimate course of investigation be pursued in its carrying out. But at this point Romanists and high-Churchmen have failed. Easy as Mr. Palmer would

have us think this plan of finding out the true church is, neither Romanists nor Churchmen have ever been able to settle the great essential principles of the plan itself. In the first place, they do not agree as to what constitutes "the notes of the church;" and in the next place they are equally at variance as to what is the legitimate proof of these notes—whether they are to be settled by Scripture, or Scripture and antiquity, or by mere reason independent of both, "the catholic doctors" have not been able to determine.

Now let us inquire, in the first place, into the opinions of the doctors as to what these notes are. And *first* we will see what the Romish writers say. These writers do not agree as to the *number* of the notes of the church, and of course they differ as to what they are. *Valentia* reckons four of these notes, *Driedo* six, *Medina* ten, *Sanders* and *Pistorius* twelve, *Bellarmine* fifteen, and *Bossius* one hundred! And each of these high authorities supposes his catalogue perfect, without deficiency or excess. Of course the whole catalogue, taken together, constitutes the evidence of the church. As Cardinal *Richlieu* says, "It is to be observed that although it does not follow that society which hath one of these notes of the church is the true church; yet it follows, that society which wants one of these notes is not the true church."* And *Valentia*, "These are the notes which we urge, one, holy, catholic, apostolic. These are not the notes of the church singly, but conjunctly; because may be that one or two of them may agree to others."†

The Romish doctors are equally at variance as to the authority by which these notes are to be settled; one class holding it is only "by the light of reason" that we are to determine them, and the other, that they are "marked out and taught in the Scripture." Of the former class are *Canus*, *Bannes*, *Suarez*, *Duvall*, *Conink*, *Arriaga*, *Usambertus*, *Gillius*, *Amicus*, and *Rhodius*. Of the latter class are *Driedo*, the Popish disputants in the conference of Ratisbon, and Cardinal *Richlieu*.

It will of course not be expected that this class of theologians would agree any better when they come to tell us who constitute the church. The leading opinions upon this point may be divided into three classes. The first teaches "that the church is made up of all persons baptized and outwardly professing the true faith, and adhering to the pope of Rome, whether they be truly faithful, or secretly infidels." The second, "to external profession," requires "internal faith, at least in form," and thus excludes all secret

* Meth., liv. 1. chap. 8. † Anal. Fid., lib. 6, cap. 7.

infidels and heretics. And the third requires "charity to be added to these two," and thus leave no place in the church but for those who are "truly just and free from mortal sin." The first opinion is defended by *Canus*, *Bellarmine*, *Duvall*, and almost all the later French writers. The *second* is taught by *Launoy*, *Alensis*, *Clemangis*, *Turrecremata*, and *Jacobatius*. The third by *Bannes*, *Hugo á Sancto Victore*, *Antoninus* of Florence, *Cusanus*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *J. Fr. Picus*, *Mirandula*, *Ferus*, and *Lupus*. We have before us the authorities here adduced, but cannot occupy the space to give the language used. We would just notice, however, that several of the authors under the second head have gone so far as to assert "that the church may be reduced to one only woman, as it actually was at the time of our Saviour's passion—all the apostles being fallen from the faith, the same continued in the blessed Virgin alone."*

Our readers will doubtless now conclude that the true church is not so easily ascertained, either by the help of notes or otherwise, if they must go to the Romish doctors for direction; that after all the croaking about the holy Catholic Church—her being an infallible guide in controversies, never erring and the like—her learned doctors are not able to agree as to what are her essential attributes, and how they are to be ascertained. No wonder Dean Field sarcastically alludes to this state of things when laying down his principles upon the notes of the church, "about which," says he, "our adversaries so tediously contend and jangle."

But do Churchmen come any nearer to an agreement upon these matters than Romanists? They do not. This we shall now proceed to show. It was well for Mr. Palmer to guard himself by asserting that he is "not obliged to follow, implicitly, the judgment of particular theologians in ancient and modern times, in selecting notes of the church." But what obligations his readers can be under "to follow" him "implicitly," especially when he differs so materially from the most respectable "theologians" of his own church, and even, as we shall presently see, from the Homilies of that church, is for them well to consider.

Mr. Palmer, following Valentia, or, as he says, "the Constantinopolitan creed," makes the notes of the church to be the following four,—"one, holy, catholic, and apostolic." Of course it might be expected that all good Churchmen would agree in these notes. But Mr. Palmer himself tells us that

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* See Placette's Incurable Skepticism of the Church of Rome, chap. xxiv, and Field on the Church, p. 49.

Dr. *Field* admits truth of doctrine; use of sacraments and means instituted by Christ; union under lawful ministers; antiquity without change of doctrine; lawful succession, that is, with true doctrine; and universality in the *successive* sense, that is, the prevalence of the church successively in all nations." And, "Bishop Taylor admits as notes of the church, antiquity, duration, succession of bishops, union of members among themselves and with Christ, sanctity of doctrine," &c.—Vol. i, pp. 47, 48.

Now here is a considerable diversity at the outset.

We will give a few more of the many varieties of opinion upon the notes of the church, which may be found in the best church authorities. Dr. *Sherlock* says,—"To begin with the Protestant way of finding out the church by the essential properties of a true church; such as the profession of the true Christian faith, and the Christian sacraments rightly and duly administered, according to the institutions of our Saviour, and the apostolical practice. This is essential to a true church; for there can be no true Christian church without the true faith, and Christian sacraments, which cannot be rightly administered but by church officers rightly and truly ordained. The regular exercise of discipline is not necessary to the being of the church, but to the purity and good government of it."*

Dr. *Freeman* says,—"That the sincere preaching of the faith or doctrine of Christ, as it is laid down in the Scriptures, is the only sure, infallible mark of the church of Christ, is a truth so clear in itself, so often and fully proved by learned men of the Reformation, that it may justly seem a wonder, that any church, which is not conscious to herself of any errors and deviations from it, should refuse to put herself upon that trial."†

And Dr. *Payne* says,—"We desire nothing more than to find out the *true church* by the *true faith*, and we think this is the true way to find it out; for Christian faith is prior to the Christian church; and that must be first known and supposed, before we can know any such thing as a church; for it is the faith makes the church, and not the church the faith; and therefore the church is to be known by the true doctrine, and not the true doctrine by the church, as some folks say."‡

We shall give one more reference. It may be found in the Homilies of the Church of England; and these Homilies are recognized in the thirty-fifth article of the church, as containing "godly

* See Cardinal Bellarmine's Notes of the Church, examined and refuted in a Series of Tracts, pp. 3, 4.

† Ibid., p. 69. ‡ Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

and wholesome doctrine." Here it is said, "The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone. And it hath always three *notes* or *marks* whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God, and also to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith."*

Here we have the sense of the English reformers, as it still remains in the authorized standards of the English Church. How much it differs from the statements which go before we need not suggest: let the reader compare them, and he will see. Upon such a comparison it will appear, that the notes of the church drawn up by Mr. Palmer, or rather which he has adopted from a certain "creed," and which are held by him in common with several Romish writers, are wholly different from those of the homily, he having *rejected every one of those drawn up by the reformers and adopted by his own church.* It would seem that the church has become a different thing from what it was in the days of Cranmer, and Field, and Taylor; or, to speak more properly, Church of England divines have changed their views of the real nature of the church. This whole difference may be explained by simply adverting to one fact. Once the English divines considered the Church of Rome an apostate church—antichrist—the man of sin—and the reformed churches of the continent, though under Presbyterian government, true churches of Christ, and consequently true branches of the catholic church. But now the prevailing doctrine is, that the Church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and all communions everywhere destitute of "the apostolic succession of bishops" are mere "denominations"—not churches of Christ, and of course constitute no part of the catholic church. This is Mr. Palmer's theory; and hence he could not adopt the *notes* of the homily, which would apply to all orthodox Protestant communions, but he must adopt a set of *notes* which will cut them off and embrace *Rome.* But we cannot now pursue this point. What we are laboring to show, is the utter disagreement and confusion which prevail among church authorities upon the subject: and the impossibility of finding the true church by the aid of the *notes* they give us. We are loath to think that Mr. Palmer will be considered, by Churchmen generally, better authority than many of the most

* Homily on Whitsunday.

learned church bishops, or even the Homilies of the church. Even with the sanction of Bp. Whittingham, we can scarcely see how the "Treatise on the Church" should become the standard of Churchmen, and compel everything that has preceded it, even the most ancient formularies, to bend to its dogmas. But they must allow this, and concede that the British reformers, and many of the most venerable names which are found in the catalogue of English bishops, have been sadly led astray upon the true nature of the church, and have even taught gross heresy upon the subject, before they can follow Mr. Palmer. His method of finding out the church, it must be borne in mind, Mr. Palmer represents as perfectly plain and easy. His *notes* constitute a labor-saving expedient—they shed such light upon the path of the inquirer, that though a fool, he need not err. And yet at the very outset we have to set aside the highest church authorities before we can safely listen to him at all. This we must do either by presuming or proving them false. A dutiful son of the church will scarcely do the first, and it would be a work which would require the talents of Mr. Palmer and Bishop Whittingham united to do the second. Such are a few of the difficulties in the way in a search for the true church of Christ, under the direction of our learned church guides.

Now let us take up some of these notes, and try "the church" by them, and see whether she will abide the test. Bishop Taylor makes "union of members among themselves" a note of the church. Does this note apply to the Church of England, or to the Protestant Episcopal Church? These communions have long boasted of their *unity* and *concord*, but what is their present condition? They are now involved in a controversy among themselves upon radical points of Christian doctrine, and the parties mutually charge each other with having embraced "another gospel." The Protestant party charge their antagonists with Romish heresies, and the British Critic, the very *beau ideal* of high-Churchism, declares that if the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith were to be exchanged for heathenism, it would be an improvement! Occurrences connected with a recent ordination in this city, to say nothing of other indications, prove that the conflict is as hot in this country, and the division between the two parties as wide, as on the other side of the water. Where, then, is that "union of members among themselves," which the good bishop makes a note of the church?

Again, in the homily above quoted, "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline" is made a note of the church. Now where is the

"ecclesiastical discipline" of the English Church? The keys of discipline are given, or rather *sold* to the state. We will now give the proof. In the "Commination," it is said, that "in the primitive church there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sins were put to open penance," &c. "Instead whereof, (until the said discipline may be restored again, which is much to be wished,) it is thought good," &c. Here it is distinctly confessed that the "godly discipline" of "the primitive church" is entirely lost in the English Church, and provision is made for a confession, and prayer for its restoration, in the beginning of Lent, *once a year*. The following strong statements are from the best church authorities:—

"It ought surely to be taken into consideration, whether those who are intrusted on behalf of the church, do enough toward the discharge of a good conscience, in wishing once a year, at reading the office on Ash-Wednesday, that the discipline of the church was restored. Or whether it lie not upon them to do something toward regaining it, that the church may be restored to the power it hath from Christ, &c. If any, when this comes to be considered, can content themselves only to wish the discipline restored, without moving either hand or foot toward it; they are such as either understand not the usefulness of the discipline of the church to Christian purposes, or make no conscience of discharging a duty to God in the execution of its ministry, to serve those ends. I say this, because an honest conscience can never satisfy itself, that wishing the ministry of the church to take place, and have the effect it ought to have, is the same with doing that which may restore and render it effectual. Wishes are indeed marks of a good intention, and an acceptable zeal, where no more is possible to be done; but ever to wish and make no attempt toward the thing wished for, if it be zeal, is such as is a reproach to itself."*

"The restoring of the ancient discipline is earnestly desired by the Church of England in her Office of *Commination;* the performance of which pious wish, or the endeavoring it at least, is a duty incumbent on our governors, to whom with all due respect we ought to leave it. But, with due submission be it spoken, methinks it looks too much like dissembling with God, and imposing on the people, to have this passage stand in our public Liturgy, and read solemnly in our congregations once a year, and that too upon one of the greatest fasts in our church, when people are, or ought to be, most serious; and yet no attempt made toward the

* Church of England's Wish, (1703,) pp. 4, 5. See the book throughout; written by a very honest and zealous Churchman.

restoring of this godly and much wished for, but still neglected discipline. A matter well worthy the consideration of both the houses of convocation; in the zealous promoting whereof, it is heartily wished all their little differences might be swallowed up, and finally buried."*

"The Church of England has for two hundred years wished for the restoration of discipline, and yet it is but an ineffective wish. For nothing is done toward introducing it, but rather things are gone backward, and there is less discipline for these last sixty years, since the times of the unhappy confusions, than there was before."†

Upon this subject a bishop of the Church of England writes as follows:—

"My last particular, which remains yet to be handled, is that of the authority of bishops to govern as well as to ordain. And in the first place, who can but wonder to see men so zealous in assuming to themselves the sole power of ordination, so much neglect, and even wholly abandon the power of the keys, that of excommunication, so high and so dreadful; which, though by great abuse in latter times is made very contemptible, yet in the original institution and primitive practice was very terrible.—As his heavenly Father sent him with this power, so sent he his apostles with this power, saying unto them, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained:' wherefore if there be anything in the office of a bishop to be stood upon and challenged peculiar to themselves, certainly it should be this; yet this is in a manner quite relinquished unto their chancelors, laymen, who have no more capacity to sentence or absolve a sinner, than to dissolve the heavens and earth, and make a new heaven and a new earth, and this pretended power of chancelors is sometimes purchased with a sum of money, their money perish with them. Good God! what a horrible abuse is this of the divine authority!—And by this his authority the chancelor takes upon him to sentence not only laymen, but clergymen also brought into his court for any delinquency, and in the court of the arches there they sentence even bishops themselves. This is a common practice in later ages, but in St. Ambrose's time so great a wonder, as with amazement crieth out against the emperor Valentinian, when he took upon him to judge in such cases, saying, 'When was it ever heard of since the beginning of the world, that laymen should judge of spirituals.'—'Tis too true, and I remember when the bishop

* Ellesby's Caution against Ill Company, (1705,) Pref., pp. 2, 3.

† Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ, book xv, chap. ix., sec. 8.

of Wells, hearing of a cause corruptly managed, and coming into the court to rectify it, the chancelor, Dr. Duke, fairly and mannerly bid him be gone, for he had no power there to act anything, and therewithal pulls out his patent sealed by the bishop's predecessor, which, like Perseus's shield with the Gorgon's head, frighted the poor bishop out of the court."*

The famous "Test Act" (1762, 25° Charles II. 2.) required that all persons filling places of honor or profit should "receive the eucharist according to the rites of the Church of England."† The practical operation of this law is set in a strong but true light by *Towgood*. He says,—

"Are not some of the most profane and abandoned of men, rakes, debauchees, blasphemers of God, and scoffers at all religion, often seen upon their knees around your communion table, eating the children's bread, and partaking of the holy elements to qualify for a post? Dare your ministers refuse them? No, they dare not refuse the most impious blasphemer the three kingdoms afford, when he comes to demand it as a qualification for an office in the army or fleet.

"And if in any other case the priest denies the sacrament to the most infamous sinner dwelling in his parish, if the man, upon an appeal to the ecclesiastical court, can secure the favor of the lay-chancelor, he may securely defy both the minister and the bishop to keep him from the Lord's table. The chancelor's determination shall stand in law, though contrary to the bishops; and the minister be liable to a suspension for refusing compliance; and if he is contumacious, and will not give the man the sacrament, even to excommunication itself."‡

The last witness upon this subject we shall here present is now living. Bishop Short, after speaking of the influence of the union of

* The Naked Truth, &c., by Bishop Croft. See Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts on the most interesting and entertaining Subjects, pp. 381–383.

† See Bishop Short's History of the Church of England, sec. 720. In 1828 the "Test Act" was repealed, and thus one of the great stumbling blocks was removed. This act, which had borne heavily upon the Roman Catholics, and excluded them, with a great mass of dissenters, from the emoluments and honors of all offices under the government, had for more than a century been the means of corrupting and degrading the holy eucharist to the character of a mere civil institution—a mere qualification for civil office, which the greatest infidel in the kingdom had a right to demand. We could wish that the repeal of the "Test and Corporation Acts" had been followed by the removal of other occasions of offence of equal magnitude, which we are sorry to say still remain.

‡ A Dissent from the Church of England fully justified, p. 32.

church and state upon the condition of the church, says,—"It has put a stop in a great measure to the exercise of discipline over the members of the church itself; and while we trust that the Establishment contains perhaps [?] as large a number of the real servants of God as any other body of men of the same size, we cannot but deplore that there are many offending members in it, for the correction and cutting off of whom no steps are, or perhaps can be taken."*

Does the reader want further evidence that the Church of England is wholly wanting in "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline," which in the homily is made a note of the church? If more were wanting, the materials are ample, but we doubt not every true friend of religion who has followed us has already been sufficiently pained with the facts and testimony presented. We will then add no more.

The notes of the homily we confess look more like an exhibition of truth than any other set of notes with which we have met either from Romanists or Churchmen. Our modern Churchmen may reject them as unscrupulously as though they were found in Calvin's Institutes or Wesley's Sermons, and claim the right to supersede them with such as will better suit their taste. But until they shall show that their *catholic* notes are better sustained by Holy Scripture, thinking men will rather adhere to "the ancient landmarks." And for ourselves, until we have further light upon the subject, we shall persist in maintaining that these same notes of the homily are the authorized notes of the church, adopted and set forth by the Church of England, and of course the notes by which it is but fair to test the claims of that church, and of her daughter in this country, to be "the church." And as the homily tells us that "the true church" "hath always these three notes," if upon examination it is found that the English Church or the Protestant Episcopal Church want either of these "three notes," it is but justice to judge them by their own authorized definitions. Now we say, according to the test here laid down, the English hierarchy is not a "true church." This we say according to the rule laid down in their homily, and upon the testimony of their own bishops and learned doctors, as above adduced. It will be understood that we give not this as our independent opinion, but as a legitimate inference from church authorities. "The sects" are often charged with wanton assaults upon "the church." The fact is, however, that Churchmen have ever been the aggressors, and "the sects" have stood upon the defensive—have met the unchurching asseve-

* History of the Church of England, sec. 818.

rations of their assailants with arguments drawn from Scripture, reason, common sense, and history—and have refuted over and over again the unauthorized claims and pretensions of their opponents. The times now, we are disposed to think, call upon the evangelical churches to "carry the war into Africa." And, as has been seen, all that is necessary in this case is to turn against Churchmen their own forces. We would put them upon their defense. We say, their own standards being the judges, that the English hierarchy is not a "true church" of Christ. Now let them plead guilty, or else honestly confess that there is no certain standard in the whole range of their theology—no "consent of doctors"—no notes of the church particularly defined; and then, that every man is left to make up his own mind and entertain his own views with regard to the nature of the church, and what communions are true churches of Christ.

Now we say fearlessly, that we do not consider the English Church to be established upon the principles of the New Testament. That standard knows no *state* church—no system of government so identified with the civil policy as that the moral discipline is entirely neutralized—the forms of worship, standards of doctrine, and terms of communion wholly under the control of the civil power, and so, of course, often subjected to the caprice of unconverted men—"evil livers," and even professed infidels! The English hierarchy is a politico-ecclesiastical institution, but a true New Testament church it is not. There may be, we trust there are, many such, that is, true churches, embraced in this great heterogeneous corporation. A parish or a diocese under the government of a pious pastor might be such, though, under the existing constitution and laws, it would be exceedingly difficult to keep the necessary gospel order.

In respect to discipline, which we, with the homily, consider a note of the true church, the Church of England keeps less of the form and appearance than even the Church of Rome. The discipline of the Romish Church is defective, and not unfrequently wholly unscriptural. Still she holds her members to strict responsibility to their pastors. And she keeps in her own hand the power of repelling transgressors from her "eucharistic sacrifice," and of finally excommunicating the refractory. But this power, as we have said before, the Church of England has given up to the state. Perhaps she thinks she has received of the state an equivalent in her endowments. But we know not what right she had from her Lord to barter away "the keys" for temporal livings! Let her look to this. When God shall require of her an account of the

high trust committed to her, what will she say? When she is required to give a reason for breaking down her hedges and letting into her pale a flood of infidels and heretics, it will scarcely be sufficient for her to answer, Lord, by this means I have made myself rich—I have fed and overfed my clergy—I have the power to control the universities—I have encircled within my communion lords and ladies—I have set up a tower of strength against dissent—I am one of the noblest establishments in the world—I am the bulwark of Christianity!! Will this do? No, indeed! If by this means that proud corporation has gained in temporalities, she has lost in purity infinitely more; if she has kept up the form of religion, she has lost the power; if she has preserved the outward profession of Protestantism, she has lost its spirit; if she still retains the name of a church, she has lost the purity and vitality of the spouse of Christ.

We shall, for the present, spare the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, leaving the reader to judge for himself how far she has preserved "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline." If she is marred by any of the defects of her old mother, she has not the same apology. She is wholly unconnected with the state. She has no difficulty in the way of enacting and executing such canons of discipline as would preserve her purity. But we must not enlarge.

We shall proceed next to examine Mr. Palmer's notes of the church—"*One, holy, catholic, and apostolic.*" It must be recollected that according to Dr. Field the notes of the church are "inseparable and incommunicable"—they must *always* be found connected with the church, and *never* with any other community. Let us then proceed to inquire whether the notes which Mr. Palmer gives us will answer the description of Dr. Field, and to see how much light they afford us with regard to the true nature of the church.

First. We will inquire whether oneness or unity is a note of the church. In doing this we shall first notice some of Mr. Palmer's definitions and limitations. He treats this subject under two general heads—"unity of *communion*, and unity of *faith*." Under the first head he attempts to prove the following propositions:—

"First. That external, visible communion between all Christians, in matters of religion, was instituted and commanded by God.

"Secondly. That separation from this communion, either by a voluntary act, or by the legitimate judgment of the church itself, excludes from the church or the kingdom of Christ.

"Thirdly. That there is no promise that external communion shall never be interrupted in the catholic church."—Vol. i, p. 63.

"Voluntary separation," our author holds to be "a sin against

our brethren, against ourselves, against God; a sin which, unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul." To prove this, he adduces numerous testimonies from the fathers; all of which, Bishop Whittingham tells us in a note, relate to "separation from the communion of *a church*, involving, as a necessary consequence, separation from the church *catholic*." Here we have several important principles. *First*, that "separation from the communion of a church" is separation from the church catholic. *Secondly*, separation from the communion of the church catholic is schism, and "a sin against our brethren, against ourselves, against God." And *thirdly*, such schism "unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul." The corollary is, that "separation from the communion of a church" is *damning*—"unless repented of is *eternally destructive to the soul*."

Now we can see at a glance what was the fate of all the reformers upon this principle. They all must certainly have perished without hope! Mr. Palmer does make an effort to save himself and the English Church from the legitimate results of his theory, but with what success we shall see. He acknowledges the Church of Rome a true church—a branch of the church catholic. The only hope he has for the continental reformers is that their separation was forced and temporary, and as to the English Church she never separated from the communion of the Church of Rome. She was, to be sure, cut off from that communion, but not by a "legitimate judgment." But all these are mere assumptions, and some of them are against the clearest historical evidence, and not one of them capable of proof upon the author's principles. On the contrary, were it necessary, it would be easy to prove that the separation of the continental reformers from the Church of Rome was properly voluntary, and as certainly final as any separation could be known to be at any period before the final consummation: and that the separation of the English Church was at first wholly *voluntary*, and the "judgment" of the Church of Rome which followed was as clearly "legitimate" as any ecclesiastical decision can be upon Mr. Palmer's principles of apostolic authority. But we must, at least for the present, leave this part of the subject.

Our author finally concludes "that separation from the church is incapable of justification." The various "excuses," such as "personal edification and improvement, correction of deficiencies in discipline, rites, &c.—because its external communion includes evil men—the mere existence of doctrinal errors, and the corruption of rites and sacraments," are, according to Mr. Palmer, wholly invalid. All these things put together, "afford no excuse whatever

for separating from the communion of any church." All this he gravely proves by St. Paul's prohibition to "do evil that good may come!" never seeming to be aware that, in this wondrously conclusive argument, he assumes what is still to be proved, that separation is in all cases an "evil" in the sense in which St. Paul uses the term.

But should our author prove what he undertakes, he would prove the greatest efforts of his own learned and worthy bishops to have been in vain, and worse than in vain. For in their very voluminous writings which have been put forth to justify separation from the Church of Rome, they undertake what Mr. Palmer, with singular modesty, says can never be done—they oppose St. Paul's doctrine that we are not to do evil that good may come, and by a formal defense of schism, they become schismatics, and so put themselves (without repentance) beyond the possibility of salvation.

In order to sustain his theory of unity, Mr. Palmer is obliged, in some way, to make it consistent with the present state of the "catholic" churches. The Church of Rome, the churches of the East, and the Church of England, are all, according to this author, true churches, and though they have long been completely separated, and utterly hostile to each other, they are still true branches of the catholic church, and that church is "ONE." The difficulty it seems is fully met by providing for an *interruption* of *unity*. For though "the external communion of the catholic church" is essential to its being, and *unity* with each other is a note of all its true members, yet this unity may "be interrupted." Now we observe that here is rather a serious *interruption* of *unity*. The Greek and Roman Churches mutually excommunicated and anathematized each other *more than a thousand years since*, and still persist in mutual charges of heresy and schism. In 1569, by a bull of Pope Pius V., "the supreme head on earth" of the English Church, with all who adhered to her, were excommunicated and anathematized: since which the whole English Church has been considered by the Church of Rome as involved in damnable heresy and schism; and the Church of Rome stands to this day charged with the same offenses in the authorized documents and formularies of the Church of England. Nor is there a whit more unity between the English and Greek Churches, than between the English and Roman. The Greek Church annually, on "the festival of orthodoxy," "anathematizes those who refuse adoration to the saints, or obeisance to their pictures, with all who pay them merely feigned homage, and all who regard the Lord's supper as merely figurative and symbolical, and all who deny subjection to

the first seven general councils. Every one falling under these anathemas, she regards as excluded from the Christian church, and will not admit them to the communion without rebaptism, and she forbids them intermarriage with her members."*

Now admitting these churches to be branches of the catholic church, we wish to know how a more effectual breaking up of her "external communion" could well be effected? What authority has Mr. Palmer for calling this a mere *interruption* of unity? Does he certainly know that these hostile branches of the catholic church will ever be reconciled to each other? We doubt not but he sincerely desires it, and that many who symbolize with him are now laboring for its accomplishment. Indeed, some of his brethren have labored so openly to effect a union with Rome as to have occasioned much scandal, and this same Mr. Palmer has felt himself called upon to lift his powerful pen to ward off from the heads of the Tractarians the odium occasioned by the too rapid march of the "British Critic" toward the goal.† From which it would seem that our author has no notion that the time for the union has yet arrived, or that there is any immediate prospect of such an event.

Now we contend *first*, that these schisms are *radical*, and, as far as human foresight can determine, *final*. And *secondly*, that during their continuance, which has already been a tolerably long stretch of time, there is wanting, according to Mr. Palmer, one of the notes of the church in all those communions which he considers as true branches of the catholic church. Where, then, is the "ONE holy catholic and apostolic church" at the present time? Where has she been these thousand years back? As one of her essential attributes is *unity*, she is either to be found in one of the fragments into which she has been broken, or she is annihilated—or, which is more likely, her unity is not exactly the thing it is represented to be by our high-Churchmen.

On "unity of faith," we have the author's doctrine of "heresy." He defines "heresy" to be "a *pertinacious* denial of some truth *certainly* revealed." But he labors to show that "all errors even in matters of faith are not heretical." And here he fairly leaves a loop-hole for all sorts of heretics to escape by, except "pertinacious" *dissenters*. But we cannot fully analyze this part of his system.

It is observable that "the sects," as they are called, notwithstanding they are taunted with their differences by high-Churchmen and

* See Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners, 1841, p. 90.

† See "A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times, with Reflections on existing Tendencies to Romanism, &c., by Rev. William Palmer." 1843.

Romanists, who constantly maintain that they cannot be branches of the church catholic, because they are all independent of each other, do really, after all, foster and exhibit the true principles of Christian union. They agree in the great essentials of Christian faith and charity—in the sacraments and ministry—and all equally acknowledge the Scriptures as the one only rule of faith and practice. They each acknowledge the validity of the ordinances as practiced by the others, and hold friendly and Christian correspondence. Now if all these principles of union were maintained among the self-styled catholic churches, would they not plead that "the church" was truly ONE? How does it happen that though these churches differ in essentials, even in church government—the only point which they seem to make essential to catholicity—one being *monarchical*, another *patriarchal*, and another *prelatical*—and though there have arisen among them schisms which are in no fair way of being cured, yet the *unity* of these bodies is only "interrupted;" while it is not admitted that there is, or ever was, any possibility of unity among "the sects?" Indeed, there is not, nor ever was, such an interruption (alias destruction) of unity among the evangelical denominations as now exists and is likely to continue among these "catholic churches."

All we can take time to say further upon this note of the church is, that after all it is really *not a note of the church*, in any proper sense. Any association may be *united*. A club of infidels may all agree perfectly in one system of principles and measures. Hell itself may be in league. As, says Milton,

"Devil with devil damn'd, firm concord hold."

The notes of the church then being, according to Dr. Field, "incommunicable," this pretended note being found in all sorts of associations, cannot be a note of the church.

The next note in Mr. Palmer's catalogue is holiness or "sanctity." This he considers "in several different points of view:"—

"First, the sanctity of its head, and of those who founded it; secondly, the holiness of its doctrine; thirdly, the means of holiness which it has in the sacraments; fourthly, the actual holiness of its members; and fifthly, the divine attestations of holiness in miracles."—Vol. i, p. 137.

Our author's discussion of these several points is a strange specimen of theological mistiness. We shall only call attention to the fourth particular—"the actual holiness of its members." In treating this point, the reader will be astonished, no doubt, to learn that

our author maintains the following propositions, which he has in capitals:—

"Those who are sinners, and devoid of lively faith, are sometimes externally members of the church.—Manifest sinners are sometimes external members of the church, and exercise the privileges of its members.—Visible sanctity of life is not requisite for admission to the church of Christ."—Vol. i, pp. 139, 141, 144.

Now if Mr. Palmer had advertised us that he was about to tell us how matters stood in his own church, all this would not have been at all surprising. But his saying this of "the body of Christ," and laboring to prove it from Scripture, is certainly more than could have been expected. Indeed, the whole argument goes against "the actual holiness of its members," as a note of the church. It seems quite sufficient that the church should have a holy "head," holy "doctrine," holy "sacraments," and holy "miracles," without having holy "members."—Now we deny that there are any adults in the *real* church of Christ but such as are regenerate. We do not say, nor do any of the evangelical denominations say, as Mr. Palmer supposes, that "the church can only comprise *perfectly* holy men." All are not "fathers," or even "young men," but there are "little children" in the church. There are among true Christians various stages of religious experience: but all have "passed from death unto life." In the apostolic age, when the true principles of church membership were doubtless well understood, it is said that "the Lord added unto the church daily such as should be saved," (Acts ii, 47,) or *τοὺς σωζομένους the saved—those who were saved.* Upon this passage Dr. A. Clarke observes:—"Though many approved of the life and measures of these primitive Christians, yet they did not become members of this holy church; God permitting none to be added to it, but *τοὺς σωζομένους those who were saved* from their sins and prejudices. The church of Christ was made up of *saints; sinners* were not permitted to incorporate themselves with it."*

Mr. Palmer denies "that visible sanctity of life is required for admission to the church of Christ." Now, if by "visible sanctity of life," he means an established religious character, none, it is presumed, will controvert his position. For as far as we are advised, no evangelical church requires more of an applicant for membership than evidence of *true repentance.* This is all the "visible sanctity" that ought to be required "for admission to the

* See Commentary. The same construction is given by Dr. Bloomfield: see Greek Testament, *in loco.*

church of Christ," and this, according to all New Testament teaching, is absolutely indispensable. To *continued* membership in the church, *the fruits of good living* are absolutely essential, and this is obvious from the very passages which Mr. Palmer quotes to prove the reverse.

We are not at all satisfied with the views of Dr. Mason upon the "mixed state of the church." He gives us formal reasons why "servants of sin as well as servants of righteousness should belong to the church." And the whole looks too much like compromising the holiness of the church, with a view to certain "uses," which to us appear of exceedingly doubtful character. *Allowed corruption* in the church can never add anything to her influence or resources which will compensate her for loss of moral power. An elevated state of moral and ecclesiastical discipline in the church, such as will take cognizance of the earliest developments of ungodliness and heresy, and immediately "purge out the old leaven," is the bulwark of defense, which, under God, will preserve the purity of her doctrine and membership; and too much vigilance can scarcely be exercised by those who are placed as watchmen upon the walls, to sound the alarm when danger is near. If the hedges of discipline are broken down, the church is no longer "a garden sealed," but a *common*, where all classes mingle together in the enjoyment of common privileges, just as it is in the wide world, beyond the pale of the true church. And when this comes to be the case with a church—as it is now with several professed churches—*Ichabod* will be written upon her temples, altars, and services. No impenitent sinner can ever be a member of the church in such a sense as to unite him to Christ, or make him any less an heir of perdition; nor can the church derive any advantage from such a connection which is not more than lost by the reproach which such members fasten upon the character of the church. Indeed, wicked men, however rich or influential, lie upon the very heart of the church as an incubus, obstructing or suppressing her pulsations of pious zeal and truly Christian charity.

We cannot better close what we have to say upon this note of the church, than by presenting to the reader a paragraph from Mr. Wesley. Upon the article of the creed, "The Holy Catholic Church," he remarks:—

"'The holy catholic church?' How many wonderful reasons have been found out for giving it this appellation? One learned man informs us, 'The church is called holy, because Christ the head of it is holy.' Another eminent author affirms, 'It is so called, because all its ordinances are designed to promote holiness.'

And yet another, 'Because our Lord *intended* that all the members of the church should be holy.' Nay, the shortest and the plainest reason that can be given, and the only true one, is—The church is called *holy*, because it *is* holy: because every member thereof is holy; though in different degrees; as he that called them is holy. How clear is this! If the church, as to the very essence of it, is a body of believers, no man, that is not a Christian believer, can be a member of it. If this whole body be animated by one Spirit, and endued with one faith, and one hope of their calling; then he who has not that Spirit, and faith, and hope, is no member of this body. It follows, that not only no common swearer, no sabbath breaker, no drunkard, no whoremonger, no thief, no liar, none that lives in any outward sin; but none that is under the power of anger, or pride; no lover of the world; in a word, none that is dead to God, can be a member of his church."*

The next note of the church, according to Mr. Palmer, is *catholicity*. The Greek word *καθολικος catholicos* signifies *general—universal*. It is found in the inscriptions to the Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, and implies that these epistles are addressed to Christians in general, and not to some particular church. This word is not found connected with the church in the New Testament, but was quite anciently used in this connection. It was first designed to distinguish the church in general from particular churches; but subsequently it was used to distinguish the orthodox church from heretical churches. For several centuries it has been employed as a term of exclusiveness, to mark a communion which claims to be *alone* entitled to the attributes and privileges of the church: such is the use made of it by Romanists, by the Greeks, and by many Churchmen. How it is to be regarded as a note of the church, Mr. Palmer informs us in the following language:—

"Universality, of course, could not have been a characteristic of the church at its commencement, when it only existed at Jerusalem; but the testimony of Scripture, and history, and general opinion, oblige us to believe, that it was afterward to become universal, and to remain so always. It is not necessary for us to suppose a physical and absolute universality, including *all men:* this would be inconsistent with the predictions of antichristian powers. All that is here contended is, that the church was to possess *moral* universality, to obtain adherents in all the nations of the world then known, and to extend its limits in proportion as new nations and countries were discovered; and that it was never to be reduced again to a small portion of the world, though always subject to persecutions, fluctuations, and losses."—Vol. ii, p. 150.

* Sermon "Of the Church"—*Works*, vol. ii, p. 160.

What Mr. Palmer means then by "catholic," is "*moral* universality"—and this implies that the church shall gain "adherents in all the nations of the world." But in this sense catholicity would be a very dubious note of the church, for it might apply, and indeed has often been applied, to antichristian churches. When Arianism had become so general that "Athanasius against the world," had grown into a maxim, was "the catholic church" Arian?

But upon close inspection of Mr. Palmer's authorities, it will be found that there are no less than three distinct theories of catholicity set forth in them. One of these is, that catholicity embraces "the whole world," in opposition to any particular section: another, that of Archbishop Usher, that it embraces "the collection and aggregate of all the faithful:" and another, that of Bishop Pearson, makes it to consist in its "diffusiveness." Now will our good Churchmen tell us how we are to apply this note until we know *what* it is? Mr. Palmer gives us no light upon the subject whatever. His own definition is scarcely intelligible, and those of his authorities, which are thrown into his pages in a perfect jumble, without the least effort to reconcile them, are, in the main points, utterly discordant.

According to many church writers, the church is called catholic on account of the catholicity of her *faith*. This faith was called catholic, both as it contains all things necessary to salvation, and as it was to be preached and published in all times, and successively in all places; according to *Vincentius Lirinensis's* rule, *quod semper, quod relique, quod ab omnibus*, (what has been believed always, everywhere, and by all.*) Now if we are to ascertain where the true faith is by the application of this catholic rule, we shall not find it so easy a task. We are, indeed, put here upon what *Bishop Stillingfleet* properly calls "a wild goose chase," to settle the catholic faith, and then forsooth, when, by the application of this famous rule, we have done this, we are to see what churches hold this catholic faith, and these are to be recognized as true branches of the catholic church. The method which seems to be implied in Mr. Palmer's account of the matter is a little more summary, but no more satisfactory. He, like the Romanists, says, catholicity is a note of the church, then claims catholicity for the English Church, and lo! his conclusion is as clear as light, that the Church of England is the soundest and best branch of the church catholic! But how was this mode of reasoning treated by the old English doctors, when it was used by the Romanists? We will give the reader a specimen or two out of a thousand.

* Popish Notes of the Church examined, p. 71.

Dr. Jackson quotes the Romish author of a work entitled "Guide of Faith," as follows:—"Now I come to the great character of our glory, and renowned title of our profession, the name catholic, a name famous in the primitive church, famous in the apostles' days, and inserted by them among the articles of our creed.—No heretics could ever obtain to be called catholics by true Christians." To this, and much more to the same purpose, the great champion of the "Reformed Church of England" answers: "For this very reason, we Protestants of reformed churches, who are, if not the only true Christians on earth, yet the truest Christians, and the most conspicuous members of the holy catholic church, as militant here on earth, dare not vouchsafe to bestow the name of *catholic* upon any Papist, but with such an addition or item, as we give the name of *angels* to infernal fiends, which we term Satan's angels, or collapsed angels. Now the same analogy which *God's angels* or a holy angel hath to *Satan's angel*, or to a collapsed angel, a true and holy catholic hath to a modern Roman Catholic. For by this term we mean such a one, as being a servant of Satan, doth seek to transform himself into a true and holy catholic. The point which this *blind guide* was to prove was this, *that no heretics could usurp the name or title of catholic.* We say it is the property of the modern Romish Church to counterfeit the fairest titles given to the church, by orthodoxal antiquity, more plausibly than the ancient heretics could. And by this property, we discern her to be that mother of harlots, which can imitate the *lamb's* voice, while she acts the *wolf's* part. He further objects, that the Jews and Mohammedans, *when they hear a man named a catholic*, thereby conceive some member of the present modern Roman Church, not any of *Luther's* or *Calvin's* followers. So we likewise, when we hear a people brag and instile themselves a *holy nation*, we presently conceive the parties that thus instile themselves, to be Jews. Yet do we not for all this believe that the Jewish nation is the *holiest* of nations, or the only chosen people of God now on earth. As for both Jews and Turks, it is likely they could be well content to suffer the Romanist to enjoy the name *catholic*, as a pre-eminence above Christians. For, they might well hope to prove their own religion to be better than the best professed among Christians, if once it were granted that the Roman Catholic religion is the best. But to give the Christian reader some real solace after his pleasant recreation at this ridiculous discourser's folly; in that he and his fellows can thus seriously plead for the name *catholic*, which they seek by faction to engross unto themselves: this is an argument to us, that the floods already approach the sandy foundations whereon

this spiritual Babylon is built, and that her downfall is at hand. For unless her professed champions and pilots were likely to be drowned, they would not so earnestly catch at such shadows, or floating bull-rushes, as this Guide of Faith hath done. But leaving the shadow, let us in the next place see whether have better interest in the body or substance, whether we or they do better deserve the real title of *catholics*."*

Saying nothing, for the present, of that feature of the above passage which seems to deny to Papists any part in the catholic church, we would invite attention to the charge of *unauthorized assumption*, which is so forcibly maintained. The Papist, "*being a servant of Satan*, doth seek to *transform himself into a true and holy catholic*."—And, "It is the property of the modern Romish Church to *counterfeit* the fairest titles given to the church," &c.

Dr. Sherlock, in commenting upon Bellarmine's notes of the church, says, "His first note concerning the name *catholic*, I observe, makes every church a catholic church which will call itself so." Again: Bellarmine says, "It is not without something of God, that she keeps the name still." To this the learned Churchman replies: "But how does she keep it? She will call herself catholic when nobody else will allow her to be so; and thus any church may keep this name, which did originally belong to all true orthodox churches: as for heretics, they have challenged the name, and kept it too among themselves, as the Church of Rome does, though it belonged no more to them than it does to her."†

And *Dr. Freeman* proves, by many conclusive arguments, that "no argument can be drawn from the *bare name* of catholic, to prove a church to be catholic."‡

Now what better right have Churchmen to this famous appellation, *catholic*, than Romanists? Or what evidence does the mere assumption of it afford that they are real catholics? It may be here objected to us that Romanists assume the name and claim the thing *exclusively*, while Churchmen only claim a common title to it with other apostolical, that is, *prelatical* churches. Admitting this difference, to what does it amount? It still restricts the catholic church to the prelatical churches, and so excludes the Reformed Churches of the continent of Europe, and the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist Churches of all parts of the world from any share in the church catholic. It is the same system of exclusiveness with the Romish, only it fixes its limits some-

* See Treatise of the Holy Catholic Church and Faith, chap. xx., ed. 1627.

† Romish Notes of the Church examined, p. 56.

‡ Ibid., pp. 72–76.

what differently. And forsooth, because our Churchmen assume to be true catholics, such they must be conceded to be! For it would seem that in these days, whatever was the case in the days of the old English fathers, the mere assumption of the name catholic is a veritable note of "the church!!!" But it will be found after all the bluster which is raised in these days over this venerable word, that it has no talismanic power to raise from the dead, and to adorn with apostolical simplicity and beauty, a trio of fallen churches, among whom scarcely a vestige of the original signs of a true church of Christ remains.

The fourth and last note of the church in Mr. Palmer's catalogue is *apostolicity*.

We hold that every true church is and must be "*apostolical*;" that is, it must possess the essentials of an apostolic church. And to *apostolicity* we reckon the following particulars necessary:—*First*, a congregation of Christians—of such as have a fair claim to the character of "faithful men," or *true believers*. *Secondly*, "the pure word of God" must be "preached" among them—they must hold the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice, and their doctrines must be dispensed by men publicly recognized by the branch of the church to which they have attached themselves, and to whom they are immediately responsible for the faithful discharge of their peculiar functions. *Thirdly*, "the sacraments" must be "duly administered" among them—these must be both in manner and matter in strict accordance with the New Testament usage. *Fourthly*, "ecclesiastical discipline" must be preserved in a vigorous and healthful condition—none but proper persons must be admitted to the communion of the church, and all heretics and "evil livers" must be excluded her communion.

These particulars of an apostolical church we could easily prove essential to its being, but we cannot enter so wide a field. We can fully justify every one of them from the Scriptures, the fathers, and the reformers—both continental and English—but our limits will not permit.

But these are not the evidences of *apostolicity* adduced by high-Churchmen. They make the whole to consist in "the apostolical succession." Mr. Palmer, after laying down a variety of positions, which he takes for granted, or proves by other hypothetical propositions, presents the *fifth* and last, in these words: "An apostolical succession of ordination is essential to the Christian ministry." And a ministry thus derived from the apostles, by a succession of episcopal ordinations, he makes essential to a church. This is his position:—

"The great external sign of such a continuance of ordinations in any church is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors derived from the apostles; for it is morally certain, that wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned.—This succession from the apostles is a certain mark of a church of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy."—Vol. i, p. 172.

According to this system, no church can claim to be apostolical unless it can fairly make out three things. *First*, that its "chief pastors" are in the regular line of succession from the apostles: that is, have been *canonically* ordained by *prelates*. *Secondly*, that it has never been guilty of "*schism*:" and this must apply to the whole line of bishops from the apostles down. *Thirdly*, that it has never fallen into "*heresy*:" this too must apply to the whole chain of bishops of which the incumbent in the church in question is the last link.

Now we venture to affirm that there is not such a church in existence. Yea, more, *we challenge all the high-Church doctors in Christendom to make out a valid claim, upon these principles, to the character of "a church of Christ," in favor of any existing communion.* And when this is done, *we will*, as Bishop Jewel says, "*subscribe*."

Much has been written upon "the apostolical succession"—some things wisely and well said, and others loosely and foolishly. High-Churchmen usually find it quite as much labor as suits their convenience to assume the very matters upon which the whole controversy hinges, and then brace themselves up, and talk with as much confidence about "the apostolical succession," and the very ancient maxim, "*Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo*—There is no church without a bishop"—as though they were dealing in mathematical axioms. A class of these writers, among whom is Mr. Palmer, throw themselves upon an ocean of definitions and historical facts, where they are so lost that their track is wholly undiscoverable to most readers. But to an acute student of ecclesiastical affairs, their historical and logical delinquencies are perfectly obvious, and little more is necessary than to bring the various parts of their theory together—to answer what they say in one place by what they say in another. Mr. Palmer has written voluminously, and when he shall have acquired sufficient importance—and this by the way he is in a fair way of doing at no distant date—it will be worth while for some shrewd writer to set Mr. Palmer against Mr. Palmer, and so make the learned author of the "Treatise on the Church" neutralize himself.

We shall now, in conclusion, merely glance at a few of the difficulties in making out the succession of episcopal ordinations. It is admitted on all hands that no system is laid down in the New Testament which clearly defines the succession of ordinations, and necessarily secures it from failure. Indeed, the most learned high-Churchmen depend wholly upon *tradition* for all this. There is no legitimate method of proceeding with the argument, but to prove the principle, "There is no church without a bishop," from evidence *aside from the Scriptures*, and then to prove the fact of a legitimate succession. We will not now question the authority of what high-Churchmen call *antiquity* or *tradition*, but will go upon their own ground, that the voice of antiquity is legitimate authority. Now what are the canons which govern the succession of bishops, according to these gentlemen? We shall quote some of them from two sources, which are universally acknowledged by high-Churchmen and Romanists to be authentic, and indeed are referred to as "apostolical documents." The fourth canon of the Council of Nice is as follows:—

"IV. It is most proper that a bishop should be constituted by all the bishops of the province; but if this be difficult on account of some urgent necessity, or the length of the way, that at all events three should meet together at the same place, those who are absent also giving their suffrages, and their consent in writing, and then the ordination be performed. The confirmation, however, of what is done in each province belongs to the metropolitan of it."

In the sixth canon it is said, "But this is clearly to be understood, that if any one be made a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great synod declares that he shall not be a bishop."

Now we have a right to demand the proof that these canons have always been observed in the ordination of all the bishops in the line of succession. Can this be produced? But what will be the result of an application of these canons to episcopal ordinations in this country, where there is no "metropolitan?" Whether episcopal ordinations under these circumstances can be strictly canonical, it may be well for our American Churchmen to consider.

In the "apostolical canons" we have the following:—

"XXXV. Let not a bishop dare to ordain beyond his own limits, in cities and places not subject to him. But if he be convicted of doing so without the consent of those persons who have authority over such cities and places, let him be deposed, and those also whom he has ordained." This canon is quoted by Churchmen to prove the independency of bishops, and so to nullify the authority of the pope or bishop of Rome in the British isles. If

this is a canon of the catholic church, as they maintain, and if they are authorized to infer from it, as they do, that the bishop of Rome never had any more authority in Great Britain than the archbishop of Canterbury has now in Rome, then all the British ordinations since the days of Augustine the monk, who was, by the pope's order, ordained bishop in France by the archbishop of Arles, and received the pope's pall as archbishop of Canterbury, are *null and void*. At least, Augustine and Pope Gregory the Great, and all the bishops that have been ordained in Great Britain since A. D. 600, are liable to be "deposed," according to the apostolical canon.

Again. The same authority throws another difficulty in the way of the English succession.

"XXX. If any bishop obtain possession of a church by the aid of the temporal powers, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all who communicate with him." Now to say nothing of the means by which Augustine exterminated the ancient British bishops, how came Cranmer under Henry VIII., Parker under Elizabeth, and Tillotson under William and Mary, in possession of the see of Canterbury? Was it not "by the aid of the temporal powers?" The last of these instances the Nonjurors maintained to be wholly uncanonical and schismatical,* and the two former were equally so, according to the tenor of this *apostolical* canon. There are then at least three, and including the usurpation of Augustine, four breaches of canonical order in the British succession. The English Church has her succession from a bishop acting "beyond his own limits," in violation of the canons of the

* The learned Nonjuror *Dr. Hicks* holds the following language in relation to this matter, and applies it to the existing succession of English bishops: "For Christian secular powers to drive rightful canonical bishops out of their *thrones*, by secular force, is plainly *dethroning* of the spiritual sovereigns by the spiritual subjects; a driving away the shepherds by the sheep; the fathers by the sons; and by consequence, utter rebellion against *Christ*, as well as an outrage upon the rights of the church." "Those priests, or bishops, who dare usurp the thrones of their fathers or brethren so unjustly, so illegally, so invalidly deprived, and driven from their thrones, are of all others the detestable usurpers, breakers of the most sacred bands of peace, amity, subordination, and charity, by which the kingdom and city of God doth subsist. They are *Korahs*, and princes of schism, from whom the Lord's people, by the laws of the Gospel, and the doctrines of the catholic church, ought to separate at the peril of their souls." "As they are all in the schism, so they are all out of the church, and can perform no acts of priesthood, neither from men toward God, nor from God toward men, that are of any virtue or force."—*Dr. Hicks's XXXIX. Articles.* See Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, vol. iii, pp. 251, 252.

catholic church, and she has preserved it by repeatedly treating the same canons with utter contempt! Her bishops are all, *de facto*, "deposed" by what they generally allow to be *apostolical authority!*

Now be it observed that the authority we quote is the very authority which Churchmen call "most ancient," and upon which they settle the principles of the apostolical succession. For instance, they, upon the same authority, do not admit a bishop to be canonically ordained, and to be in the apostolical succession, who was not ordained by "three bishops,"—they have no authority except these same canons for this, nor have they any higher authority for making bishops a third order independent of presbyters.

The *fact* of an uninterrupted succession we cannot for the present examine. We have adverted to what are called the "canons of the universal church,"* in connection with this subject, because it is upon their authority that the legitimacy of the pretended succession of English bishops is professedly based. No intelligent high-Church successionist pretends that the mere laying on of the hands of a bishop is of itself sufficient to constitute another bishop, and induct him into the apostolical succession. It must be done according to *canonical order*, if it be a valid ordination. We then venture to try the English succession by the acknowledged code —the canons of the catholic church—and we should hazard nothing in resting the whole question upon this test.

We might quote other canons from the same source which are equally subversive of English episcopacy, but our limits are exhausted. We have not entered into the general argument upon the apostolical succession, as this would have carried us quite beyond all reasonable bounds. Nor have we the space to present the arguments from the canons as fully as we desired. Upon some other occasion, and perhaps in some other form, should God spare us, we may present the result of our inquiries upon the several topics treated in this article more fully. The more we investigate the subject historically the more clearly are we convinced that the high-Church claims are founded in unauthorized assumptions, and can only flourish where the light of Scripture and impartial history is either wholly obstructed or greatly obscured—and that even "antiquity" does not sanction them.

* We quote from a translation of the ancient canons recently put forth at Oxford, with the imposing title which follows: "The Definitions of Faith, and Canons of Discipline of the six Œcumenical Councils, with the remaining Canons of the Code of the Universal Church. Translated with Notes. To which are added the Apostolical Canons. By the Rev. William A. Hammond, A. M., of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford, 1843."

Art. III.—*Practical Views of Mind.*

Let any one stand on some towering cliff that overlooks the meandering Mohawk, or the Hudson, or the Connecticut, and he will observe a large preponderance of valley over mountain scenery. Far as the eye can reach in the blue distance, he will see the river, like a ribbon of light, stretching toward the ocean, with the spreading vale on either hand, resting in quiet beauty and loveliness; while all around, the horizon will be serrated with the undulation of hills, and the occasional bluff that rears its head aloft, and marks a bold outline on the lower sky. So is the theatre of life. And of all the multitudes that are acting on it, far the most quietly retire to the vales of obscurity. Few, that assume a little more than a common responsibility, are seen peering just above the mass; while fewer still, that throw themselves into "the imminent deadly breach," rise up to bless or sway the world, and they bid defiance to its buffetings, like the mountain battlements that lift their heights toward heaven to meet the assaults of storm, and lightning, and tornado.

Now, every man composes a part of this great drama of active existence. And it is useful to consider often, whether that part is performed as well as it may be done, and *ought* to be done—whether the secret of successful action is concealed from us, from a want of a proper knowledge of ourselves.

To this end, therefore, let us enter now upon a brief survey of that which *thinks*—of mind, the great central power in the movement of this world's affairs: of mind, not as viewed in reference to any one of its relations exclusively—not as cold, abstract intellect simply; but as it applies to the whole man—intellectual, sentient, and moral.

The wise Architect of the universe, by duly proportioning each department of our spiritual nature, hath furnished us with a most fortunate mental organization. For intellect, unwarmed, uncherished by emotion, without sensibility to give it views of fitness, and without conscience to guide it to perceptions of right and wrong, were like a wrought statue—marble, cold, dead—most perfect in form and outline indeed; but still inanimate, never speaking, never acting. So, if the mind were all sensibility, uncontrolled by reason, this earth were never the place for it. It could scarcely be doomed to a more uncongenial spot in creation. Or if the intellect and the emotions were duly balanced; if the sensibilities and desires, and all the propensities, were developed in due keep-

ing with reason, and there yet remain a dormant, paralyzed conscience—a disordered moral action of the soul—it were better, infinitely better, that the whole mind, in such a condition, be paralyzed for ever beyond the hope of resuscitation.

It is mind in its entire character, in all its habits of feeling, thinking, and choosing, that we are now considering; and we wish to exhibit it in such aspects as will suggest the best modes of studying it with the view to its successful action on the theatre of life.

The first aspect in which we shall attempt to exhibit the mind, is the range it takes, or appears to take, among men. When we speak of the general range of mind, we are apt to refer it to the gradation that begins with the feeblest ray of intellect in this world, and continues through every order of created intelligence up to the great Eternal Mind on the throne of the universe. But we are now concerned with the difference of mind that seems to obtain in the human race. And if we take up the question whether the great inequality of intellectual condition, which we see around us, arises from an essential difference in original formation, we would, with much respect to an opposite opinion, reply that, in an important sense, we think it does not. A few years employed in the business of education have furnished us much opportunity for observing and reflecting on this subject, and every fact in relation to an apparent difference of grade among minds, and every view candidly deduced from such facts, have led us to conclude that *genius* is not so choice a gift of nature, but that it is in the possession of every one.

There are some who, from precociousness and morbid development, very early in life give to the world a marvelous exhibition of intellectual power. And there are others too who, from a happy conformation of body and many favoring external circumstances, joined to an indomitable habit of perseverance, give their names as watchwords to all who aspire after a gigantic strength of mind. But instead of awarding to these the exclusive possession of genius, we would affirm that, in respect to power and resources of talent, no man is without them. And the reason why so many live in comparative mediocrity is, because they are content to live merely upon the *surface* of their souls. It requires toilsome and unremitting labor to dig to the depths of the human spirit, and to develop its treasures there. Genius lies too deep in the mind to be got at by ordinary habits of application. Because it comes not up spontaneously to our use, the impression is fixed that we have it not; and we seldom or never make a single exertion to find out our mistake. But any one may astonish himself by the results which protracted

and enthusiastic mental effort will produce. These results may not be seen by him in a day, or a month, or a year; but let an unconquerable determination engage his mind in an incessant toil for many years, and he will find an energy and power of intellect which he never before imagined he possessed.

The fact before mentioned is not to be forgotten in this connection, that some come into the world with *quickened* intellects—with minds prematurely exhibiting remarkable power. A most exquisite sensibility seems, in these cases, to sharpen the intellect and give it unusual precocity. But precocity is almost always a sure indication of disease. Physical development not keeping pace with the mental, the body becomes too fragile a casket for the mind; and unequal to the severe action within, it droops and dies.

Nor is it to be denied, in awarding the possession of genius to all, that some exhibit a greater facility to apprehend and to learn than others. This arises, perhaps, from many causes—some immediate, others more remote. There is a constitutional connection of the mind with the body; and any irregular condition of body will destroy the uniformity of intellectual action. "God has erected around the soul, unseen and intangible as it is, an outward structure of visible chords and artificial frame-work, such as the wonderful system of the nerves, the eye, the ear, and the senses generally." Now let a single organ of this system be deranged, and the sympathizing soul feels it instantly. Sometimes its susceptibilities are quickened; but oftener they are blunted. Repeated violations of an organic law interpose obstructions to mental development, and in this way only can we account for the apparent difference of mind which we see in this world.

But physical impediments, whether hereditary, or brought on by our own transgression, do not annihilate mind; all the elements of its power and expansion remain—all the creative energies, the power of original and ever-growing thought, are there; and though they require stronger effort from some than from others to bring them into action, yet not a man lives but may, by ceaseless discipline and toil, cause thought to throng up reinless and masterless to the outlet of the soul from the very depths of the understanding. Not a man lives, with common rationality, who is not endowed with talent sufficient, if well improved, to raise him to distinction and high usefulness. We may speculate much on the obligations of those whom we may think more gifted by nature than ourselves, and thus be content to retire into quiet mediocrity, and spend our days in accomplishing nothing. But the God of nature will not

excuse us. He has endowed us with powers and energies, and he requires us to task them every moment. And if, by pandering to sense, we may have in any manner closed up the inlets to thought, and thus decreased our aptitude to learn, still weightier is the obligation upon us for exertion.

Were it within the province of this article—were it not inconsistent with the practical character of our subject—we might introduce analogies which would show that all the comparatively low degrees of intellect apparent in community are referable to disease as a cause, or to inherited derangement of those organs with which the mind is connected; and that however much ancestral abuses, or disease, or misfortunes of any kind, may have cut off the facilities for the development of intellect here, the mind—the mind of even an idiot—shall yet unfold, when disengaged from its mortal coil, and shall receive an indefinite expansion in the ages of eternity. But it is proper that we leave such a speculation to a more appropriate occasion. Let it be understood, however, that while we claim that all minds would have been more nearly equal in respect of original strength, had not sin been permitted to make such perversion and havoc of intellect in our race, we are far from claiming that all minds would have been *similar*, that there would have been no differing tastes, no division of mental labor. Far from it. The analogies with which the world abounds press with overpowering weight against such a conclusion. The world is full of variety. Not the same scenery is seen on every part of the earth's surface; it is covered all over with hill and dale, with the vast plain and the lofty mountain range. Not a dull uniformity is the revolution of years; there is the verdure of spring—the golden harvest—the varied hues of autumn—and the white-robed winter. And amid this diversity there is an infinite diversity still. But surely not less diversified is the intellectual world. As various as the features and form of "the human face divine," is the cast of feeling and of thought in the souls of the universe. No two minds resemble each other exactly. And the God of providence has wisely adapted all the differences of nature to all the differences of mind. We may well deprecate the jarring disputes among men that result from debased passion, but to complain of such disagreements as arise from diversity of mental constitution is to find fault with the ordination of Heaven: for from the infinite multiplications of variety in nature and in intellect, Heaven intends we shall receive an infinitely greater number of ideas than we could receive if a monotonous resemblance prevailed over the universe.

The next view we shall take of mind is its power. And our

remarks will, in the first place, relate chiefly to the waste of mental power.

Probably millions of our race have passed off the stage of being without knowing a thousandth part of the strength that was in them. Whole nations, and many successive generations of them, have lived with only a simple knowledge of a few facts of their existence. We do not deem this the time to inquire into the causes of such ignorance, and of such a waste of mind through ignorance. Causes contrary to these, doubtless, have produced the event, several times in the world's history, of a whole nation exhibiting, as it were, a sudden burst of intellectual splendor; as Greece, in the age of Pericles; and Rome, in the Augustan age; and Britain, beginning with the latter reigns of the house of Stuart.

Another cause of intellectual waste is indolence. The world has permitted, and is still permitting, a vast capital of mind to lie unemployed through indolence. The mass of men who regard themselves as possessing only a common capacity are satisfied with merely knowing enough to perform some limited duties of life; and the whole exertion of their minds is upon the business of accumulation, which often has a tendency to contract rather than to expand the mind. Even the few, to whom a kind providence has given an unusual facility for great mental development and acquisition, have not, in every instance, the patience or the disposition to benefit the world with their talents, by bringing them to result in some grand and useful issue. They seem not to have such a distinct view of the object of life as will always produce a healthy and uniform stimulus to intellectual exertion. A feverish ambition to excel is soon gratified. It is merely a desire prompted by vanity, to be flattered by the world as possessing talent, and when this is gratified, such a self-satisfied feeling is usually induced as terminates, for the most part, in the greatest indolence. It is quite probable, that days, weeks, months, and even years, run to waste with the most of men through idleness of mind. A moderate estimate of a daily loss of an hour or two, on an average, through sleep, or dissipation, or unemployed leisure of any kind, would amount, in the course of a whole life of common length, to several years. Several years of life devoted to the waste of mind! Nay worse, worse than waste! Mental power is weakened and rendered less available when we would exert it. The mind needs recreation: it will not bear the protracted tension to which it is drawn when powerfully exercised. But it must be active. It *may* be relaxed, but never deadened. To spend hours in thinking of *nothing*, instead of regaling, stupefies the mind. And we may hope

for no talismanic wand to give it instant life again, if once it becomes torpid. Away with indolence, away with it. Let the thousands of day dreamers shake it off, and they will soon know why they had thought they possessed no genius, no intellectual power equal to that of their more successful competitors.

But the chief cause of mental dissipation and indolence has a deeper moral coloring. Conscience reigns supreme among the faculties. And if all goes wrong in the heart, scarcely anything can go right in the operations of the intellect. A violated conscience upsets the upright and harmonious action of sensibility; and a disorganized state of the sensibilities disturbs the calm flow of thought, and prevents a concentration of mental power. When the mind is fresh and vigorous with strong moral sentiment, it regards the loss of time as an affliction, and it aspires for knowledge, the great instrument of power, with inexpressible eagerness. Harmony is then preserved among the faculties, and a beautiful symmetry is given to the whole mind. No distortions occur in such cases, from an undue attention to one department of the soul; for the moral, and the sensitive, and the intellectual man, all receive a coetaneous and correspondent training. The conscience, a just but absolute sovereign, dispenses blessing and success to the obedient, but on the reckless and the unprincipled it inflicts the severest penalties. The novice in immorality is first stung with remorse, but long indulgence in sin entirely fritters away the sense of guilt, until the conscience seems both dethroned and dead. But the conscience never dies. Its apparent death is impregnated with the elements of a real and terrible resurrection. It notes, as a silent sentinel, all the havoc which moral pravity is making of the powers of intellect, and at the appointed time of its reappearance, it comes forth to avenge such havoc and its own abuse. In this condition the whole mind is in disorder and anarchy. All its powers are only so many conflicting elements, refusing to be combined that their action may be more efficient and regular. No energy of intellect can, amid irregularity or phrensy of feeling, bring thought to bear with point and definiteness upon anything. Milton makes the arch fiend, in a world of *horror*, to say,—

> "The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

This may pass for a speculative truth;—it may be true indeed of a ruined archangel, but never of ruined man. As great a mind as Bacon's, it would seem from authentic accounts, was hardly able to endure the agony of uncommunicated grief, when by *alledged*

cause he fell from state splendor; but conscious of no guilt except what arose from partaking of the abuses of his times, he bequeathed "his name and memory to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations and the next ages," and left to the world the mightiest achievement of intellect. The mind of Lord Byron, splendid as it was in the department of the imagination, was so besotted with vice as to leave to his command but very little of its power, compared with what it might have possessed, had he lived with more temperance and with a less perverted sensibility. Such men do not live out half their days. By the peculiarities of their ideas, by their tremendous, bold, perhaps blasphemous flights of thought, they may excite attention for awhile, but they soon die. They are like awful meteors—gazed on, admired, and often feared for a moment—then go out in darkness. The world were better off without them. Depraved talent squanders most of its treasures and power in polluting the world. It commands an overweening adoration from the world. Far more readily is a thought embraced and called magnificent, if it is once known to have sprung from a splendid genius of iniquity. It is very natural for youthful mind, unprotected by religious principle, to search for the paradoxes of Hume or Voltaire, which seldom fail to lead it away into a bewildering skepticism; and then it becomes eager to swallow innumerable absurdities and contradictions, to get rid of a few *apparent* difficulties that are grafted on the accredited revelation of God. The consequence is, that many a budding promise of intellectual growth is withered, the sensibilities chilled, and the conscience stupefied. A cold, cheerless, soulless view of man's destiny cannot do anything to arouse intellectual energy. It *can* and *does* often do much to dwarf the intellect and the affections, and to suppress those aspirations of the soul which are such striking evidence of its indestructibility. No great and kindling thought is stirred within us at the prospect of our carrying mind with us to the grave to bury it there. The mind asks freedom, sometimes, from the walls of its tabernacle, and it goes out upon the wide, immeasurable creation; its laboring thought, perchance, is on its own nature as connected with the universe around, or it follows to its source the far-streaming light of some distant world, and there studies motion, magnitude, attraction;—is it not marvelously inspiring to suppose it shall linger awhile after its return, then go down to dust with the body? But, irony aside, how much stronger motive for immortal action is afforded by a dark uncertainty respecting our future being, with a supposed array of strong probabilities against it? What man of worldly ambition

would long endure a selfish toil for a fame that should sound over the world and through the ages, unless he hoped for a place somewhere in the universe to witness his own past glory? The truth is—but the *vetcran*, as well as tyro, in skeptic speculations seldom sees it—no man acts wholly for the present. The conviction of our relation to futurity is as deeply inwrought into our consciousness as is any other law of our being. Most certainly would a sullen indifference to the dignity and susceptibilities of the deathless intellect rest on all the world, if the sentiment prevailed in it, that our entire being is to be spanned by the brief existence we have on earth. Yet the spirit that prompts men to say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," has doubtless caused a vast prodigality of mind. In such cases the restraints of conscience are generally removed from outward conduct; the sensibilities degenerate with self-love into a disgusting selfishness; and the whole mind, engaged in confused speculations on many things, obtains no definite result in anything. And such cases very often occur, as we said before, from its being so natural for the world to be dazzled by the brilliancy of depraved talent. Infinitely better were the world, then, without such talent. No value does it derive from all the wit and splendid ribaldry which the strongest of abused talent has ever lavished upon it; but *incalculable mischief*, in unsettling the principles of youth, and in checking their intellectual and moral progress.

"No good man weeps when gifted villains die."

Thus much have we said of the waste of mental power. But what *is* mental power? What is it, when neither ignorance, nor indolence, nor immorality can make any deductions from it? When invigorated by a fortunate and a well-managed exertion of itself for many years, what does it become? We will not deal in extravagant hyperbole about this power; but will simply say, it is akin to that intellectual energy which brought the universe into being. And no imagination can conceive of the greatness of such a gift to mortal man. It is God's highest work, his mirror and representative. Mind is the great instrument of power that sets in movement all the affairs of this world. All the scenes—the busy, quiet, gay, solemn scenes of this life—are but the varied developments of that same mind. And sufficient has been said to show that the neglect and abuse it meets with from some, and the high improvement it receives from others, make the great difference as to the degree in which the power and resources of mind are exhibited among men. Whatever view of this matter may be taken,

no one will, deny that those who have been most assiduous in developing their moral and intellectual powers have been really the most successful and useful on the theatre of human life.

To those concerned in mental culture, it occurs now as a question of unusual importance, how they may best avail themselves of an improvement that will secure to mind its greatest power. The world is spread out before them as a theatre for one great action—the action of mind; and it is natural for most to aspire to go forth and make some prominent experiments there.

The usual reply to the question of improvement is, *a patient and well-directed application of mind, and a conscience kept void of offense toward God and toward men.* To grow in mental strength and stature, the mind must *labor.* There is no royal road to intellectual greatness. The way to such greatness is by pure moral purpose and inflexible toil. The growth, and power, and influence of mind, are never attained without *exertion*—and exertion too to the end of life. Neglect, therefore, and indolence, and everything else that hinders mental development, bring palpable guilt upon us. Sins they are, against the laws of our being, and against what God and the world require of us.

But this may be regarded too much as a professional topic—since it is the burden of all popular essays on this subject. We will, therefore, leave it, and mention as an auxiliary means for improvement, the habit of patient and accurate observation, as well as study—observation of *nature, men,* and *events.* The labor expended in study brings out talent; but we possess no skillful command of our talents till we have learned the proprieties of time, place, subject, and circumstances, which a careful survey of the three things named above will secure to us. When the mind is relaxed from the toil of severe study, we may all the while be passing through another kind of discipline. By the way-side, in the streets, in the field, in the public conveyance, or anywhere we may chance to be, we may continually acquire that practical wisdom which is so necessary for influence and usefulness on the arena of active life. The study of nature eminently conduces to this, because nature gloriously displays the wisdom of God. We come in contact with nothing so perfect as God's works; and the spirit which a careful attention to them is calculated to inspire, cannot fail to correct our judgments, and to teach us the true fitness of things in the conduct of life. Nature hath a lesson for us in every rock, and tree, and plant, and leaf, and floweret. In each we may receive an idea of beauty, or excellence, or utility, which, unhappily, is too far from

the apprehension of coarse, uncultivated reason. Then we may transfer that idea to character, and, so far as it will apply, to the actual business and circumstances around us. Nature hath her sympathies with us. Her myriad voices speak in tones often that touch the keynote of the soul. There are the whispering zephyrs, the Æolian strains, the soft-falling shower, the warbling of birds, the wailing storm, and old ocean's eternal anthem. Sights, too, of inimitable beauty and loveliness pour their delights upon the eye. And every sense is supplied from the multiform contributions of nature sufficiently, if we are not besotted, to soothe, to animate, and to instruct us.

Nothing in nature is without a meaning and without a use. The external world is perfectly adapted to the moral and intellectual constitution of man. God has not unrolled the vast expanse of sky, and spangled it with bright orbs, and spread over earth a profusion of beauty, magnificence, and grandeur—God has not done all these for naught. He has a moral purpose in them, with which not one of all the intelligences he has created ought to be unconcerned. There is a most intimate relation between them and us, and our minds suffer an irreparable loss by not attending to it. Mystery there is, around us, within us, above us,—*everywhere* there is mystery; but an active interest in the greatest of these mysteries cannot fail to drive from us sensuality and every vulgar stimulant to earthliness, and bring our spirits more in harmony with the spirit of the universe. Wiser and happier certainly might we be, if not holier, to commune often with nature, and study the wisdom of God, mirrored as it is in all the natural scenes around. But neglecting this, we cannot carry into the concerns of life that tasteful and practical finish of mind, so necessary to meet well the demands of the world upon us. Let one witness the descending glory of the setting sun of a summer evening; then let him watch "the varying tints of twilight, 'fading, still fading,' till the stars are out in their beauty, and a cloudless night reigns, with its silence, shadows, and repose;" and he will observe then with what serenity, and calmness, and even moral power, he can judge and act, when he goes into the conflicts of life again. Every intent observer of nature, whether in her mildest or wildest aspects—whether her smiling landscapes, or her more terrific phenomena—feels his spirit so tempered and subdued by the air of benignity and mercy that is breathed around him, as to enable him to carry into the scenes of life a more sober, chastened, and dignified philosophy.

For further improvement of mind under process of cultivation,

"The proper study of mankind is *man*."

A shrewd study of human nature is the business of but very few. Though the field is wide, and the subject continually before us, yet the observations taken are generally but very superficial glances. Man has a noble nature, but it is in ruins; and it is on this account that it furnishes so many peculiarities for the incessant employment of our reflective powers. We do not have to go far in the multitude to find almost an infinite variety of shades and color in human character. Any little community is, in this respect, a world in miniature. Almost every habit of feeling and action is to be seen in a community of varied temperaments, pursuits, and interests. You may see anywhere nearly all the *phases* in the scale of character, from the man of the most glaring contradictions to the man of steadfast simplicity and integrity. You may see deceit, and envy, and malice, and the spirit of scandal, enter as malignant elements into many a soul. But why notice these unlovely traits of human nature? Because they do us important service in two ways. First, on account of their disgusting exhibitions sometimes, they are not very apt to beget within us a high admiration of themselves; and if we do not stoop to retaliate, when we encounter these dispositions, we may certainly place to our own account an increased virtue and a more vigorous moral nerve. Every deceitful intrigue on the victim of impolicy, every unquiet temper aroused at our own success, every malicious inuendo concerning our character, and every bitter invective that falls from the tongue of slander, furnish means for gaining greater honors than the battle-field furnishes to the crowned conqueror. For "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." In the second place, a scrutiny into the evil sentiments of men throws us upon our own powers of discrimination. And this is perhaps the greatest intellectual benefit resulting from the study of man. One man may confer on us the unfeigned smiles of a deep and pure friendship. Another man "may smile and smile and be a villain still." It is best, in such cases, to be able to detect the false and the gross from the true and the valuable. But to discriminate, we must reflect. The impressions of first sight are not discrimination. There is much in the countenance from which to judge, it must be confessed, and much in the open demeanor of occasional interviews; but there is *more* in the uniform bearing of the soul,—and with this we must become acquainted to understand it. Premature decisions often lead us into what are afterward found to be most glaring mistakes. Premature decisions are peculiar to individuals in community who are subject to fits of prepossession and punctilious fancy. In this way merit sometimes lies for a long while concealed. Conventional feelings and a purse-

proud aristocracy are over-scrupulous for forms, and where they prevail, they frequently do much to delude the world with false views of merit; and thus merit is compelled of itself to emerge from a superincumbent weight of prejudice and perhaps detraction. Now let a habit of just discrimination be early formed, and the mind will a thousand times be saved from the mortification of a premature judgment on persons and things of which it knew but little.

Much illustration might be brought to this point; but it is time we proceed to the last thing mentioned as affording improvement to mind, in the course of its education, and that is, the study of events. Here we come into the region of experience. Life is filled up with a tissue of events, from which we derive most valuable experience. Scarcely a day passes but some novelty occurs, and however unimportant it may be, a sagacious observer will make a choice appropriation of it to himself for future use. The opportunity to improve in the habit of close observation is greater perhaps in reference to this subject, than in reference to almost any other. The whole of a passing event can be canvassed by the mind, and reflection can linger on it long afterward. By this means the ability to make shrewd calculations respecting some future results in government and politics is acquired. The aggregate bearings of several events are studied; and their issue, centering at one point, is determined with singular sagacity. So might it probably be done in reference to the collective action of men on any subject. Men do not think alike—they *cannot* think alike; and they divide into parties, and each party, emulous of the others, puts forth every effort for victory. It is both useful and amusing to observe with what science and tact some conflicting organizations do operate; for in studying the results of their action, we acquire much valuable knowledge of human nature.

But equal advantages arise from studying the recorded experience of individuals and of the world. Biography and history are full of facts that may have a sort of reference to our good in every hour of our existence. What others have thought, and said, and done, may arouse within us a moral and intellectual energy, and give birth to thoughts in our minds that shall excite other minds, and go on multiplying themselves for ever. Then to go far back into primeval ages, and follow up with philosophic eye the long track of God's providence, as seen in the history of man—this likewise enlarges in a high degree the comprehensive power of the mind. Dominion, thought, and morality, are the great and distinct points of study in that survey. Alexander, Cesar, and Napoleon, stand out on the theatre of the world as heroes of a deep and solemn

tragedy. The passion for dominion, and for dazzling manifestations of power, held them and a host of others with an absolute sway, and would have controlled the destiny of the world, but for an overruling Spirit which has ever managed to make virtue and thought, free and unrestrained thought, to sit as the *real* arbiters of men and of nations.

Mind—we have viewed it only in its range, its waste, its power, and its means of improvement, and now we close our train of thought—mind in its ten thousand aspects can be studied on a great scale in biography and history. And the truly noble and excellent which we may thus perceive in mind, can be separated from all that is worthless and be grafted into our own natures, if we please. The great and the worthy of other ages are our models, our instructors; and the chief lesson they teach us is, that our happiness and our usefulness on the theatre of life are to be wrought out by our own faithfulness to God and to conscience.

Cazenovia, December, 1843.

Art. IV.—*The Natural History of Man: with special Reference to the Mosaic Account of the Unity of the Human Race.*

The question here presented for investigation is one, the decision of which is not a matter of indifference either to religion or humanity. As the testimony of the sacred Scriptures is received with implicit and reverential assent by the readers of this Review, they of course believe that all mankind are the offspring of common parents; but it is intended to establish, in the following pages, the unity of the human race from natural facts alone, thus showing that the Author of nature speaks the same language as the Author of revelation.

On comparing human kind with inferior animals, the most remarkable contrasts and resemblances are observed; for while there is little difference in physical structure presented, in endowments and capabilities it is immeasurably great. The extraordinary resemblance between man and the brutes which he slays for his daily food, or uses as the servile instruments of his will, as regards mere physical constitution, is revealed by the study of anatomy and physiology. Man is but an animal, using the word in its ordinary acceptation, so far as regards the composition and functions of his various organs; that is, these points of resemblance comprise all the arrangements of physical structure by which the life of the

body is maintained,—by which its development from the monadical state to its highest perfection is brought about,—by which its natural decay and dissolution in death are provided for,—and by means of which self-same organism, the race is perpetuated in a succession of similar beings. There is, however, a most remarkable difference between man and the brute,—a contrast which every one will be ready to say consists in man's being endowed with an immaterial principle—a soul. But, although the existence of an immortal soul is known only through the evidence of *revealed* truth, yet the *natural* argument that man alone, of all terrestrial animals, is endowed with faculties, which impel him to speculate on the past, to anticipate the future, and to exalt his hopes beyond this visible sphere, anxiously desiring to share in the glory of this unseen existence, led even the philosophers of ancient times to regard him as an object of some high future destiny.

Now as the manifestation of this immaterial principle, in this world, depends upon nervous matter, so we are taught by the study of anatomy and physiology that this nervous system becomes more perfect and complicated in proportion as we ascend from the lower links of the animal chain up to man, in whom we discover the highest perfection of a brain, spinal marrow, and their appendages. As the brain is the organ of the mental manifestations, it is in this that man holds that pre-eminence which has secured to him the title of "lord of creation." The dog, for example, manifests, it is true, in common with man, the phenomena of love and hatred, of fear and revenge, of desire and aversion; but he, like all other animals inferior to man, never attempts to improve the condition imposed upon him by external circumstances. Man, on the other hand, is unceasing in his efforts through successive ages to rise superior to the agencies of material nature, and to render them subservient to his wants and pleasures. Thus while each tribe of wild animals is restricted to a comparatively small area of the earth's surface, man, on the contrary, gaining victories over the elements, which he turns with all their fearful powers to the promotion of his own advantage, becomes a cosmopolite, alike capable of living on the shores of the icy sea or the burning sands of equatorial plains. For this boasted power of accommodating himself to all climates, he is, however, less indebted to the pliability of his body than to the ingenuity of his mind; for, although naturally more defenseless against external agents than inferior animals, yet, by the exercise of his mental endowments, man can interpose a thousand barriers against the deleterious effects of climate.

That man thus modifies the agencies of the elements upon him-

self, is sufficiently obvious; but there arises the converse question —Do not these agencies likewise modify him, thus fitting him to possess and occupy the whole earth? Are we not to attribute to these physical causes, in connection with moral conditions, the very different organization presented in different regions by the same human family? In surveying the globe in reference to the different appearances of mankind, the most extraordinary diversities are, indeed, apparent to the most superficial observer. The Patagonian and Caffre, compared with the Laplander and Esquimaux, are real giants, the stature of the latter being generally two feet less than that of the former. What a striking contrast does the coarse skin and greasy blackness of the African present to the delicate cuticle and the exquisite rose and lily that beautify the face of the Georgian! Compare the head of the Circassian, having those proportions which we so much admire in Grecian sculpture, with the flat skull of the Carib, or that of the negro, with its low, retreating forehead, and advancing jaws! Or behold in the one the full development of intellectual power, as displayed in arts, science, and literature, and in the other a mere instinctive existence! Hence arises the question—*Have all these diverse races descended from a single stock?* Or, on the other hand, *Have the different races of mankind, from the beginning of their existence, differed from one another in their physical, moral, and intellectual nature?* This inquiry opens to our view a wide and interesting field of investigation; and to determine which of these two opinions, as a mere question of natural history, is best entitled to our assent, is the leading object of this paper.

We will here state that this is not the first time that we have written upon this subject; and as our present object is to present a condensed view of our previous remarks, improved by new facts and further observation and reflection, we shall not be at any special pains in endeavoring to invent new forms of expression, should we think the language previously used to be sufficiently precise and graphic.

One of the most interesting problems in history is, the geographical distribution of the human family; but history, if we exclude the Mosaic account, affords no data for determining the great problem of man's origin. Any one who allows himself to speculate upon this subject, will at first view be inclined to adopt the opinion that every part of the world had originally its indigenous inhabitants—"*autochthones*"—adapted to its physical circumstances. By this hypothesis, a ready solution is afforded of some of the most difficult questions presented in the investigation of the physical

history of mankind; for instance, the remarkable diversity in figure and complexion observed among different nations—their difference of moral and intellectual character—and their peculiarity of language and even dialectic differences, observed as far back in antiquity as the days of Jacob and Laban. We might thus explain the fact that the oldest records, ever since Cain went to the land of Nod, seldom allude to an uninhabited country; or the no less surprising fact, that in many parts of the world, as, for instance, Central America, we discover vestiges of a primeval population, who, having dwelt there for ages and brought the civil arts to a comparatively high degree of cultivation, were swept away before the dawn of history. But many of these obscurities will be made to disappear before the light of science, like mist before the morning sun, thus reconciling, in many points, science and revelation. Although the extreme diversities of mankind would seem, at first view, to forbid the supposition of a common origin, yet we find them all running into one another by such nice and imperceptible gradations, not only in contiguous countries, but among the same people, as to render it often impracticable to determine, independent of the individual's locality, to what family of the human race he belongs. It will even be seen, as the result of modern ethnographic science, that *the language of men was originally one!*

Before proceeding to our researches into the natural history of the organized world, we will here introduce the known facts relative to the *geographical distribution of man.* The probable birth-place of mankind—the centre from which the tide of migration originally proceeded—has always been, on the assumption that the whole human race has descended from a single pair, a matter of speculation with many. History points to the East as the earliest or original seat of our species, as well as of our domesticated animals and of our principal food. That this birth-place was situated in a region characterized by the reign of perpetual summer, and the consequent spontaneous production, throughout the year, of vegetable aliment adapted to the wants of man, has always been a favorite conjecture. From this point, with the progress of human population, men would naturally diffuse themselves over the adjacent regions of the temperate zone; and in proportion as new difficulties were thus encountered, the spirit of invention was gradually called into successful action. In the early stage of society—the hunter period—mankind from necessity spreads with the greatest rapidity; for eight hundred acres of hunting ground, it has been calculated, do not produce more food than half an acre of arable land. Thus, even at a very early period, the least fertile parts of

the earth may have become inhabited; and when, upon the partial exhaustion of game, the state of pasturage succeeded, mankind, already scattered in hunter tribes, may soon have multiplied to the extent compatible with the pastoral condition. In this manner may a continuous continent, in a comparatively short period, have become peopled; but even the smallest islands, however remote from continents, have, with very few exceptions, as for instance St. Helena, been invariably found inhabited by man,—a phenomenon susceptible of satisfactory explanation.

The oft-observed circumstance of the *drifting of canoes to vast distances*, affords, without doubt, an adequate explanation of the fact, (on the supposition that the human family has had one common source,) that of the multitude of islets of coral and volcanic origin, in the vast Pacific, capable of sustaining a few families of men, very few have been found untenanted. As navigators have often picked up frail boats in the ocean, containing people who had been driven five hundred, one thousand, and even fifteen hundred miles from their home, there is nothing in the relative position of America that forbids the supposition of a transatlantic or transpacific origin of its aborigines. A number of such instances are related by Lyell, on the authority of Cook, Forster, Kotzebue, and Beechy. A Japanese junk, even so late as the year 1833, was wrecked on the north-west coast of America, at Cape Flattery, and several of the crew reached the shore safely. Numberless instances of this kind might be cited. In 1799, a small boat containing three men, which was driven out to sea, by stress of weather, from St. Helena, reached the coast of South America in a month, one of the men having perished on the voyage. In 1797, twelve negroes escaping from a slave ship on the coast of Africa, who took to a boat, were drifted, after having been the sport of wind and wave for five weeks, ashore at Barbadoes. Three natives of Ulea reached one of the coral isles of Radack, having been driven, during a boisterous voyage of eight months, to the amazing distance of fifteen hundred miles. The native missionaries, traveling among the different Pacific insular groups, frequently meet with their countrymen who have been drifted in like manner.

Thus has the earth been widely peopled in the earliest periods of society; and in later times, as some nations became maritime, important discoveries were made by accident. In the year 862, Iceland was discovered by some mariners bound for the Feroe Islands, who had been thrown out of their course by tempests. The discovery of America by the Northmen was accidental; and so was the discovery of Brazil, in the year 1500, by a Portuguese

fleet, which, in its route to the East Indies, departed so far from the African coast, in order to avoid certain winds, as to encounter the western continent.

In our researches into the origin of the varieties of mankind, it is necessary to dismiss all argument *à priori*. Let us repudiate that speciousness of argumentation which maintains that it is much more consonant with the wisdom of the Deity that each region of the earth should teem *ab initio* with vegetable and animal productions adapted to its physical circumstances, than that immense tracts, while a single species is slowly extending its kind, should remain for ages an unoccupied waste. The question, as here viewed, belongs to the domain of natural history, and especially to physiology and psychology, as based upon the observation of facts. Hence, too, it is obviously improper to set out, as most writers on the subject have done, with a distribution of the human family into certain races, as this is in fact a premature anticipation of the result. It is only by proceeding in the analytical method, surveying the ethnography* of various countries, and deducing conclusions from the phenomena collected, that the subject can be legitimately investigated.

As it is necessary in every scientific inquiry to have a clear idea of all the terms employed, it may be well to state that by the term *species*, in natural history, is understood a collection of individuals, whether plants or animals, which so resemble one another, that all the differences among them may find an explanation in the known operation of physical causes; but if two races are distinguished by some characteristic peculiarity of organization not explicable on the ground that it was lost by the one or acquired by the other, through any known operation of physical causes, we are warranted in the belief that they have not descended from the same original stock. Hence, *varieties*, in natural history, are distinguished from *species* by the circumstance of mere deviation from the character of the parent stock; but to determine whether tribes characterized by certain diversities constitute in reality distinct species, or merely varieties of the same species, is often a question involving much doubt,—a doubt which can, however, be generally removed by a comprehensive survey of the great laws of organization.

Species is defined by Buffon—"A succession of similar indi-

* The term *ethnography*, derived from *ἔθνος*, nation, and *γράφω*, I write, is generally restricted to mean the classification of nations from the comparative study of languages; or, in other words, it is comparative philology. But throughout this article we use it in a more extended sense. We shall speak not only of *philological* but *physiognomical ethnography*.

viduals which reproduce each other." By Cuvier—"The union of individuals descended from each other, or from common parents, and of those who resemble them as much as they resemble each other." He adds—"The apparent differences of the races of our domestic species are stronger than those of any species of the same genus.—The fact of the *succession*, therefore, and of the *constant succession*, constitutes alone the *unity of the species*."

The natural history of man in regard to his diversities may receive valuable elucidation from comparative physiology, as well as the laws of the distribution and migration of plants and inferior animals. So similar is the physical organization of man and the brute creation, so identical are the laws whereby their species are preserved, and so analogous is their subjection to the operation of natural causes, to the laws of morbid influences, and to the agency of those artificial combinations resulting from domestication and civilization,—that we have, says Wiseman, "almost a right to argue from one's actual, to the other's possible modifications." The geographic distribution of inferior animals, as connected with that of man, is deemed of importance, on the presumption that the great diversity and the dispersion of the human race are regulated by some general plan, analogous to that which is apparent in the distribution of the former.

But unfortunately the full investigation of the branch of the subject connected with plants and inferior animals alone, would more than occupy the space allotted to this article. Suffice it to say, that in the geographical distribution of plants we discover an analogy to that of man's dispersion. Of the means provided by nature for the distribution of plants, one of the most obvious is human agency, to which animals in general, and especially birds, also contribute. The same end is promoted by means of atmospheric currents; for we often find the smallest seeds provided with winglets and feathery appendages, which facilitate their transportation by winds. We also know from actual observation that plants have migrated from distant coasts by means of the great oceanic currents.

In reference to the *dispersion of animals*, the inference is equally obvious that each species of animal had an original centre of existence, to which it was by nature peculiarly adapted, and from which point they have dispersed themselves in proportion to their capabilities of enduring a change of physical circumstances. For example, notwithstanding the adaptation of birds for extensive migration, we find distinct zoological provinces. Thus, in regard to the vulture tribes, we discover peculiarities in Europe and Ame-

rica, while in New-Holland they are entirely unknown; and as respects the parrot tribes found in Asia, Africa, and America, they are each peculiar. It is chiefly in the arctic regions, where the two continents approximate, as was remarked by the Count de Buffon, that we find the same identical species of animals common to both.

We will now proceed to the main object of the inquiry before us—*Do the various races of man belong to a single species?* We will endeavor to point out the most important diversities by which the human family is distinguished, as we find them separated into different races, and to determine whether these races are merely varieties of one, or constitute distinct species.

In the general classification of mankind, we find that nearly every author has some peculiar views. Thus, while Cuvier makes the distinction of three races, Malte-Brun has no less than sixteen. As the division of Blumenbach, consisting of five varieties, namely, the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay, is the one most generally adopted, it way be well to present here their general distinguishing characters. Among the principal characteristics, those of the skull are most striking and distinguishing. It is on the configuration of the bones of the head that the peculiarity of the countenance chiefly depends. Although, as previously remarked, the various families of man run into each other by imperceptible gradations; yet, in the typical examples of these five primary divisions, a very marked difference is observable.

(1.) In the *Caucasian* race, the head is more globular than in the other varieties, and the forehead is more expanded. The face has an oval shape nearly on a plane with the forehead and cheek bones, which last project neither laterally nor forward, as in other races; nor does the upper jaw bone, which has a perpendicular direction, to which the lower jaw corresponds, give a projecting position to the front teeth, as in the other varieties. The chin is full and rounded. This variety is *typically* characterized by a white skin, but it is susceptible of every tint, and in some nations is almost black; and the eyes and hair are variable, the former being mostly blue, and the latter yellow or brown and flowing. It is the nations with this cranial formation that have attained the highest degree of civilization, and have generally ruled over the others; or rather, as we will attempt to show more fully, it is among these nations that the progress of civilization and the development of the anterior portion of the brain, each exercising on the other a mutual influence, have gone hand in hand. Of this variety of the human race, the chief families are the Caucasians

proper, the Germanic branch, the Celtic, the Arabian, the Lybian, the Nilotic, and the Hindostanic.

(2.) In the *Mongolian* variety, the head, instead of being globular, is nearly square. The cheek bones project from under the middle of the orbit of the eye, and turn backward in a remarkable outward projection of the zygoma. The orbits are large and deep, the eyes oblique, and the upper part of the face exceedingly flat; the nose, the nasal bones, and even the space intermediate to the eyebrows, being nearly on the same plane with the cheek bones. The color of this variety is olive or yellowish brown, and the hair is blackish and scanty. This variety of the human family has formed vast empires in China and Japan, but its civilization has been long stationary. It has spread over the whole of Central and Northern Asia, being lost among the American polar race, the Esquimaux, on the one hand, and the Caucasian Tartars on the other. Extending to the Eastern Ocean, it comprehends the Japanese, the Coreans, and a large portion of the Siberians. On the south, its limits seem to be bounded by the Ganges, while in the eastern peninsula, it is only in the lower castes that the Mongolian features predominate over the Indo-Caucasian.

(3.) The *Ethiopian* variety, which recedes the furthest from the Caucasian, presents a narrow and elongated skull, the temporal muscles, which are very large and powerful, rising very high on the parietal bones, thus giving the idea of lateral compression. The forehead is low and retreating. The cheek bones and the upper jaw project forward, and the alveolar ridge and the teeth take a similar position. The nose is thick, being almost blended with the cheeks; the mouth is prominent and the lips thick, and the chin is narrow and retracted. The color varies from a deep tawny to a perfect jet; and the hair is black, frizzled, and woolly. In disposition, the negro is joyous, flexible, and indolent. The whole of the African continent, with the exception of the parts north and east of the Great Desert, is overspread by the different branches of this type. Besides which, they are found in New-Holland, New-Guinea, the Moluccas, and other islands. It is not true, as is remarked by M. Cuvier and others, that the people composing this race have always remained in a state of barbarism. On the contrary, facts will be adduced in the sequel showing that many negro tribes have made considerable advances in civilization, and that in proportion to this improvement do they approximate to the physical characters of the Caucasian.

These three varieties constitute the leading types of mankind, the American and Malay being no more than mere intervening shades.

(4.) In the *American* variety, the head, though similar to the Mongolian, is yet less square, and the face less flattened. The forehead is low, the eyes black and deep set, and the nose large and aqualine. The skin is dark and more or less red; the hair is black, straight, and long, and the beard deficient. They are slow in acquiring knowledge, and averse to mental cultivation. Restless and revengeful, they always evince a fondness for war; but as regards the spirit of maritime adventure, they are wholly destitute. As exhibiting the highest point of attainable civilization, the ancient empires of Peru, Mexico, and Central America generally, may be considered analogous to those of China and India, which have been for ages stationary.

As regards the complexion of this variety, the usual designation of "*copper-colored*" is considered by Dr. M'Culloch as wholly inapplicable to the Americans as a race; and he proposes the term "*cinnamon-colored.*" Dr. Morton thinks that, taken collectively, they would be most correctly designated as the "*brown race.*" He adds—"Although the Americans possess a pervading and characteristic complexion, there are occasional and very remarkable deviations, including all the tints from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin."

(5.) As the American variety seems to form a middle point between the Caucasian and Mongolian, so may the *Malay* be said to hold a similar relation to the Caucasian and Ethiopian. The forehead is more expanded than in the African, the jaws are less prominent, and the nose more distinct. The color is blackish brown, or mahogany; the hair is long, coarse, and curly, and the eyelids are drawn obliquely upward at the outer angles. Active and ingenious, this variety possesses all the habits of a migratory, predacious, and maritime people. They are found in Malacca, Sumatra, the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the great Pacific Ocean, from Madagascar to Easter Island.

To these great races, more especially the first three, it has been customary to refer all the ramifications of the human family. Taking the country of the Georgians and Circassians as the radiating point of the Caucasian race, we may trace out its principal branches by the analogies of language. The Armenian or Syrian division, directing its course to the south, gave birth to the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and untamable Arabs, with their various subdivisions. In this branch, science and literature have occasionally flourished, but always under fantastic forms. Another division embraced the Indian, German, and Pelasgic branch, in whose four principal languages we recognize a striking resemblance. The

first is the Sanscrit, now the sacred language of the Hindoos; the second is the Pelasgic, the common mother of the Greek and Latin, and of almost every language now spoken in the south of Europe; thirdly, the Gothic or Teutonic, from which arose the German, Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish languages, and their dialects; and fourthly, the Sclavonian, from which are derived the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, etc. This division is the most respectable branch of the Caucasian variety; for among them have philosophy, the arts and sciences, been carried to a degree of perfection unknown to any other race.

This ethnographic inquiry has been of late years followed up with much industry, tracing out the analogies of languages into their most minute ramifications. Much credit is due to Prichard for his indefatigable researches in this respect in regard to Europe, Asia, and Africa; but it too often happens that the affinities of languages in the last two are not sufficiently known to lead to undoubted results. Prichard, however, thinks that languages, of all peculiar endowments, are the most permanently retained, and that it can be shown that they have often survived even very considerable changes in physical and moral characters.

One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the researches of modern ethnographers have rendered in the highest degree probable, what all of our readers of course already believe—*that the language of man was originally one.* "Instead of being perplexed with a multiplicity of languages," says Wiseman, "we have now reduced them to certain very large groups, each comprising a very great variety of languages formerly thought to be unconnected, and thus representing, as it were, only one human family originally possessing a single idiom. Now every succeeding step has clearly added to this advantage, and diminished still further any apparent hostility between the number of languages and the history of the dispersion." We cannot of course do more than give a glance at this subject, upon which has been written volume upon volume. Even in Africa, according to Wiseman, "the dialects whereof have been comparatively but little studied, every new research displays connections between tribes extended over vast tracts, and often separated by intermediate nations; in the north between the languages spoken by the Berbers and Tuariks, from the Canaries to the Oasis of Sciva; in Central Africa, between the dialects of the Felatahs and Foulas, who occupy nearly the whole interior; in the south, among the tribes across the whole continent, from Caffraria and Mozambique to the Atlantic Ocean." Among the American race, as the languages are as innumerable as the tribes, it was long

believed to be impracticable to establish any analogies among them, or with those of the eastern continent. Baron Humboldt's assertions respecting the multiplicity of American languages was at first doubted by many in Europe, because the fact was deemed incompatible with the Scripture narrative; "for we cannot suppose each of these tribes, speaking a language totally unintelligible to its neighbors," says Wiseman, "to be lineally descended from one formed at the dispersion, without allowing the strange anomaly, that, of the human families then formed, such countless, yet such insignificant tribes should have wandered to that distance." Of the fact of this multiplicity of tongues among our aborigines, we became acquainted with a striking instance in a camp of friendly Creeks serving in Florida against the Seminoles. An intelligent and educated Creek, named Paddy Carr, commanded a force numbering less than one hundred, which he had gathered from several neighboring villages in the Creek country; and among these, three, if not four, dialects were spoken, peculiar perhaps to one or two villages and their dependencies; and as regards one of these tongues, (the Uchee, we think,) the commanding officer, Major Paddy Carr, was obliged to keep up his communications through an interpreter. But the philosophic Humboldt, to whom the world is so much indebted relative to the languages and monuments of our country, early discovered certain relations among them. "However insulated," he says, "certain languages may at first appear, however singular their caprices and their idioms, all have an analogy among them, and their numerous relations will be more perceived, in proportion as the philosophical history of nations, and the study of languages, shall be brought to perfection." It is now, however, known that they all present the most remarkable resemblances,—an analogy which consists mostly in peculiar conjugational modes of modifying the verbs by the insertion of syllables. "This wonderful uniformity," says Malte-Brun, "in the peculiar manner of forming the conjugation of verbs from one extremity of America to the other, favors in a singular manner the supposition of a primitive people, which formed the common stock of the American indigenous nations." The existence of some American words common with the vocabularies of the old world has been proved. "In eighty-three American languages examined by Messrs. Barton and Vater," says Humboldt, "one hundred and seventy words have been found, the roots of which appear to be the same; and it is easy to perceive that this analogy is not accidental, since it does not rest merely upon imitative harmony, or on that conformity of organs which produces almost a perfect identity

as the first sounds articulated by children." As regards the affinities between these languages and those of Eastern Asia, Malte-Brun advanced a step further, in his endeavor to establish between them what he calls a "geographical connection;" and this resemblance between the languages of the two continents was also regarded by Balbi as too marked to be the result of accident. By Mr. Gallatin, who has bestowed great learning and research upon the Indian languages, the inference that our aboriginal race dates back to the earliest ages of mankind was long since drawn. "While the unity of structure and grammatical forms," he says, "proves a common origin, it may be inferred from this, combined with the great diversity and entire difference in the words of the several languages of America, that this continent received its first inhabitants at a very remote period, probably not much posterior to that of the dispersion of mankind."

The decision of the academy of St. Petersburgh upon the general question was, after a long research, that *all languages are to be regarded as dialects of one now lost.* By M. Balbi, the industrious and learned author of the "Atlas Ethnographique du Globe," —a work consisting of charts classifying languages according to ethnographic kingdoms, as he styles them, followed by comparative tables of elementary words in every known language,—the following has been recorded as the result of a whole life spent in these and kindred investigations:—"The books of Moses, no monument, either historical or astronomical, has yet been able to prove false; but with them, on the contrary, agree, in the most remarkable manner, the results obtained by the most learned philologers, and the profoundest geometricians."

This affinity of the Americans with the people of Eastern Asia, notwithstanding the very remote period at which man, in his gradual diffusion, reached our continent, is confirmed by a striking physiognomical resemblance, as well as by many customs, arts, and religious observances.* As regards a resemblance in physical

* Among the numerous facts that might be adduced in illustration, we will mention but a single one; and this one we bring forward because we believe it has been but seldom noticed. We refer to the fact that the Scythians, like our Indians, were in the habit of *scalping* their enemies slain in battle, both regarding these scalps as their proudest trophies. This is related by Herodotus, who also describes the mode of stripping the skin from the head. (*Melpomene*, lxiv.) Besides, the Thracians are described by Homer as having their hair only on the crown of the head; and this custom, as among our Indians, prevails generally among the Mongul nations, the head being shaved, and only a tuft or tress of hair left on the crown. The Caucasian nations, on the other hand, have, in all ages, cherished an abundant growth of hair.

characteristics, the evidence of many travelers, did space allow, might be introduced with much point. Suffice it to add, that the American aboriginal race, being a primitive branch of the human family, cannot be said to be derived from any nation *now existing;* but they are assimilated by so many analogies to the most ancient types of civilization in the eastern hemisphere, that the character of their civilization cannot be regarded as wholly indigenous. This uniformity is apparent in the monuments of these nations, whose temples were pyramids, and whose traditions are interwoven with cosmogonical fables, retaining the relics of primitive history. It thus appears that the same arts, customs, religion, and institutions, carried, in the earliest ages of man's diffusion, into various parts of the globe, as for instance Egypt, China, Hindostan, and America, were subsequently so modified in each, under the influence of causes the most diverse, that we can now discover only an approximation in their general features; and to the agency of these same local causes is to be ascribed, in a great degree, the modification of physical features and of moral and intellectual character, by which the leading varieties of mankind are distinguished.

The bearing of all these facts, as going to establish the Scriptural record in regard to the unity of the human family, cannot fail to impress most favorably the mind of the reader. We will now attempt to reconcile the remarkable diversities of the human family, upon the principle that they are merely varieties of the same species. As we have rendered it sufficiently evident that the primitive human race were originally, in the words of the sacred penman, "*of one lip and one speech*," so we are equally confident that "*the Ethiopian can change his skin*," in proof of the unity of the human race and its origin from one stock.

Let us first treat of the *phenomena of hybridity*, which have a close relation with the determination of species. An identity of species between two animals, notwithstanding a striking difference in some particulars, has been inferred, as a general rule, if their offspring has been found capable of procreating. Although this doctrine has been generally maintained by our most distinguished naturalists, yet some have rejected it as a hasty generalization. The production of hybrids is a phenomenon observed not only among mammifers, but among birds, fishes, the insect tribes, and the vegetable kingdom; and when we survey the numerous facts opposed to the generally-admitted law of nature that all hybrid productions are sterile, there would seem to be some ground for doubting the soundness of the general conclusion. Thus the dog and the wolf, and the dog and the fox, will breed together, and the

mixed offspring is capable of procreating. And that mules are not always barren, is a fact not unknown even to Aristotle. But as hybrid productions are almost unknown among animals in their wild and unrestrained condition, it would seem that there is a mutual repugnance between those of different species; and thus nature guards against a universal confusion of the different departments of organized creation. Notwithstanding the occasional exceptions to the general fact of the sterility of hybrid productions, it has never been observed that an offspring similar to themselves has proceeded from hybrids of an opposite sex. The offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations only by returning toward one of the parent tribes. It is thus apparent that the *vis procreatrix* between different species, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is very defective, and that the law of nature which maintains the diversity of tribes in the organized world is not really infringed by the isolated phenomena observed in reference to hybrid productions. That animals generally have the same form and endowments now as at the remotest period of our acquaintance with them, is an opinion confirmed by the oldest historical records, as well as by the works of art, and the actual relics found in Egyptian tombs. The zoological descriptions of Aristotle, composed twenty-two centuries ago, are still faithful to nature in every particular. Hence it would appear that insurmountable barriers to the intermixture of species, at least among wild animals, have been provided by nature, in the instinctive aversion to union with other species, in the sterility of hybrid productions, and in the law of the reproduction of the corporeal and physical characters of the parent in the offspring.

These facts have an important bearing upon the doctrine that mankind constitutes a single species. It is well known to horticulturists and those engaged in breeding domesticated animals, that, by crossing and intermixing varieties, a mixed breed superior in almost every physical quality to the parent races is often produced; and it has also been observed that the intermixture of different races of the human family has produced breeds physically superior, generally speaking, to either ancestral race. Now, as it is a law, according to the high authority of Buffon and Hunter, that those animals of opposite sexes, notwithstanding some striking differences in appearance, whose offspring is equally prolific with themselves, belong to one and the same species, it follows that these facts afford a strong confirmation of the conclusion deduced from many others, namely, that *there is but one human species;* for, as just remarked, while the offspring of distinct species (real hybrids)

are so little prolific that their stock soon becomes extinct, it is found that the mixed offspring of different varieties of the same species generally exceeds the parent races in corporeal vigor and in the tendency of multiplication. This law, however, does not apply to the moral and intellectual endowments; for we find these deteriorated in the European by the mixture of any other race, and, on the other hand, an infusion of Caucasian blood tends in an equal degree to ennoble these qualities in the other varieties of the human family. It is, indeed, an undisputed fact that all the races and varieties of mankind are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriage; and that such connections, when contracted between individuals of the most dissimilar varieties, as for instance the negro and the European, prove, if there is any difference, even more prolific. This tendency to a rapid increase is especially obvious among the so-termed mulattoes of the West Indies, as has been well pointed out by the philosophic Prichard.

It is well remarked by Prichard that perhaps the solution of the problem of the unity of the human family might be safely left on this issue, or considered as obtained by this argument; but, like him, we will proceed to throw more light upon the subject, by a careful analysis of the facts which relate to the nature and origination of varieties.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the diversities exhibited among the various tribes of mankind, we will bring under notice what may be called *accidental* or *congenital* varieties. Among all organized productions, we find variety of form and structure in the same species, and even in the offspring of the same parents; and what is equally remarkable, we discover a tendency to perpetuate in their offspring all individual peculiarities. This constitutes, in some degree, an exception to the general law that animals produce their like,—an exception by which it were easy to explain the present existence of diversified races, originating from the same primitive species, did not a new difficulty arise in the question, having reference to the extent of deviation of structure that may take place without breaking in upon the characteristic type of the species. There are many instances on record in which these accidental varieties have been perpetuated by hereditary transmission. One of the most extraordinary is the recent origination of a new variety of sheep in the state of Massachusetts, called the "*ancon* or *otter breed*," in consequence of the shortness of the limbs and the greater proportionate length of the body, the fore-legs being also crooked. In the year 1791, a male lamb, on the farm of Seth Wright, produced by a ewe of the common kind, was the first ancestor of this

breed; and his offspring often exhibited the same peculiarity of organization. Finding the animal unable to jump over fences, the propagation of the breed became a desirable object. That the breed is permanent appears from certain facts communicated to the Philosophical Transactions for 1813, by Colonel Humphreys. When both parents are of the otter breed, the lambs produced uniformly inherit the peculiar form, there having been only one case reported as an exception, and that was a questionable one.

Among instances of variety of structure originating in the race of man, which are in like manner propagated through many generations, may be mentioned the oft-observed fact of supernumerary toes or fingers, and corresponding deficiencies. Hence the names of Varus and Plautus among the ancient Romans. Likewise, those peculiar features by which the individuals of some families are characterized; as, for instance, the singular thickness of the upper lip in the imperial house of Austria, which was introduced three centuries ago by intermarriage. These organic peculiarities are often transmitted to children, even when one of the parents is of the ordinary form, for three and four generations. Hence there is reason to believe that if persons of this organic peculiarity were to intermarry exclusively, we might have a permanent race characterized by six toes or fingers. We have a similar fact in the history of the English family of "porcupine men," in whom the greater part of the body was covered with hard excrescences of a horny nature, which were transmitted hereditarily. These remarks apply equally to those peculiarities of organization which predispose to many diseases, as well as to the transmission of mental and moral qualities, all of which are truly hereditary. It is thus seen that varieties of structure are not always transmitted from first parents, and that when they have once arisen, they become, under favorable circumstances, permanent in the stock.

In considering the diversities presented by the human family, the most natural arrangement would be to treat first of differences of structure, then of the physical functions, and lastly of the psychological phenomena. We will, in the first place, speak of—

Varieties in color or complexion.—As we have already represented the five varieties of Blumenbach as merely typical examples of extreme diversity, which run imperceptibly the one into the other, we will proceed to show that these typical characteristics, as the color of the skin, the color and texture of the hair, etc., become so modified, altered, and evanescent, that to draw an absolute line of demarcation among five, or any other number of varieties of the human family, is totally impossible. The negro and the

European are the two extremes, which, as in every other particular in which the various tribes of human kind differ, pass into each other by insensible gradations. The terms *white* and *black* races, can be used only in the general sense of Caucasian and Ethiopian varieties. The complexion implies no distinction of species; for it can be readily shown that in this respect the African tribes vary much,—that the American aboriginals exhibit the extremes of white and black,—and that even the Caucasians, generally characterized as white, present nations decidedly black. In the frontispiece to the third volume of Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Man" we have a striking specimen of a black Caucasian, being a portrait of Rahomun Roy, "a Brahmin of undoubtedly pure race." Among the Arabs, according to the country they inhabit, we discover the extremes of complexion. "The general complexion of the Shegya Arabs," says Mr. Waddington, "is a jet black." "The Shegya," he adds, "as I have already mentioned, are black—a clear, glossy, jet black, which appeared to my then unprejudiced eyes to be the finest color that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from the negroes by the brightness of their color; by their hair and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes; and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans." As the Arabs on the Nile do not intermarry with the natives, as appears by the accounts given by Burckhardt and Ruppell, the blackness of their complexion can be ascribed to climate alone. In more northern, and particularly in more elevated regions, the hue of the Arab's skin is not less fair than that of the European. "The Arab women," says Bruce, "are not black; there are even some exceedingly fair." Even among the American tribes, known the world over as the "red man," the most remarkable diversities of complexion are presented, varying from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin. Of so deep a hue are the Californians that La Perouse compares them to the negroes in the West Indies. "The complexion of the Californians," he says, "very nearly resembles that of those negroes whose hair is not woolly." In contrast to these black Californians, we have, on our north-west coast, tribes with skins as white as the complexion of the natives of Southern Europe. Captain Dixon describes a female whose "countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milk-maid, and the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her forehead was so remarkably clear that the translucent veins were seen meandering even in the minutest

branches." Among the Otaheitans, who have been long celebrated for their personal beauty, the skin of the lower orders has a brown tint, which becomes so gradually lost in those of a superior caste, that the complexion in the higher ranks is nearly white, or at least but slightly tinged with brown. On the cheek of the women a blush may be readily observed. The usual color of the hair is black, but it is of a fine texture, and not unfrequently brown, flaxen, and even red. Of the natives of the Marquesas, it has been said that "in form they are, perhaps, the finest in the world," and that their skin is naturally "very fair;" while in the color of their hair, all the various shades found in the different tribes of the Caucasian race are exhibited.

By those who hold that the negro is of a distinct species from our own, much stress has always been laid upon the national differences of the human hair. As regards the *hair, beard, and color of the iris*, we observe, indeed, strongly-marked varieties, all these having a relation with the color of the skin. While the head of the Caucasian race is adorned with an ample growth of fine locks, and his face with a copious beard, the negro's head presents short, woolly knots, and that of the American or Mongolian, coarse and straight hair, all having nearly beardless faces; and with this diminution of the beard is combined a general smoothness of the whole body. That the coloring principle in the skin and hair is of a common nature, is evident from the fact, that among the white races every gradation from the fair to the dark is accompanied by a corresponding alteration in the tint of the hair. This remark applies equally to the colored varieties of men, for all these have black hair; but among the spotted Africans, according to Blumenbach, the hairs growing out of a white patch on the head are white. These facts, in connection with others observed among inferor animals, as the dog, sheep, and goat, prove sufficiently that a distinction of species cannot be established on the mere difference in the hair.

That the physical characters of nations have certain relations to climate, is an opinion warranted by facts, the erudite arguments of Lawrence to the contrary notwithstanding. Our remarks here, however, will be restricted mostly to the single question relative to the human complexion. The limits of Negroland, properly so called, seem to be confined to the intertropical regions of Africa. Now, if we proceed southward of Central Africa, we find the hue of the negro grow less black, as in the Caffres and Hottentots; and, on the other hand, we discover the same law north of the tropic of Cancer. Although some of the tribes in the Oases of the Great

Desert are said to be black, yet they are generally brown, or almost white; and when we reach the second system of highlands, which has a temperate clime, the inhabitants present the flowing hair and complexion of the southern Europeans. This general law, if the comparison is extended to Europe, is confirmed. On comparing the three elevated tracts bounding and containing between them the Mediterranean and the Great Sahara, we find that the intermediate region (Mount Atlas) differs much less from the northern, (the Alps and Pyrenees,) than from the southern chain, (the Lunar Mountains.) The same law is evident in each, as respects vegetation and the physical characters of the human races. While the mountains of Central Africa are inhabited by negroes, the Berbers of Mount Atlas show but little difference of physical characters when compared with the Spaniards and Piedmontese. For the purpose of more extended comparison, Prichard divides Europe and Africa into eight zones, through which he traces a gradation in the physical characters of the human race. Within the tropics, as just observed, the inhabitants, if we confine ourselves to the low and plain countries, are universally black. South of this region are the red people of Caffreland; and, next to these, are the yellowish brown Hottentots. North of Negroland are the "gentes subfusci coloris" of Leo,—tribes of a brownish hue, but varying from this shade to a perfect black. The next zone is the region of the Mediterranean, including Spaniards, Moors, Greeks, Italians, etc., among whom we find black hair, dark eyes, and a brownish white complexion, predominant features. In the zone north of the Pyreno-Alpine line, the color of the hair is generally chestnut brown, to which that of the skin and eyes bears a certain relation. Next come the races characterized by yellow hair, blue eyes, and a florid complexion, such as those of England, Denmark, Finland, the northern parts of Germany, and a great portion of Russia. And north of these are the Swedes and Norwegians, distinguished by white hair and light gray eyes.

It were desirable that Prichard had proceeded still further north, and told us why the Laplanders, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, Samoiedes, etc., have a very dark complexion. This fact has always been a stumbling block in the way of the advocates of a connection between climate and the human complexion. By them it has been referred to their food, consisting of fish and rancid oil, to the grease and paint with which they besmear the body, aided by the clouds of smoke in which they sit constantly involved in their wretched cabins. The agency of these causes is strongly advocated by Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, who also refers to Blumenbach, Fourcroy,

and J. F. Meckel, who concur in the opinion, that from the affinity of the bile with the fat or oil of the animal body, nations that subsist chiefly on food consisting of animal oil, not only smell of it, but acquire a very dark complexion. But these northern tribes have the olive complexion, the broad large face and flat nose, and the other features which characterize the Mongolian variety. Hence Lawrence maintains that the distinguishing characters of the German and French, or the Esquimaux or more southern Indians, find no explanation in climatic influences. On the contrary, he ascribes the peculiarities of these northern pigmies to the same cause that makes the Briton and German of this day resemble the portraits of their ancestors, drawn by Cæsar and Tacitus. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians, belong, he says, to the Celtic race, whose black hair and browner complexion are distinguished from the blue eyes and fair skin of the German tribes, which include the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, English, modern Germans, etc. As the Jews have been scattered for ages over the face of the whole earth, and as the race has been kept uncommonly pure by the most sacred prohibitions against intermarriage with strangers, it might be supposed that here is presented a case decisive of the question at issue. "In Britain and Germany," says the Rev. Dr. S. S. Smith, "they are fair, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and Spain, olive in Syria and Chaldea, tawny or copper-colored in Arabia and Egypt." Besides, a tribe of Jews, according to Buffon, was discovered in India, known to be of the stock of Israel, by the Hebrew Pentateuch preserved among them from time immemorial, who had become as black as the natives. This swarthiness, it is true, is ascribed by Lawrence to the effect of the sun's action upon the individual, whose children, he says, will have the original complexion of the race; and in the instance of the black Jews, he finds an explanation in their intermarriage with the Hindoos. But, we have just seen the arguments of Prichard on the affirmative side, and these we regard as incontrovertible.

That climate exercises an influence in causing diversity of color, is an opinion likewise strengthened by the analogy of inferior animals. As we approach the poles, we find everything progressively assume a whiter livery, as bears, foxes, hares, falcons, crows, and blackbirds; while some animals, as the ermine, weasel, squirrel, rein-deer, and snow-bunting, change their color to gray or white, even in the same country, as the winter season advances.

We thus discover a marked relation between the physical characters of nations and climate as expressed by latitude,—a law that

obtains equally in the modification of climate induced by elevation. Thus the sandy or brown hair of the Swiss contrasts strongly with the black hair and eyes of those that dwell below on the plains of Lombardy. Among the natives of the more elevated parts of the Biscayan country, the black hair and swarthy complexion of the Castilians give place to light blue eyes, flaxen hair, and a fair complexion. In the northern parts of Africa, we observe the same law as regards the Berbers of the plains and the Shulah mountaineers. And even in the intertropical region of Africa, several examples are adduced by Prichard.

Hence it is obvious, that in no point of view can the facts presented in reference to the complexion and the hair be reconciled with the hypothesis, that the negro constitutes a distinct species, inasmuch as we do not find in any department of nature that separate species of organization ever pass into each other by insensible degrees. We will add a few facts in regard to the so-called woolly hair, which is not wool in fact, but merely a curled and twisted hair. This has been proved by microscopic observation, upon the well-known law, that the character which distinguishes wool from hair consists in the serrated nature of its external surface, giving to it its felting property.

Although the shape of the head among the South African tribes differs in a degree corresponding to the extent of their civilization, yet it would seem that the crisp and woolly state of the hair, notwithstanding the complexion is considerably lighter than among the tribes of Central Africa, experiences no modification. The Caffres, for example, who have black and woolly hair, with a deep brown skin, have the high forehead and prominent nose of the Europeans, with projecting cheek bones and thickish lips. This tribe, as well as the Jolofs near the Senegal, scarcely differ from Europeans, with the exception of the complexion and woolly hair. Other tribes, as for instance the darkest of the Abyssinians, approximate the Europeans still more, in the circumstance that the hair, though often crisp and frizzled, is never woolly. Again: some of the tribes near the Zambesi, according to Prichard, have hair in rather long and flowing ringlets, notwithstanding the complexion is black, and the features have the negro type. The civilized Mandingos, on the other hand, have a cranial organization differing much from that of their degraded neighbors, yet in respect to the hair there is no change. A similar observation applies to the natives of the islands in the great Southern Ocean.

This peculiarity of the hair would be regarded by Prichard as a *permanent* variety, which "differs from species," he says, "in this

circumstance, that the peculiarities in question are not coeval with the tribe, but sprang up in it since the commencement of its existence, and constitute a deviation from its original character." The so-termed woolly hair of the negro may perhaps be, with good reason, classed among the *accidental* or *congenital* diversities of mankind, which are transmitted from the parent to the offspring. This would certainly not be more extraordinary than the phenomenon of the *otter breed* of sheep, which occurred in New-England. Such peculiarities in an individual, at a remote and unknown period, may have readily become the characteristics of a whole nation; for then mankind, few in numbers, were dispersing themselves in detached bodies over the face of the earth; and we can easily comprehend how, in the event of the occurrence of any peculiarity of color, form, or structure, it would naturally, as society multiplied in these detached bodies, become the characteristics of an entire people. Under existing circumstances, however, or indeed ever since the population of the world has been comparatively large, these peculiarities of organization can extend very little beyond the individuals in whom they first appear, being soon entirely lost in the general mass.

We will now consider the *diversities of form or configuration among mankind*, the most important of which is doubtless the shape of the head as connected with the development of the brain. We have already given a classification of skulls under five general forms, which is of course entirely arbitrary. As in every other corporeal diversity, so we find in regard to crania an imperceptible gradation among the nations of the earth, filling up the interval between the two extremes of the most perfect Caucasian model and the most exaggerated negro specimen. Hence we must conclude that the diversities of skulls among mankind do not afford sufficient ground for a specific difference,—an inference confirmed, as will be seen, by the variations which occur in animals of the same species. We might show conclusively that there is a connection, as in the instance of the varieties of color, between the leading physical characters of human races, (and especially as regards cranial formation,) and the agencies of climate and their habits of existence. This is very apparent in the configuration found in the nomadic and hunter conditions, consisting of the greater relative development of the jaws and zygomatic (cheek) bones; in a word, of the bones of the face altogether, as compared with the size of the brain. That the development of the organs of taste and smell is in an inverse ratio to that of the brain, and consequently to the degree of intelligence, is considered by Bichat as

almost a rule in our organization. By this principle, as an index of those exalted prerogatives which elevate man above the brute, was the Grecian sculptor guided. Although, upon this point, the facial angle of Camper is not an exact test, yet it may be remarked, that in the human race it varies from 65° to 85°, the former being a near approach to the monkey species. Among the remains of Grecian art, we find this angle extended to 90° in the representation of poets, sages, legislators, etc.; thus showing that the relation here referred to was not unknown to them; while, at the same time, the mouth, nose, jaws, and tongue, were contracted in size, as indicative of a noble and generous nature. In the statues of their gods and heroes, the Greeks gave a still greater exaggeration to the latter, and reduction to the former characteristics, thus extending the forehead over the face, so as to make a facial angle of 100°. It is this that gives to their statuary its high character of sublime beauty. Even among the vulgar, we find the idea of stupidity associated with an elongation of the snout.

But this subject leads us off to the phenomena which refer to the higher principles of life, concerning which we are allowed by our limits to state simply the conclusion of our investigations, namely, that there is an intimate connection between physical features and moral and intellectual character, both of which are influenced by local causes.

As regards man's *average stature, the size and proportions of his trunk and limbs, and the relations of different parts*, it has been inferred by some that these varieties, in connection with other diversities, constitute distinctive characters sufficient to class the human family under several separate species. It has been asserted, for instance, that in the negro the length of the fore-arm is so much greater than in the European, as to form a real approximation to the character of the ape. This difference, however, is so very slight, compared with the relative length of the arms of the orang and the chimpanzé, that we are not even warranted in the infer ence, that races long civilized have less of the animal in this respect in their physical conformation than those in the savage state. That uncivilized races have less muscular power than civilized men, is a fact that has been often observed, and one that we can confirm from extensive personal knowledge relative to our aborigines. The experiments of the voyager, Peron, with the *dynamometer*, showed that Frenchmen and Englishmen have a physical superiority compared with the natives of the southern hemisphere. But these diversities are not specific, being merely variations arising from the operation of particular causes; as, for instance, the Hin-

doos, who live on a vegetable aliment exclusively, are less muscular, and have arms and legs longer in proportion, than Europeans; and hence, too, the miserable savages, who are never well fed, but are frequently depressed by absolute want, cannot be expected to equal, in physical strength, the industrious and well-fed middle classes of a civilized community. That none of these deviations amount to specific distinctions, is apparent from several unanswerable arguments.

Before considering the physiological and psychological diversities of mankind, we will take a glance at the *phenomena of variation among plants and animals*, which are most remarkably displayed in the cultivated tribes of the former, and the domesticated races of the latter. The best-authenticated examples of the effects produced upon animals by a change of external conditions, are afforded by the modifications developed in certain breeds transported to the new world. These variations have reference to *physical* modifications, such as color, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool, the proportional size of parts, and the structure of limbs; they likewise involve certain *physiological* changes, and also certain *psychological* alterations in instincts, habits, and powers of perception.

Admitting then that these phenomena of variation are analogous to the diversities which distinguish the various races of the human family, it follows that the latter should present still greater differences; for, while each species of animals inferior to man is mostly confined to a limited region, and to a mode of existence that is simple and uniform, the human races are scattered over the whole face of the earth, under every variety of physical circumstances, in addition to the influences arising from a moral and intellectual nature. It was long ago remarked by Blumenbach, that the difference between the cranium of our swine and that of the primitive wild boar, is quite equal to that observed between the skulls of the negro and of the European. That swine were unknown in America until carried hither from Europe, is a conceded point; and, notwithstanding the comparatively short period that has intervened, there now exist many breeds, exhibiting the most striking peculiarities as compared with one another, or with the original stock. The pigs carried in 1509 from Spain to Cuba degenerated, according to Herera, into a monstrous race, with toes half a span long. They here became more than twice as large as their European progenitors. Again: we find the breed of domestic swine in France, with a high convex spine and hanging head, just the reverse of that of England, with a straight back and pendulous belly. In

Hungary and Sweden we meet a solidungular race. It is also observed by Blumenbach, "that there is less difference in the form of the skull in the most dissimilar of mankind, than between the elongated head of the Neapolitan horse and the skull of the Hungarian breed, which is remarkable for its shortness and the extent of the lower jaw."

We will now conclude this article with a brief consideration of man's physiological and psychological diversities. The *physiological* comparison of human races has reference to those laws of the animal economy which are connected with reproduction, such as the times and frequency of breeding, (the period of gestation in mammalia, and that of sitting on eggs in birds,) as well as the number of prodigy produced at a time, and the period of suckling or watching over the offspring: and to the same laws belong the progress of physical development and decay, and also the different changes which the constitution experiences at particular ages, the periods of adult growth and of greatest vigor and decline, and the total duration of life,—all of which, notwithstanding irregular as regards individuals, preserve a definite rule relative to species.

Here again we must confine ourselves to mere conclusions. From an extensive survey of various nations in reference to the proportionate *duration of human life*, it is evident that there exist no well-marked differences in this respect among the different families of men. As all nations have the tendency to exist for a given time—the threescore and ten of the Hebrew nation—they appear thus also as *one* species. The duration of life, however, varies from the influence of external causes in different climates upon the animal economy; but, at the same time, individuals removed to a new climate acquire in successive generations a gradual physical adaptation to its local conditions. Thus the natives of the western coast of Africa and of the West Indies, notwithstanding the destructiveness of these climates to Europeans, sustain comparatively little inconvenience. As the cells of the camel's stomach show a wonderful adaptation of organic structure to local conditions, without being referable to climatic agency, so the system of the negro, as his skin is a much more active organ of depuration than that of the white man, is better adapted, let the remote cause be what it may, to the warm, moist, and miasmial climates of the tropics.

If the comparison as regards the duration of human life, however, is extended to the simiæ, notwithstanding their very close approximation to man in physical structure, the contrast is very great. As the greatest longevity of the troglodyte (an ape that

most nearly resembles man) is no more than thirty years, we thus perceive, more especially when also we consider that all the monkey tribes, in their natural state, are confined almost wholly to the intertropical zone, the close relation of what are generally regarded as extreme diversities among the human races. As we discover no difference in this respect between the negro and the European, there is little ground for introducing, as was done by Linnæus, Buffon, Helvetius, and Monboddo, the orang-outang into the human family. Moreover, we find as attributes common both to the negro and the European, the erect attitude, the two hands, the slow development of the body, and the exercise of reason. On the other hand, the whole structure of the monkey, who is four-handed, proves that to him the erect attitude is not natural. The striking characteristics of the predominance of the fore-arm over the upper arm, and the great length of the upper and the shortness of the lower limbs, are peculiarly adapted to his climbing habits. The majestic attitude of man, which announces to all the other inhabitants of the globe his superiority, has been, ever since the beautiful and unequaled description of Ovid, the theme of many an able pen.

The last subject that we shall treat of is a *comparison of human races with respect to mental endowments.* This is designated *psychology,*—a term which comprehends not only the history of the mental faculties, but also an account of those faculties in inferior animals which most nearly resemble the mental endowments of man. Here, again, we must call to aid our favorite author, Dr. Prichard. As it is an admitted law that the instincts of no two separate species bear an exact resemblance to each other, that is, they do not precisely resemble each other in those internal principles, of which their actions and habits are the outward signs and manifestations,—it follows, that should it appear, on inquiry, that the whole human family are characterized by one common mind or psychical nature, a strong argument, on the ground of analogy, for their community of species and origin would be afforded. On a first view of this question—when the mind's eye surveys, on the one hand, a Newton in his study, or a Davy in his laboratory, and, on the other hand, a Bushman or an Australian in a state the most savage and morally degraded,—or let the *coup d'œil* take in, at the same time, the brilliant spectacle of the coronation of a European monarch and that of the dancing and barbarous music known to the aboriginals of America or of Negroland,—under the view of these circumstances, we say that most persons would be disposed at once to adopt the negative side of this inquiry; but when we come to

trace the history of man from ancient times, we first become aware what changes time and circumstances have effected in his moral and intellectual nature. In this, in truth, lies the grand distinction between man and inferior animals, the latter being characterized by a uniformity of habits in successive generations, and the latter by variations in the same, either tending to improvement, or to alternate periods of improvement with reverses and retrograde changes.

There are in truth fixed principles of human action, which may be regarded as typical of the whole human family. The universal employment of conventional speech among men, contrasted with its total absence among inferior animals, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of humanity; and this difference serves to distinguish the two in an eminent degree, implying that mankind, who possess it universally as well as exclusively, are endowed with a common nature and origin. To the same category of exclusive characteristics belong the use of fire and of artificial clothing, and the arts in general; but the use of conventional language, as well as all the arts and sciences which ennoble and dignify human nature, are only certain outward manifestations of that internal agency which constitutes its distinctive attribute. It is in the characteristic phenomena of this principle, as compared with the psychical nature of the lower animals, that we must seek the line of distinction.

Among the psychological phenomena peculiar to human beings, these are certainly the most remarkable; and they serve, in a corresponding degree, to distinguish man, in his inward nature, from the whole life of the lower orders of creation. Dr. Prichard devotes much attention to these psychological phenomena, believing that they express principles which are common to all human races. He attempts to illustrate the psychological history of the most widely-separated races of men; and he attains this end, by bringing under view, in the first place, the most striking and characteristic features relating to the moral and intellectual state, the original superstitions and religious dogmas of uncultivated nations, prior to their acquaintance with the common acquirements of the civilized and Christianized world; and by showing, in the next place, the extent to which these tribes, when civilization and Christianity were brought within their reach, have been found capable of receiving and appropriating their blessings. To effect this purpose, he finds it sufficient to survey two or three of the most diversified races, namely, the nations of the new world and the woolly-haired races of Africa; and these he compares with the nations of Europe and Asia, by way of testing the truth of his theory.

These conclusions can be readily established by abundant historical testimony relative to the superstitious notions of these people in their primitive state, and the facts connected with their conversion to Christianity and civilized habits, as is done by Prichard from the writings of Loskiel, who resided many years among the Delaware Indians, and from those of M. Lesson, who possessed an equally extensive and accurate knowledge of the natives inhabiting Greenland and Labrador; and the same deductions are confirmed by the history of those polished and cultivated, but now extinct, races, which inhabited the central regions of America,—nations that were associated under regular forms of government, having for a prominent feature a *national religion under the direction of a priesthood.* Moreover, we are happy to confirm all this from our own knowledge relative to the Cherokees, many of whom we have known to be thoroughly imbued with the principles and sentiments of the Christian religion. And as the psychological phenomena of these people are in harmony and in strict analogy with those of all other races, it is difficult to suppose such a mind common to different species of organized beings.

We thus contemplate, in surveying the diversified tribes of the human family, the same general internal feelings, propensities, and aversions, as well as the same natural sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and of accountableness, in a greater or less degree, to unseen agents of retributive justice, from whose dread tribunal even the gates of death are far from promising escape.

As respects the institutions of religion and of civilized life, we also find that nations the most barbarous and sensual are susceptible, some more slowly than others, of becoming molded to them, through those endowments of our mental nature which are universally recognized. Now, as it is admitted, on all hands, that every species of animal organization is characterized by specific instincts and separate psychical endowments, it follows from the preceding facts as an irresistible conclusion, that *all human races are of one species and one family.*

It is thus seen that the lines of demarkation between man and man, which pride and ignorance have ever, and will ever continue to set up, have no foundation in nature. Throughout this investigation into man's organization, all the results coincide in the conclusion that the entire human race have been made upon one model. It is thus that science, by demonstrating that the European and the negro were alike originally endowed with intellectual and moral faculties, gives a firm basis to some of the best principles of morality; and, at the same time, it justifies the eloquent pleadings of

those gifted men, who, with a mental vision far outstretching that of the age in which they lived, have felt impelled to proclaim all human kind to be one great family, entitled alike to equal justice, liberty, and protection.

ART. V.—*History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. In three volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

TAKING into view all the requisites of a perfect historian, we look upon Mr. Prescott as coming as near to that pre-eminence as any writer in that department of literature in our language. He has no positive defects, and he unites more of the higher attributes essential to the rank we claim for him, than are found united in any one of the great English historians. Without being equal in brilliant eloquence to Gibbon, or in acute philosophy to Hume, or in graceful elegance to Robertson, he is not wanting in either of these qualities, and he is unequaled by either of them, or by any other historian, in fidelity of investigation, honest use of his authorities, clearness in narration, just estimate of his historical personages, and perfect impartiality in delineating their characters. To these peculiar excellences of a historian, he adds one no less important as a writer, that of a finished style, exactly appropriate to his subject, neither too ornate on the one hand, nor jejune on the other—smooth and flowing, but not careless, and sufficiently elevated without being stiff and stately. We seek in vain for perfect models of historical composition in modern literature—they are to be found only in the writings of antiquity—and Mr. Prescott gives the clearest evidence that the study of these has not been neglected by him. Of late the scholars of Germany and their followers have dwelt so much on the philosophy of history, that history, properly so called, has almost entirely given place to philosophical disquisitions upon some memorable event, or period, or personage; and we owe much to the author of Ferdinand and Isabella for the practical reclamation he has made in both his works, for history to be restored to its legitimate province, to be allowed to teach its own philosophy, and not to be perverted to the support of fanciful theories. It would be easy to add much to these commendations of Mr. Prescott, were it our purpose now to discuss his general merits

as a historian; but as it is not, we pass to our more specific object, the examination of his History of Mexico.

It was, we confess, with fear and trembling that we took up this last work of our author—not from a distrust of his powers, but from a consciousness of the extravagance of our own and of public expectation. He had the most difficult of positions to maintain, that of a perfectly-successful *débutant* who had burst upon the world in a full blaze of popularity. By the high standard he had himself fixed, he had become his own most dangerous rival—he must go beyond this standard, or he is pronounced to be falling off. He has gone beyond it, and we shall never fear for him again: he has proved that he does possess the extraordinary power of becoming greater than himself, and as long as he lives and writes, we doubt not he will do it. In point of subject, the advantage was vastly in favor of his first historical effort, and there was the charm of a feat of chivalry in his taking it up: it was like a gallant foreign knight taking up the glove for some injured princess who had found no defender among her own cavaliers—he came forward to spread the renown of a beautiful and brilliant queen, whose deeds of glory had not been duly heralded by the writers of her own nation and language. The story too was as grand as it was new, embracing a period memorable for three great events—the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy, the expulsion of the Moors from Europe, and the discovery of the western continent, the most important of discoveries in the progress of geographical knowledge. And then what mighty personages to give life and grandeur to this story—the magnanimous, heroic Isabella, and her royal consort; Columbus, the truly sublime adventurer; Gonsalvo, the great captain; Mendoza, the grand cardinal of Spain; and Ximenes, his successor, the learned ecclesiastic, the consummate statesman, and the master spirit of his times. No man of ordinary mind would have had the courage to venture upon such themes even under the most favorable circumstances; and no greater proof could be given of a most energetic and powerful one than was given by Mr. Prescott in undertaking and accomplishing so arduous a labor, under every discouragement of distance from the sources of authentic information, and the various perplexities and embarrassments arising from want of sight, and the necessity of relying upon the eyes of others. In surmounting these difficulties, and thus faithfully recording the great achievements of the most eventful and glorious reign in Spanish history, he has raised his own imperishable monument. There is nothing equivocal or indefinite in the reputation he has thus acquired; it is not that he has written a pleasing book, and

given great promise as an author, but it is that he has proved himself a historian; for whatever fault criticism may have found with his work, it always ended with this confession. The learned everywhere unite in awarding him this distinction,—in England, in France, in Germany, his claim to it is universally recognized, and even in Spain, where he might have most to fear, he is most honored and commended. The Italian campaigns did not more clearly bear witness to the soldiership of Napoleon, than did the History of Ferdinand and Isabella to the adaptation of Mr. Prescott, in mind, talent, and character, to the office of a historian.

With such a reputation at stake, he has again ventured to appear at the bar of public criticism, and he is again met with like, but louder, plaudits. The story of the conquest of Mexico had not the charm of novelty; it had often been told before, but never with the truth, and life, and spirit, and distinctness, as it now comes to us; his admirable narrative of it, we think, is never to be supplanted or superseded by any one that may come after it. By referring to his materials it will be perceived, that no known original authority, or printed volume, which could throw light upon his subject, has been neglected by him,—the conqueror's own letters, the testimony of the eye-witnesses, honest Bernal Diaz and the chaplain Gomara, the contemporary Spanish historian Sahagun, the Tezcucan Ixtlilxochitl, the Tlascalan Camargo, De Solis, Herrera, and the other Spanish writers, are all consulted, compared, and sifted for the facts upon which he builds his own stable fabric; and it is not only a History of the Conquest of Mexico, it is also a history of the people who were conquered, or rather a view of the condition in which they were found, and the progress they had made in civilization when first visited by Europeans, and in the Appendix he gives a shorter essay on the origin of this civilization. These we must first consider.

In this part of his work, particularly the introductory view of the Aztec civilization, Mr. Prescott may safely challenge all competition; he has spared no pains in searching into it, and has condensed the fruits of his labor into the compass of half a volume, which would have furnished rich materials for three. In that half volume he imparts more and clearer information upon the subject, than could elsewhere be obtained by a year's reading, or in fact could be obtained at all. Being derived from the best authorities, and having past the ordeal of his scrutiny, it may be relied upon as authentic, if anything upon such a question can be so. From this account we make the following summary:—

It is well known, that two distinct, but probably kindred races,

successively occupied that portion of the Mexican state which was the theatre of Cortes' conquests—the Toltecs, who arrived there in the seventh century, and continued until the eleventh; and the Aztecs, who followed them after the lapse of a hundred years or more. The latter, after wandering about for a long time in the Mexican valley, at last fixed their abode on the south-west shore of the lake, and in the year 1325 founded the city of Tenochtitlan, since known by the name of Mexico. Whence they came has never been learned, either from tradition or otherwise, and nothing more of their march has been certainly ascertained, than that they approached the borders of Anahuac, as the country was then called, from a north-westerly direction. From the architectural monuments still remaining in the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, it may fairly be inferred that the Toltecs were a cultivated people, as many of these monuments bear conclusive marks of being older than the arrival of their successors; but by what calamity their power was destroyed, their edifices ruined, and their settlements broken up, recent as must have been the event, we can now only conjecture. As there were several minor tribes, they may have combined and driven out the stronger, and in their turn, on the arrival of the Aztecs and Tezcucans, been overpowered and merged in one or other of these conquering families. However that may be, it is certain that for the two centuries prior to the Spanish conquest, both the territory and the dominion were chiefly held by these two last-named races. The city of Mexico was founded, as we have seen, in the year 1325, and taken possession of by Cortes in 1519, not quite two centuries afterward. In this short period it attained an extent and magnificence that astonished its conquerors, familiar as they were with their own capitals: nearly the same description applies to Tezcuco, situated on the eastern side of the lake. It is evident that the people who built such cities must have previously made no small progress in the arts of civilized life; and how it is that a people so civilized left no traces of their earlier abodes, or of their path from one abode to another, is an unfathomable mystery, that a further examination into their condition will only serve to increase.

The Aztec state was a regularly-organized elective monarchy, the choice being restricted to the family of the reigning dynasty, first to the brothers, and if none, to the nephews of the last sovereign. The monarch wore a crown, was addressed by a regal title, was the fountain of all honors, lived in a splendid palace, had his council of state, his body guard, and an immense retinue of nobles and dependent vassals bound to render homage and military

service—in short, all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. He was also the sole and supreme lawgiver; but the laws which he made were enforced by regularly-constituted judicial tribunals, the judges of which, when once appointed, were independent of his will. In all trials the parties appeared in person to state their own case, and no counsel were allowed, that justice might not be perverted or defeated. The laws were severe, all great crimes against society being made capital: intemperance even, if the offender was young, was punished with death; if old, with the loss of rank or property. The institution of marriage was held in reverence, and a special tribunal established for judging all causes connected with it. Slavery was permitted by their code; but it was personal only, and not hereditary. No one was born a slave among them, and none were made so except captives, criminals, public debtors, persons who gave up their freedom from poverty, or other like cause, and children sold by their parents. The condition was but little more than personal service, and not one of great hardship, as would naturally be inferred from the last two modes of becoming subjected to it.

Contributions for the exigences of the state were made in various ways—there were crown lands, and taxes on the products of agriculture and manufactures, with tributes, and all such blessings of civilization. Soldiers were stationed in the principal towns to enforce the fiscal laws in case of resistance. They had couriers for the transmission of intelligence from place to place, who, by being trained early, were able to run with great speed; they were found at regular post-houses, which seems to be an anticipation of Europe in establishing mails, and is the more remarkable, as they had no horses.

As war was made the chief business of life by the Aztecs, the profession of arms was naturally held in great honor. They had a war-god for their protecting divinity, and their king must be a military chieftain. The bravery of the soldier on the battle-field was excited by the strongest inducements—honors from his sovereign if he survived, and an immediate admission to the bright mansions of the sun if he fell. Military orders, with appropriate insignia, were the rewards of martial prowess, and death was the invariable punishment for all delinquencies—for disobedience of authority, desertion of colors, attacking without orders, plundering, and every other violation of a soldier's duty. Hospitals and surgical attendance were provided for the sick and the wounded, and retreats for the permanently-disabled soldiers. They wore a martial dress, and that of the chiefs was very showy, and of sufficient thickness to protect the body against light arrows; the wealthiest had cuirasses

of gold or silver. Their armies must have been considerable, judging from the large bodies into which they were divided; eight thousand men constituting a division. Questions of war were discussed by the king and nobles in council, and no open declaration was made until ambassadors had been sent to demand satisfaction and returned unsuccessful. The persons of these ambassadors were sacred, and they were provided for at the public charge. This sketch of the civil and military institutions of the Aztecs will show how nearly they approached to European civilization in the great foundations of society: in pursuing the inquiry, we come upon usages denoting the lowest state of barbarism.

When we look at their religion, for example, we find it full of bloody rites and degrading superstitions, proving how very little any civilization that is not Christian civilization can effect in imparting a knowledge of the true God. It was the same in the most refined ages of Greece and Rome; their religious worship was a reproach to the human mind. No religion but Christianity has respect to humanity in the worship of the Deity; and that lies at the foundation of the Christian scheme, in the manifestation of the divine and human nature in the person of its Author, and it is also the direct practical influence of its whole spirit, proclaiming peace on earth, good will to man. Yet the Aztec religion, frightful as it was, was not without some glimmerings of a better faith. It enjoined a belief in a supreme Creator and Governor of the universe, and invoked him as an omnipotent, omniscient, invisible, and spiritual being: it taught also a belief in a future existence and state of retribution, in which the wicked were to make expiation for sin, and the heroes who fell in battle to be received into the presence of the sun, and their spirits after a time to pass into clouds and singing birds, and revel amid the flowers and perfumes of paradise. An intermediate condition was assigned to another class, of mere negative, indolent existence, without suffering and without enjoyment. It inculcated many precepts of excellent morality; it made almsgiving a duty, and it provided for the education of youth. By the latter the priests took care to perpetuate their own influence, as it was exclusively intrusted to them. Confession and absolution were practiced as in the Romish Church, in connection with which two peculiar usages are worthy of note. After confession, the repetition of the same offense was inexpiable, and absolution made full satisfaction for crime, and when given, no other punishment could be inflicted. Their religion throughout was one of burdensome ceremonials, their priesthood an army of human butchers, and their temples of worship altars of sacrifice for hecatombs of human vic-

tims. How brutal and revolting were these sacrifices, may best be learned from the following account of our author:—

"One of their most important festivals was that in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca, whose rank was inferior only to that of the Supreme Being. He was called 'the soul of the world,' and supposed to have been its creator. He was depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the intended sacrifice, a captive, distinguished for his personal beauty, and without a blemish on his body, was selected to represent this deity. Certain tutors took charge of him, and instructed him how to perform his new part with becoming grace and dignity. He was arrayed in a splendid dress, regaled with incense and with a profusion of sweet-scented flowers, of which the ancient Mexicans were as fond as their descendants at the present day. When he went abroad, he was attended by a train of the royal pages, and, as he halted in the streets to play some favorite melody, the crowd prostrated themselves before him, and did him homage as the representative of their good deity. In this way he led an easy, luxurious life, till within a month of his sacrifice. Four beautiful girls, bearing the names of the principal goddesses, were then selected to share the honors of his bed; and with them he continued to live in idle dalliance, feasted at the banquets of the principal nobles, who paid him all the honors of a divinity.

"At length the fatal day of sacrifice arrived. The term of his short-lived glories was at an end. He was stripped of his gaudy apparel, and bade adieu to the fair partners of his revelries. One of the royal barges transported him across the lake to a temple which rose on its margin, about a league from the city. Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked, to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplets of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity. On the summit he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and his limbs; while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, emblematic of his bloody office, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of *itzlli*,—a volcanic substance, hard as flint,—and, inserting his hand in the wound, tore out the palpitating heart. The minister of death, first holding this up toward the sun, an object of worship throughout Anahuac, cast it at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was devoted, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The tragic story of this prisoner was expounded by the priests as the type of human destiny, which, brilliant in its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster."

"The most loathsome part of the story—the manner in which the body of the sacrificed captive was disposed of—remains yet to be told. It was delivered to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by him, after being dressed, was served up in an entertainment to his

friends. This was not the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet teeming with delicious beverages and delicate viands, prepared with art, and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life. Surely, never were refinement and the extreme of barbarism brought so closely in contact with each other!"—Vol. i, pp. 75, 76, 78, 79.

The number of these sacrifices is represented to be great, almost beyond belief; and yet we see, from the following passage, that Mr. Prescott considers that the fact is supported by the most unquestionable authority:—

"On great occasions, as the coronation of a king, or the consecration of a temple, the number becomes still more appalling. At the dedication of the great temple of Huitzilopotchli, in 1486, the prisoners, who for some years had been reserved for the purpose, were drawn from all quarters to the capital. They were ranged in files, forming a procession nearly two miles long. The ceremony consumed several days, and seventy thousand captives are said to have perished at the shrine of this terrible deity! But who can believe that so numerous a body would have suffered themselves to be led unresistingly like sheep to the slaughter? Or how could their remains, too great for consumption in the ordinary way, be disposed of, without breeding a pestilence in the capital? Yet the event was of recent date, and is unequivocally attested by the best-informed historians. One fact may be considered certain. It was customary to preserve the skulls of the sacrificed, in buildings appropriated to the purpose. The companions of Cortes counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one of these edifices! Without attempting a precise calculation, therefore, it is safe to conclude that thousands were yearly offered up, in the different cities of Anahuac, on the bloody altars of the Mexican divinities."—*Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

In commenting on the atrocity of these murderous rites, Mr. Prescott very fairly reminds us of the Inquisition, which continued for centuries, in the name even of our own mild and merciful religion, first to torture, and then butcher thousands after thousands; but Christianity commands no such immolations, and is not answerable any more than liberty for the numerous crimes that have been committed in its sacred name.

We now turn to a more pleasing part of the picture, and take a view of the intellectual culture of the Aztecs, as exhibited by Mr. Prescott. A convenient written language is so essential to literary advancement, that we could hardly expect to find a nation distinguished in this way, with a system so inadequate and imperfect as that of the Mexican hieroglyphics. We are referring particularly to literature in distinction from science: in the latter it is less essential, as was seen both in Egypt and here. The Egyptians, however, had a system of hieroglyphics vastly more comprehensive than the Mexicans, the latter

being chiefly the figurative or simple picture-writing, to which, in the former, there was added the symbolic and the phonetic. But it is not possible, at the present day, to determine precisely how far the art was carried among the Mexicans: a very small number of their manuscripts remain to show the progress they had made, the Spanish priests, in their fanaticism, having burnt the greater part of them, some of which, it is not improbable, recorded their origin and their migrations. They had, however, in addition to their hieroglyphical, a sort of oral literature, consisting of traditions, legends, and tales, imbodied in songs and hymns, which were taught and sung in schools. In science they reached a higher degree of culture: they had a regular system of arithmetical notation, which, inferior as it was to the Arabic, afforded great facility in computation. Their year was the solar one of three hundred and sixty-five days, divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, with an intercalation of five to make out the complete number, and another intercalation, every fifty-two years, to correct the error which had arisen by neglecting the odd hours. So accurate were they in their measurement of time, that at the time of the conquest their calendar was found to agree with the Gregorian, when duly corrected. In their chronological reckonings they were equally precise. The epoch from which they dated corresponded to the year 1091 of the Christian era, being the year of the last reform of their calendar. By a very ingenious contrivance, which is minutely described and figured in Mr. Prescott's work, and one which they had in common with most Asiatic nations, they were able to specify the particular year in a simple and concise manner. Besides the solar calendar, the priests had a mystic one for their own particular use and advantage, but otherwise wholly unnecessary, and easily to be accounted for, as the author justly observes, by "that love of power, that has led the priesthood of many a faith to affect a mystery, the key to which was in their own keeping." By this calendar the priests regulated the religious festivals, and made their calculations in astrology; for the Aztecs, like most nations in a state of imperfect civilization, placed great reliance upon the revealings of the stars. That they also studied their movements for more valuable purposes, may be inferred from the facts in the following passage:—

"We know little further of the astronomical attainments of the Aztecs. That they were acquainted with the cause of eclipses is evident from the representation, on their maps, of the disk of the moon projected on that of the sun. Whether they had arranged a system of constellations is uncertain; though, that they recognized some of the

most obvious, as the Pleiades, for example, is evident from the fact that they regulated their festivals by them. We know of no astronomical instruments used by them, except the dial. An immense circular block of carved stone, disinterred in 1790, in the great square of Mexico, has supplied an acute and learned scholar with the means of establishing some interesting facts in regard to Mexican science. This colossal fragment, on which the calendar is engraved, shows that they had the means of settling the hours of the day with precision, the periods of the solstices and of the equinoxes, and that of the transit of the sun across the zenith of Mexico."—Vol. i, pp. 122, 123.

It now remains to glance at the state of Aztec civilization as respects the useful arts and social life. All genuine civilization begins with the selection of a place for permanent residence. The mere savage subsists by hunting or fishing, or upon the spontaneous productions of the earth; the nomad by his flocks and herds; but civilization is planted with the first seed that is put into the ground fixed upon for a home. We advert to this principle here, because we think it goes far toward explaining the highly-improved condition in which the Aztecs were found at the time of the conquest. No bird of passage, in its flight from the inclement north to the balmy south, ever lighted in a richer or more beautiful valley than they found when they stopped their wanderings. The teeming earth opened its bosom to their embraces, and the genial heavens promised the most bounteous returns for labor. These invitations were not offered in vain. Agriculture now flourished and became an honored occupation; it was skillfully prosecuted, and abundant harvests were gathered in as its rewards. The men took upon themselves its severer toils, and the women joined them in its lighter ones. They practiced fallowing, irrigating, and the other arts of careful husbandry. They cultivated the banana, the cocoa, the vanilla, and some other plants of less note; but Indian corn was their staple, which they used not only for bread, but also extracted sugar from its luxuriant shoots in large quantities, the cane being then unknown there. The Agave Americana, and other species of that genus, shot up without culture in great luxuriance, furnishing them with "meat, drink, and clothing;" and yet neither the bountiful provision of nature in this, nor the incredible productiveness of the banana, induced habits of sloth and indolence among them; they were industrious without necessity, and hence we infer they had the spirit and spring of improvement within themselves. They must also have had a taste for the beautiful: they did not leave the fragrant and brilliant flowers which grew in wild luxuriance on their mountains and in their valleys to waste their sweetness on the desert air; they transplanted them to their gardens

and conservatories, and cultivated them with care. These conservatories, Mr. Prescott thinks, may have furnished the original suggestion for the botanic gardens of Europe, as they were established not long after the conquest: we deem it more probable, however, that they are to be traced to earlier usages. The Romans paid much attention to the cultivation of flowers; and ornamental gardens were an appendage to their villas, one of which is particularly described in the letters of the younger Pliny; and they had also a very beautiful mode of decorating the interior courts of their houses with pots of flowers, in stands encircling the small fountains which kept playing in their courts, the vestiges of which are still to be seen among the ruins of Pompeii. The revival and extension of similar usages in modern Italy may account for botanic gardens being first established there. We cannot wholly agree with Mr. Prescott in the praises he bestows upon the Mexican Flora; that it is gaudy and varied, we readily acknowledge, but not that the greatest attractions of our green-houses are gathered from it, nor that it is the richest and most diversified of any on the globe. Ours is the continent for flowering trees and shrubs; but it is comparatively poor in herbaceous plants. We have few native roses, fewer geraniums, no heaths, and no camellias. Still we can readily disprove the common reproach that we have no flowers of fragrance and no birds of song; for not even Araby the blest can match the Peruvian heliotrope with a flower of sweet scent, nor the Peruvian bulbul vie with the mocking-bird of our warmer climes in melody of song.

But to return to the cultivation of the Aztecs. Their mining operations were conducted with no less skill than their agricultural: they brought out silver, lead, tin, and copper from their veins in the rock, separated them from their ores, and applied them to various uses: they collected gold from the sands and beds of the river, and cast it into ingots, or kept it in grains for the payment of the royal tribute. They had no coinage, and they knew not the use of iron; but they were cunning artificers, working in gold, silver, and precious stones, with implements of hardened copper, or the sharp edges of obsidian. Their domestic utensils were of earthen ware, of convenient forms, and not badly made. They had a passion for sculptured images, and crowded them upon their temples and other edifices for ornament: nothing, however, has been found indicative of much taste or skill in the plastic art. Cotton fabrics of various degrees of fineness were manufactured by them. These were dyed with the rich crimson of the cochineal, and sometimes interwoven with the hair of animals, so as to form

a warm and beautiful texture, upon which they put curious embroideries of birds, flowers, and the like. But their greatest skill and ingenuity were displayed upon their work in feathers; and as the country abounded in birds of brilliant and varied plumage, the fabrics of this kind were generally of exquisite beauty. Instead of shops, they used the market-places for the purposes of traffic, where frequent fairs were held, and merchandise of every kind sold or exchanged. As a substitute for coin, they used quills of gold dust, small bits of tin, and bags of cocoa. Industry in some pursuit was enjoined upon all; and trade was particularly honored. The Aztec merchants formed a powerful body in the community, and were especially favored and protected by the sovereign. The drones of modern society might take a good lesson from the exhortation of an aged Aztec chief to his son:—"Apply yourself," said he to him, "to some honorable calling: never was it heard that nobility alone was able to maintain its possessor."

Their domestic manners present a still more striking proof of their great advances in civilization: and many of the features of their social life afford strong presumption that they originated with themselves. Contrary to the usage of the nations of the East, woman was treated with every mark of respect and indulgence, and with greater kindness than she ever received until Christianity exalted her to her rightful place in social life. Marriage was sacred, as far as it can be said to be so where polygamy prevails. Children were educated with great care, under the direction of the priests, as before mentioned, and subjected to a system of severe discipline. Grown-up daughters were treated very kindly by their parents, and more carefully instructed in their duties than they are under modern or even Christian civilization, if the lessons of prudence and virtue, given in the Appendix, are a fair specimen of those taught by Aztec mothers generally.

In their social entertainments they seem to have approached very near to the usages of modern European life. They had dinner and dancing parties, and festivities of every kind; and in all of them the women participated. On such occasions their houses were scented with perfumes, and decorated with flowers, and a great abundance of the latter distributed, in bouquets no doubt, to the guests. They had also the refinements of napkins and finger basins, and were particular in observing all the requisitions of cleanliness. Their table furniture was of gold and silver, and the like costly materials. They indulged in the use of tobacco, but chiefly for smoking. They did not chew, nor put the nauseous weed into their mouths at all. Their cigars were smoked through

mouthpieces of gold, or silver, or tortoise-shell. Sometimes they used pipes filled with aromatic perfumes, according to the fashion of the East; and they also pulverized tobacco, and took it in the form of snuff. The women were seated apart by themselves at table; but whether they joined in the smoking or not, it is not said. This usage, at any rate, proves their imperfect civilization. They had choice viands, nice cookery, high-flavored, spiced, and exhilarating drinks. Game was abundant, particularly the wild turkey, in speaking of which Mr. Prescott takes occasion to settle the question of its origin in favor of this continent, which has been denied, because both its English name of Turkey, and its French one of d' Inde, implied the contrary. Their tables were set out with *entremets*, *hors d'oeuvres*, *patisseries*, *confitures*, and all the stimulants to appetite now provided by European luxury: but amid them all there often peered out, especially if the feast was a religious one, the revolting spectacle of a dish of human flesh, taken from some wretched captive or slave, dressed *á la Tartare*, and sumptuously served, betraying the savage, the pagan, and the cannibal.

When the feasting was over, the young people rose up to dance, leaving the elders at table to gossip over their *pulque*, their substitute for wine, of which they not unfrequently drank to inebriation, showing the inefficacy of the severest laws in restraining the taste for intoxicating drinks, when once indulged. Festive entertainments did not break up until past midnight: on leaving, rich presents of dresses and ornaments were made to the guests, which gave occasion to the same kind of ill-natured, ungrateful comments upon the want of taste or extravagance of their hosts, as are now wont to be made among fashionable ladies when they meet after a party.

We have been thus minute in our abstract of Mr. Prescott's most interesting and carefully-drawn sketch of Aztec civilization, as we could not otherwise do justice to the subject. We had either to pass over it entirely, or to dwell upon it in sufficient detail to give our readers a correct idea of its distinctive features. They will find it so extraordinary, and so marked by contrasts, that they may doubt, perhaps, if the representations of our author are herein correct. But he is supported by the best authority in every word of his statement; and the general facts may be regarded as unquestionable. At the same time, it is natural to suppose that the surprise excited by the novelty of these scenes, and the bigotry acting upon the mind of the fanatical crusaders who gave the first accounts of them, may have imparted a deeper color to their picture. Mr.

Prescott himself is fully aware of the seeming inconsistency in the different features of this unique civilization, and makes the following comments upon it:—

"In this remarkable picture of manners, which I have copied faithfully from the records of earliest date after the conquest, we find no resemblance to the other races of North American Indians. Some resemblance we may trace to the general style of Asiatic pomp and luxury. But in Asia, woman, far from being admitted to unreserved intercourse with the other sex, is too often jealously immured within the walls of the harem. European civilization, which accords to this loveliest portion of creation her proper rank in the social scale, is still more removed from some of the brutish usages of the Aztecs. That such usages should have existed with the degree of refinement they showed in other things is almost inconceivable. It can only be explained as the result of religious superstition—superstition which clouds the moral perception, and perverts even the natural senses, till man, civilized man, is reconciled to the very things which are most revolting to humanity. Habits and opinions founded on religion must not be taken as conclusive evidence of the actual refinement of a people.

"The Aztec character was perfectly original and unique. It was made up of incongruities apparently irreconcilable. It blended into one the marked peculiarities of different nations, not only of the same phase of civilization, but as far removed from each other as the extremes of barbarism and refinement. It may find a fitting parallel in their own wonderful climate, capable of producing, on a few square leagues of surface, the boundless variety of vegetable forms which belong to the frozen regions of the North, the temperate zone of Europe, and the burning skies of Arabia and Hindostan!"—Vol. i, pp. 157, 158.

The concluding chapter of the Introduction, devoted to the Tezcucans, a kindred race of the Aztecs, which had reached a still higher degree of civilization, is one of the most interesting in the book; and we very much regret that our limits will not allow us to give our readers a more particular knowledge of its contents: for that we must refer them to the work itself. After a few remarks upon his essay on the origin of the civilization we have been considering, which Mr. Prescott has detached from the Introduction and thrown into the Appendix, we shall direct our attention to the body of the work, and take a view of these strange people in their struggle to preserve themselves from foreign subjugation.

In attempting to decide on the origin of a people from a comparison of their usages and customs, characteristic of civilized life, with those of nations supposed to be older, we are met in the outset with the difficulty of determining which are the result of an indigenous and which of a derived civilization. Starting with the supposition of a single primitive pair, and we believe that there is

no known fact contradictory to this supposition, we say, that neither to this primitive pair, nor to their progeny, has God ever directly communicated knowledge of any kind that it was in their power to acquire by the use of the faculties with which they are endued, and certainly of this description is the knowledge which provides for the wants, the comforts, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life. There is therefore no degree of civilization reached by any of the families of man, which might not be reached by all the remaining families, excepting those of an evident natural inferiority of intellectual powers. Any portion of the human race that force, or accident, or enterprise may have separated from their brethren, had power in themselves to originate institutions and usages, and make inventions and improvements demanded by their insulated condition. To a certain extent this has always been done; and the variety in the phases of civilization is mainly to be attributed to variety of climate and local situation. There are, however, marks of identity of origin which can never be mistaken; but they are not to be sought in buildings, or dress, or manner of preparing food, or in any of the common arts of life, unless it be in their minutest circumstances. Language is the infallible criterion, and it is the only one. But the Aztec isolation is far greater in this respect than in any other: nothing whatever has been discovered in their language connecting them with any nation of the Eastern continent. Their imagined affinity to the Egyptians, from their use of picture-writing, somewhat resembling hieroglyphics, amounts to very little. Picture-writing of some kind is a universal savage mode of rendering thought visible; and until the Mexican is shown to be phonetic, coinciding in symbols and sounds to the Egyptian, no inference can be drawn from it. Nor do we come upon anything much more conclusive when we go on and examine the various other grounds of resemblance which have been found or fancied to the Egyptians or other nations of the East, such as traditions, rites, symbols, chronological system, analogies from science, physical structure, architectural remains, and social usages: in all these respects many remarkable coincidences are observed; but as yet none sufficiently minute to identify the Mexicans with any particular branch of the human family. Still we do not believe that it is to remain for ever a hidden mystery: the same spirit of inquiry and enterprise in man, which led to the discovery of this western world, will doubtless lead to the discovery of its primitive inhabitants, and the true history of the races that followed. Very much is now doing to aid these inquiries, and give rise to the expectation, that the time is not far distant when they will all be settled. We know that they

are not autochthones, for we have the Mosaic history to the contrary; and we know also that the question of their origin is not of its own nature an insolvable problem. In the present uncertainty and want of data for a more positive opinion, we fully agree with Mr. Prescott in his conjectures as to that portion of them of which we have been writing,—that their civilization was in some degree influenced by that of Eastern Asia, but so remotely as to justify its being called, at the time of the conquest, a peculiar and indigenous civilization. The beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the amenity of the climate, and the evident adaptation of the race to self-cultivation, all favor this supposition.

We conclude this part of the subject with the remark, that it is worthy of note, that of all the great primitive Indian races, none are found in the nomadic or pastoral state: they are either entirely savage, roaming wild in the forest, and subsisting by the chase, as the North American tribes, or so far advanced in civilization as to have houses and villages, and subsist by agriculture, like the Mexicans. These, we have seen, were so far from being pastoral, that they had no domestic animals whatever, not even cows.

The conquest of Mexico is justly accounted one of the greatest of human exploits; but as it was the first considerable conflict between European and Indian tactics, it was effected under circumstances too peculiar to admit of comparison with any other renowned deed of military heroism. In fact, it can have no parallel, either in ancient or modern history; for never, before or since, has there been a similar struggle between science and civilization on the one side, and countless numbers on the other. And never, in any enterprise, was the whole success so entirely attributable to its leader as in this; for it was not mere military talent that made Cortes at all times triumphant, but a universal energy of mind and character, prepared for every exigency, and resolute in every danger. If we add to these qualities his unwavering reliance on himself, his unequaled command of the affections and confidence of his followers, and his firm conviction that he was God's chosen instrument for effecting this work of conversion, we see what made him the daring adventurer and successful conqueror. On the other hand, we have an explanation of the ineffectual resistance made by a very populous, and powerful, and civilized nation, to a mere handful of invaders, in the superstitious dread and general panic which the appearance of the "white gods" occasioned. The belief that Cortes was the conqueror predicted in the book of their destiny, was of itself sufficient to make him so. A glance at the leading events of this marvelous conquest will suffice to show the pow-

erful influence which the moral causes here spoken of had in the result.

The Spaniards obtained their first knowledge of Mexico in 1518. Grijalva, who was then prosecuting a voyage of discovery upon that coast, chanced to land not far south of the place since called Vera Cruz, when he had an interview with an Aztec chief; but being both ignorant of each other's language, and having no interpreter, nothing more was learned than could be communicated by signs. At parting they exchanged presents; and then the rich and curiously-wrought vessels of gold given to Grijalva told him the story he most wished to hear. Alvarado, one of his captains, was forthwith dispatched to Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, with the gifts and the information received from the cacique, which were regarded by him as sufficient indications of the riches of the country to make it an object of more particular discovery. Accordingly he resolved at once upon fitting out a new expedition, and Cortes was selected to command it. He was then in the vigor of life, being about thirty-three years of age, and had been a resident in Hispaniola and Cuba nearly fifteen years, his love of adventure having early taken him from home. Velasquez had had an opportunity of observing the fitness of Cortes for such a command, as he had been with him in the conquest of Cuba, and had then displayed great intrepidity and energy of character. From the moment of his appointment, the enterprise became the all-absorbing subject of his thoughts, and he gave himself to it with a singleness of purpose that showed how fully he believed it was a work which God had given him to do. But Velasquez, either from a revival of a former enmity to Cortes, or from jealousy of the glory he might acquire, soon determined to recall the command, and would have stopped the expedition had not Cortes been too quick for him, and stolen out of port by night, with his fleet but half prepared, giving him an earnest of the independent spirit with which he would manage the whole enterprise. The instructions which had been previously given to him limited his authority to the exercise of a peaceful mission: he was not to attempt to conquer or colonize, but only to traffic with the natives, endeavor to convert them to Christianity, and invite them to acknowledge allegiance to the king of Spain, and at the same time to collect all possible information about the country and people. Cortes, however, was not the man to heed the letter of authority, when opportunity offered for doing more, as he had already shown more than once; and his first address to his companions, as soon as he was beyond the reach of Velasquez, very clearly reveals what higher purposes, than the

authorized ones, he was revolving in his own mind. And yet it is almost incredible that he could have then thought of attempting what he afterward accomplished, so paltry was the force with which he started. Altogether it numbered less than nine hundred souls, composed of one hundred and ten sailors, five hundred and forty-three soldiers, and something more than two hundred Indians, women included. He had ten heavy guns, and four light ones, and sixteen horses. His fleet consisted of eleven sail, the largest of which was but a hundred tons; next three from seventy to eighty, and the residue very small. With this force he set sail from Cuba on the 18th of February, 1519, and with it he made his way to the Mexican capital in eight months from the time he first landed on the coast.

This first landing was made early in March, at Tabasco; and the very first exercise of his power should have taught the natives how little they had to expect from his tender mercies. A slight show of resistance on the part of the Tabascans was taken advantage of as a pretext for a general onslaught; and within twenty-four hours a regular battle was fought, in which the Indians were entirely defeated, and some thousands of them slain. They fought desperately, and might probably have conquered, had they not been dismayed at the sight of the cavalry, to them no less terrific than novel. This carnage was followed by the farce of a general conversion to Christianity. The Tabascans sought to propitiate their conquerors every way, particularly by gifts. Among these offerings was a female slave, named Marina, who proved of great value to them as an interpreter and guide, and a faithful adherent to their cause.

At another point on the coast, not far from Tabasco, Cortes hearing of the name and fame of Montezuma, required messengers to be sent to his capital, soliciting a formal interview with him. In about eight days the messengers returned with splendid presents in exchange for those sent by Cortes to the emperor; but permission for the interview was refused, and the strangers ordered to leave the country immediately. A second embassy proving alike ineffectual, Cortes resolved to waive all further ceremony, and march to the capital, distant about two hundred miles from the station he then occupied: but he had first to acquaint himself how this could be best and most safely done. Having learned from the Totonacs of Cempoalla, a considerable town near the coast which he had visited, that the yoke of the Aztec emperor was galling to many of the smaller tribes that were subject to him, he determined, if possible, to turn their discontent to his own advantage, by making

them his allies. But he had first to conciliate some unquiet spirits among his own men, who were plotting against the enterprise; and this he did by founding a colony and a city, called Villa Rica, or Vera Cruz, to be held in the name of the Spanish sovereign, under the joint administration of one of his own and one of Velasquez's partisans. This conciliatory measure, aided by his own popularity, soon restored harmony to his camp. This colony, it is worthy of note, was the first one planted by the Spaniards in New Spain, and as a port it was important to Cortes in his after operations.

The religious ceremonies of the Indians, particularly their sacrifices of human beings, were too revolting to the feelings of Cortes and his followers to be endured; and finding no persuasions could induce them to abandon these horrid rites, he ventured upon the bold measure of entering by force into one of their *teocalli*, seizing and destroying their idols, as he had done before at Columel, and then raised a Christian altar on the spot where they had stood. It was this prompt decision which defeated every plan of opposition before it could be matured, and it was shown alike in his proceedings with Spaniards as with Indians, and never with more effect than when he ordered his whole fleet to be sunk, to prevent the meditated desertion of a part of his troops: it showed them that there could be no return until their work was accomplished. A few words of his own on this occasion will give the best idea of that undaunted spirit which carried him safely through every peril. "If there be any so craven," said he to his soldiers, "as to shrink from sharing the dangers of our glorious enterprise, let them go home, in God's name. There is still one vessel left, let them take that, and return to Cuba. They can tell there how they have deserted their commander and their comrades, and patiently wait till we return, loaded with the spoils of the Aztecs." "To Mexico, to Mexico," was the response with which the appeal was answered, and the march thither was immediately undertaken.

We look upon this step as the sublimest display of courage exhibited by Cortes in the whole enterprise. On other occasions, when perils were impending and appalling, no choice was left but to do or die. On this it was a cool decision to meet them, be they what they might, and none the less for being untried. The extent of the danger was not known, but enough was known to have turned back the stoutest hearts. With a feeble force, and that not wholly loyal, a hostile march of two hundred miles over lofty mountains was to be made into a pagan country of which he was entirely ignorant, uncertain of subsistence, and against an enemy of whose numbers and military strength he could form no estimate.

But his resolution was taken, and he lost no time in carrying it into execution. Leaving a part of his men in garrison at Villa Rica de Vera Cruz to keep up the semblance of authority, he set out with the rest on his march to the capital, August 16, 1519. The force taken with him consisted of four hundred foot, fifteen horse, and seven pieces of artillery, to which were added thirteen hundred Indian warriors, and one thousand porters for transporting the guns and baggage. Without interruption, or remarkable adventure of any kind, this daring band proceeded on their toilsome march as far as the confines of Tlascala, which they reached on the 1st of September. They had now made two-thirds of the whole distance from the coast to the capital, having stopped four or five days at a place of rest on the way, where they learned many things of Montezuma, and of the grandeur of his empire. Before entering the Tlascalan dominions, which he found protected by a lofty wall closing up the gorge of the mountain in which they lived, he sent a deputation of his Indian allies to ask permission to pass through their country; and while they were doubting as to their answer, accident brought the parties into conflict, which was kept up in various desperate engagements, until the Tlascalans were completely defeated, with the loss of many thousands slain. But these defeats did not quiet them: according to Indian usage, they had recourse to stratagem to effect what they could not do openly, which was discovered, and a signal but barbarous punishment inflicted on the spies who were engaged in it. The sight of these wretched mutilated objects struck them with terror, and they offered no further resistance. This is one of the many brutal acts which have brought upon Cortes the just indignation of every friend of humanity; and if any extenuation can be offered for it, it must be in the necessity of the case. He had seen enough of the Tlascalans to know that the result of the contest with them would be decisive of his own fate. He had seen with what determined courage they had fought in open battle; how well nigh they had come to surprising him by nightly attack, and still that their double defeat had not produced submission. In the fear of some greater, because hidden danger, he adopted their own mode of warfare, and visited them with an act of savage vengeance, as the only means of averting it. The result proved that he knew with whom he had to deal. A hostile arm was never again raised against him by the Tlascalans. On the contrary, they alone, of all the Indian tribes, remained firm and unwavering in their adherence to him, and by their aid he effected his conquest.

They were a hardy race of mountaineers, the inveterate enemy

of the Aztecs, and sufficiently numerous to bring a hundred thousand warriors into the field. With such allies, Cortes might well feel that his work was done. And Montezuma must have felt so too: he had confidently anticipated the entire destruction of the invaders by the bold race that he had found invincible, and his heart is said to have sunk within him when that hope failed him, as well it might, for the announcement of the Tlascalan defeat was the first stroke of his own death knell.

On the 23d of September the conquerors were received into the city of Tlascala with every mark of honor, and there entertained for some time with the most friendly hospitality. Cortes did not neglect this opportunity for attempting their conversion to Christianity, to which no opposition was made; but, on the contrary, free permission was given him to establish Christian worship in the public square of the city. Here a large cross was erected, and mass celebrated in the presence of many thousands of Indians. A few converts were made; among them several Indian maidens, who had been promised Spanish husbands on condition of their conversion and baptism, a far milder and more lawful method than the sword of Mohammed for propagating the true faith. The most distinguished of these young converts was a daughter of Xicotenatl, the aged chief, who had first counseled resistance to Cortes, but now his firmest friend. This princess became the wife of Alvarado, and the mother of a line of the loftiest nobles of Spain. While Cortes remained at Tlascala, various embassies were sent to him from Montezuma, with sumptuous presents, and the strongest assurances of respect and friendly disposition; but they all manifested the weakest pusillanimity, and the greatest dread of his approach to the capital. When Montezuma found that his deprecations were in vain, appearing to be no longer reluctant to the visit, he sent Cortes an invitation to come, recommending him to take the route by Cholula as safest and best, and this with the most treacherous views, as was shown in the sequel. Contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the Tlascalans, who knew there must be some concealed snare, Cortes followed the advice, which was enforced by an earnest invitation from the Cholulans themselves. As he was about to depart from Tlascala, immense multitudes volunteered to enlist under his banner and accompany him to Mexico, six thousand of whom he accepted; so that with the recruits before made, he had now an Indian force of nine thousand men, but less than four hundred Spaniards. Cholula, being scarcely twenty miles distant from Tlascala, was soon reached; and as the strongest enmity existed between the two people, he thought it best not to

take the Tlascalan troop into the city, but leave them near, where they could rejoin him when he pursued his march. The first reception given him by the Cholulans was so friendly as greatly to invalidate the representations of their enemies, and might perhaps have led him to neglect their warning, but for the change which he observed in their manner after the arrival of some messengers from Montezuma. This circumstance put him on his guard, and excited suspicions of hostile intentions, which were confirmed by accounts received from the faithful Marina. She discovered that a plot had been laid for surprising and massacring or capturing the whole Spanish force, and that twenty thousand troops sent by Montezuma were secreted in the neighborhood for that purpose. The consequences of this discovery were terrible to the Cholulans. Their ancient and sacred city, adorned with splendid edifices and abounding in population, was given up to pillage and the sword. The carnage was truly frightful, the slain amounting, by Cortes' own account, to three thousand, and to twice or thrice that number, according to others. It cannot be justified; but, on the other hand, before it is too severely condemned, it should be remembered, that had victory been on the other side, it would have been followed by extermination.

A new embassy soon arrived from Montezuma, disavowing all participation in this plot of the Cholulans, and acknowledging the justice of the vengeance it had brought upon their heads. He thus hoped, perhaps, to propitiate the invader, whom he wanted courage to repel. Vain hope; the clouds were rolling rapidly on, which were soon to burst upon his devoted head. Every hour brought his dread foes nearer to his capital, and every step they advanced presented their prize under new attractions. When they reached the point of the mountain from which they obtained their first view of the enchanting valley of Mexico, they gave vent to their feelings in one general shout of rapturous delight. On descending to the valley, they received another embassy from the emperor, which he had intended should have met and stopped them before they had passed the curtain of mountains which hung around him, by the tempting bribe of four loads of gold to the general, and one to each of his captains, if they would advance no further—but when such riches could be offered, still greater could be taken, and they moved on. When Montezuma heard of the rejection of his offer, he gave himself up to the most pitiful despair, and in answer to every proposal of resistance, constantly exclaimed, "Of what avail is resistance when the gods have declared themselves against us?" Strange! that among his warriors no one was found resolute

enough first to plunge the steel into the heart of their cowardly monarch, and then lead out their countless hosts to meet and exterminate their invaders. But instead of meeting resistance, they moved on amidst every demonstration of homage and awe, wondering, as they advanced, at the magnificence of this barbaric city, riding proudly like a gallant ship upon the waters, and surrounded with floating gardens, and aviaries of singing birds, and other like novel scenes of enchantment. The memorable day of their triumphal entry into the Aztec capital was November 8, 1519, being within three months from the time they left the coast. The presence of Cortes seems to have diminished none of the awe which his approach had created: he was received by Montezuma with a deference that betrayed his own conscious inferiority, and the homage due to an acknowledged sovereign master. Equally surprising as the intimidation produced by his presence upon Montezuma, is the confidence with which Cortes trusted himself in his power, in an insular capital, from which his escape could at any moment be cut off by the mere raising of a draw-bridge; and strangest of all, that he should have been suffered to go and fasten the chains upon a powerful sovereign, and complete the subjugation of a great nation, with scarcely the show of resistance. Both sovereign and subjects must have been stupefied and unnerved by their fatal belief in his supernatural power, and he may have seen his safety in that very belief. We cannot agree with Mr. Prescott in thinking that Cortes must have been more doubtful than ever of the subversion of the Aztec empire, now that he had seen its capital; on the contrary, it seems to us he must certainly have considered the grand question of the possibility of the conquest settled, when he thus found himself safely master in it. Still he could not at once have formed any definite plan for maintaining his authority; this he must have left to be suggested by observation and circumstances. Hence we see him proceeding cautiously, first strengthening his own quarters, then finding a pretext for removing Montezuma from his palace and placing him under his own eye, and soon after of loading him with chains. All these indignities were borne without open resistance, if not without remonstrance by the emperor himself, but far differently by the chiefs of his family, some of whom cried out vengeance upon their invaders, and were constantly forming plots for their destruction. Although Cortes' vigilance suffered none of them to go undetected, they could not but remind him of the insecurity of his position, and the necessity of providing means of escape from the city, in case he could not protect himself and his followers in it. With this view he had two vessels built, of

sufficient size to take his forces across the lake, which were kept in readiness to be used at any moment.

In the meanwhile Cortes went on with his exactions of submission, and obtained from Montezuma, first, full recognition of the supremacy of the Spanish monarch; next, the surrender of his treasures; and at length, after ineffectual resistance, the conversion of one of the *teocalli* into a church for Christian worship. The last measure was the drop too much; it roused the indignation of the priests to such a degree, that the emperor was compelled to listen to their demands, and insist upon Cortes' departure from the country. Feigning a readiness to comply with this requisition, he asked only for sufficient delay to enable him to build ships on the coast to transport his troops, promising to give immediate orders to this effect; and adding, if this request was not granted, he should be compelled to take the emperor with him. Montezuma acceded to his proposal, and to hasten the preparations, sent a large body of Aztecs to the coast to assist in building the ships. But an unexpected event obliged Cortes to leave the capital without delay. A fleet had arrived from Cuba, under the command of Narvaez, who had orders from Velasquez to supersede him, and send him back to that island. This imposed upon Cortes the necessity of meeting him at once, and the perplexing alternative of wholly abandoning his hold on the Mexican capital, or leaving there a portion of his force in the hope of retaining it. He chose the latter, and ventured upon the perilous experiment of trusting a small garrison of one hundred and forty men, under the command of Alvarado, to the mercy of the Aztecs, exasperated as they were by his cruelties and indignities. After exacting a promise from Montezuma, that he would remain in friendly relation with the garrison, and having given the strictest charge of moderation and caution to Alvarado, he set out on his march to the coast with a little band of seventy, being all of his force which remained, a detachment of one hundred and twenty having been previously sent off under Velasquez de Leon, to plant a colony in the south. His conduct upon this occasion is one of the most striking instances in his history of his unequaled courage. In the same bold spirit that he had engaged the Indian hosts at fearful odds, he hastened on to engage a vastly superior force of his own countrymen, well knowing that Narvaez had more than ten times his numbers; but he was fortunately reinforced on his march by de Leon's detachment, which he found at Cholula, and afterward with one sent out from Villa Rica under Sandoval, so that he now numbered nearly three hundred in his ranks. Still his force was not one-third as large as

that of Narvaez, who had brought out from Cuba nine hundred Spaniards and a thousand Indians, well armed and provided with all the munitions of war. But he heeded not the disparity; taking care to come up with his rival under cover of night, he commenced an immediate attack, and completely defeated him, with a very inconsiderable loss on either side. This work was scarcely accomplished, when he received intelligence from the capital, that the garrison he left there had been assaulted, and was threatened with immediate destruction, and that the vessels provided for their escape had been burnt. Without a moment's delay, he called in all the detachments he had sent out to form settlements, and joined the conquered forces of Narvaez to his own, making out a far more powerful army than had ever been under his command, amounting to one thousand foot and a hundred cavalry, and with these he hastened to the relief of his garrison. On his way his faithful Tlascalans added two thousand warriors to his army, and his appearance on his return to the capital was altogether more formidable than on his first visit to it, and doubtless as reanimating to the trembling garrison as it was dismaying to the revolted Aztecs. He had been absent six weeks, and during that time a spirit of determined resistance to the Spaniards had been roused among them, that nothing could allay. Under pretext of putting down an intended revolt, Alvarado had seized a large number of caciques assembled for the celebration of one of their principal festivals, and barbarously put them all to the sword, amounting to six hundred or more. By this atrocious act, a cry for vengeance was raised among the Aztecs, that was never silenced until scarce a voice was left to continue it. All the efforts for pacification, both of Cortes and Montezuma, were ineffectual; the Aztecs fell upon their invaders with a courage, derived from fury and despair, that they had never before shown, and after a succession of the most desperate conflicts, continued daily from June 24th to the 30th, and scarcely interrupted at night, Cortes seeing himself compelled to evacuate the capital, directed all his attention to securing a retreat, now rendered the more necessary by the death of Montezuma, on whose kind dispositions he had placed much reliance. This unfortunate and imbecile monarch probably fell a victim to chagrin: he had been wounded by the arrows of his own men in a moment of indignation at his cowardice; the wound was slight, but the disgrace inflicted one in his heart which could not be cured.

Cortes found it no easy matter to effect a retreat from an island city, over a narrow causeway ten miles in length, cut at short intervals by canals, from which the bridges had been broken down

or removed, and so signal and terrible were the disasters his army experienced the night they attempted it, that it is perpetuated in history by the name of the *noche triste*. It cost him at least one-third of his army, both Spaniards and Indians. Disheartened by this immense loss, and worn out with fatigue, they were very slow in escaping beyond the reach of their enemy: on the seventh day after the calamity, they had gone but thirty miles, which brought them to the plains of Otompan. Here they were met and attacked by such hosts of the various Indian tribes of that region, that escape from destruction would have been impossible, but for the miraculous courage and daring of Cortes. Seeing that his condition was so desperate, that nothing but the death of the barbarian leader could extricate him from it, attended by a few followers, he rushed impetuously into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and struck him down at a blow—until that moment they had not yielded an inch, and then they fled in the most precipitate haste. Exaggerated as the accounts must be which represent the number of Indians in this conflict at two hundred thousand, and that of the slain at twenty thousand, it cannot be doubted that they were very great.

Cortes continued his retreat without interruption as far as Tlascala, and was received by its inhabitants in the same friendly manner as before his disasters, every attempt to induce them to violate their faith having been indignantly rejected. Here his own companions renewed their efforts, both by art and persuasion, to deter him from any further prosecution of his enterprise; but they found him more resolute than ever. After a few days of successful skirmishing against the smaller tribes of Indians in the vicinity of Tlascala, he resumed his preparations for a new attack upon the capital, which he now determined should be made both by water and by land. To carry this into effect, he hit upon the extraordinary project of building a fleet of small vessels to the number of thirteen, at Tlascala, to be transported in pieces sixty miles over the mountains on men's shoulders and put together on the lake. This project he carried into effect; but many months were required for its accomplishment, and it was not until the end of December that he found himself in readiness to proceed. In this interim, Cuitlahua, the successor of Montezuma, had died, after a short reign of four months, and been followed by Guatemozin, a nephew and son-in-law of the latter.

Several fortunate circumstances had occurred to increase the Spanish forces while they were encamped at Tlascala, which Cortes found, on the day he set out on his return to Mexico, Dec. 28th, 1520,

amounted to six hundred men, supported by a very large army of Indian allies. On the 31st he entered Tezcuco, where he made his head quarters, while he was planning operations for the reduction of the capital. A part of these operations consisted in digging a canal from Tezcuco, where he put his vessels together, to the lake, a distance of half a league, and as this was a work of great labor, it was not until the 28th of April that his fleet was launched into the lake. With this fleet, and a force of eight hundred and eighteen foot, eighty-seven horse, three large, and fifteen small guns, and fifty thousand Indian allies, he commenced the siege toward the end of May, which lasted until the 13th of August, on which day Guatemozin was made prisoner, and all further resistance ceased. We have no room for the details of the horrors of these murderous operations: it is sufficient to say, that the siege was conducted with masterly skill on the part of the besiegers, and with the most desperate courage on the part of the Aztecs, the latter being almost annihilated by disease, famine, and carnage, before they gave up. When the last blow was struck, seven-eighths of the city was in ruins, and from one to two hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed. Well might it be said of Cortes, he made a solitude, and called it peace. Prodigies of valor he had certainly accomplished with his little band of Castilians; but it must not be forgotten, that in every step of this memorable conquest he was aided by a powerful body of faithful Tlascalans, who never deserted him in his reverses, and never numbered but one traitor in their ranks. To them is due the credit, if credit it be, of having fixed the Spanish yoke on the necks of the Aztecs.

It has been our object in this paper to present our readers with the great features of the Aztec civilization, and the important facts of the Mexican conquest. In doing this, we have occupied so much space that we are compelled to omit the reflections we had intended to make on these events and the principal personages connected with them; and having already expressed ourselves very fully upon the historical merits of this work, we must close with a single remark upon the beauty and spirit of its descriptive parts. Had the author been a traveler in the country described, and written from personal observation, he could not have given more life and distinctness to his descriptions. This is so striking a characteristic of the book that we could not neglect to notice it. If we had more space, it should be devoted to the publishers of these beautiful volumes, who have done their part of the work in a manner deserving of all commendation.

Theory of Temptation.

[Supposing that this topic had been sufficiently discussed, we fully intended to admit nothing further upon it into the Review. The following communication, however, being merely explanatory, we have concluded to give it a place. We have designed to be strictly impartial in the privileges allowed to our respected correspondents; but, owing to circumstances not necessary to detail, Brother Stevens has occupied considerably the most space. We hope, however, that in giving Brother Caldwell the privilege of the last explanation we shall make ample amends for the disadvantages to which he has been subjected. We think the discussion, so far as the Review is concerned, ought to terminate here, and, under our present convictions, must act accordingly while our umpirage continues. This we hope will be satisfactory to the two brethren, and those of their friends who have taken an interest in the question.]

To the Editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review.

Dear Sir,—You will perhaps consider the *Theory of Temptation*, which has been made a subject of occasional discussion in several successive numbers of your Review, sufficiently important to authorize a further reference to it in this brief note. Waiving all other allusion to the article which appeared on this subject in your last number, I beg the privilege of calling the attention of your readers to a few specimens of the *incorrect* and *unfair quotations* which occur in it, and on which much of its effect and many of its conclusions depend. These might be multiplied; but I shall make my selection from such misquotations only as have been used for purposes of argument, omitting all such as have been made to contribute only to rhetorical effect.

I know not that I need assign any other reason for this request, than a wish to explain to those who have taken an interest in the controversy why I could not, under any circumstances, attempt to reply to the article in question, and at the same time to satisfy them that a reply may be unnecessary. The quotations which follow will assure every one, that if he would know either what doctrines I have supported, or what arguments I have employed on the points in discussion, he must refer to the original sources.—Whatever is inserted in order to make the following quotations under-

stood, will be found in brackets; and the matter quoted is given without the change of an italic letter, or a point.

From my last article, vol. iii, p. 383.

The reviewer [Mr. S.] might have raised a question as to the *extent* of the excitement allowed by this theory. But he has chosen to deny ALL *excitement of the natural sensibilities* in all innocent temptations.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, vol. iv, p. 50.

The reviewer represents us as denying "ALL *excitement*," notwithstanding we admitted, among others, that of the "moral sensibilities," and he argues at length on the admission.

I call attention here to the fact, that Mr. S. is not represented as denying "ALL *excitement*," but only "ALL *excitement of the natural sensibilities*." The fact that he admits the excitement of the "moral sensibilities" is referred to by me on p. 388, which see.

From my last article, p. 380.

In perfect harmony, as we suppose, with the principles of the theory, we alledged [in our former article] that "temptation can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite* the DESIRES;" but at the same time we affirmed, that in cases where the temptation is successfully repelled, as, for example, by the perfect Christian, the desire does not become fully formed; or, in other words, only the incipient or nascent desire is felt.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 55.

In his [my] present article he says, that in the case of "the perfect Christian, the *desire* does not become fully formed, or, in other words, only the *incipient* or *nascent* desire is felt." We may be obtuse, but this looks to us very much like hair-splitting. We remark that,—1. It contradicts the original theory. The reviewer is careful to limit the above excitement to the "perfect man," &c.

So far from "carefully limiting the above excitement to the perfect man," this extract, from which he quotes, limits it only to "cases where the temptation is successfully repelled," of which that of the perfect man is given as one example. Yet this fancied *careful limitation* of the excitement is made to prove a *contradiction*, of which important use is made.

From my first article, vol. ii, p. 148.

This point [that excitement is an essential element of temptation] being thus settled, we have nothing more to do with it, at present, except to remark as a most important inference from the view we have taken, that "excitement" as here defined, and as the term seems to

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 56.

We charged our friend with contradicting himself in his former article, by saying (after asserting excitement of the *desires*, as we have shown) that "this excitement does not imply a *disposition* to indulgence of any kind, nor *a state*

be used by the reviewer, [Dr. Durbin,] does not imply a "disposition" to indulgence of any kind, nor does it necessarily imply a state of "desire;"—both which terms occur in the strictures, [of Mr. Stevens,] but neither of them in the review.

of desire;" he now denies that it was a contradiction, and says he meant that "only the incipient or nascent desire is felt."

These passages are presented for the purpose of calling attention *first*, to two important omissions—(1) the phrase, "as the term seems to be used by the reviewer," and (2) the word "necessarily," the omission of either of which could not fail to mislead the reader; *secondly*, to two important changes—(1) the insertion of the pronoun "this" before the word "excitement," as a part of the quotation, and (2) to the italicising of the word "state," which make assurance doubly sure that in both cases the reader will be misled; and, *thirdly*, to the last part of the extract, which not being a *misquotation*, I refer to incidentally. I assure the reader that I have never made a denial of this charge of contradiction—a charge only thus supported; and that if I had, I should have assigned a reason for it totally different from that which is here put into my mouth. The reader is specially begged to refer to pp. 56–7, and there to see what use is made of this *imaginary* denial and argument!

From my first article, p. 147.

In the sense in which he [Dr. Butler] explains temptation, it most obviously implies danger; and danger here must imply some connection between the impulse of temptation and the *will*, from which alone can proceed a moral action. But from the general view which we have presented of the mind's action, this temptation, which must first be addressed to the intellect, can reach the will only through the emotions and desires.—From all this it clearly appears, that the temptation cannot reach the will, or produce action of any kind, without passing through the region of the sensibilities; and that it cannot proceed one step beyond the mere intellectual perception, without producing *emotion*, the very nature of which is "*excitement*."

From Mr. Stevens's last article.

We *denied* that the theory's "excitement of the appetites and passions" could be "*without sin*." The reviewer, now under notice, replied that it must be, for there can be no temptation without it, because there can be no temptation without access to the *will*, and no access from the *intellect* or *perception* to the *will* but "through" the intermediate region of the "*emotions* and *desires*." —P. 36.

We denied the theory's excitement of the appetites and passions; the reviewer reaffirmed it on the ground that there can be no temptation unless the excitement passes through this region of *appetite* and *passion*.—P. 37.

We denied that the desires, &c., could be excited *toward* evil, in a sanctified man, without sin. The

The following are from THE SAME *article.*

Temptation, then, can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite*, the DESIRES. We have *before* [in the argument from which the foregoing extract is made] shown that "excitement is an essential element of temptation;" and *here* we incidentally find the precise *nature* and *extent* of the "excitement," which is necessary to give it its distinctive character.—P. 151.

The peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person, is then doubtless this;—that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feebler Christians and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires. He has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them.—P. 155.

[The doctrine of these last extracts is restated in my last article, p. 380, and again referred to, p. 384.]

reviewer replied that they can and must be.—He affirmed that there could be no temptation without danger, and no danger without access to the will, and that therefore temptation must have access to the will; and as there could be no access to the will from the intellect except through the intermediate stages, therefore the temptation must pass "*through*" the *emotions* and *desires*. This was his argument.—Pp. 38, 39.

It [the doctrine that the excitement of innocent temptation reaches only to the involuntary stage of desire, called the incipient or nascent desire] contradicts his former defense of the theory. In his former article he told us that the *will must* be reached in temptation, and that it cannot be reached merely through the *emotions*, but "through the desires;" now [referring to my last article] he informs us that the temptation only "*tends* to excite the desires," that the desire does "not become fully formed," that it is "*nascent*."—P. 56.

I appeal to the reader, if he can find, in the passage of my article referred to by Mr. S., (and there is no other than the one presented to which he can refer,) any authority for putting into my mouth such assertions as these:—"There can be no temptation without access to the will;"—"temptation must pass '*through*' the *emotions* and *desires*;"—"the *will must* be reached in temptation," &c.? On the contrary, are not these sentiments most expressly denied in the last two extracts?

Again: it is not affirmed here or elsewhere, in my articles, that —"*temptation*—only tends to excite the desires, &c.;" but that—"*the temptation of the sanctified person*,"—or, in more general terms,—"temptation, when successfully repelled,"—only tends to excite, &c. And in passing I may inquire, if it is not somewhat extraordinary, that for the avowed purpose of proving that my articles "contradict" each other, (see the last of the quotations from Mr. S.,) the sentiments of the last two extracts above should be referred to my *last* article, instead of the *first* one in which they originally

occurred. Indeed, they do not occur in the last but as formal quotations from the first.

From my last article, p. 398.

A large part of these quotations aim at nothing, but to prove that pure love should be the controlling principle in the heart of the perfect man, and that all evil, worldly, and sensual desires are excluded. These are excluded by the theory originally propounded, since it allows nothing but what is "involuntary;" and these are on all hands admitted to be under the control of the will.

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 58.

He says,—"A large proportion of these quotations prove nothing but that all evil, worldly and sensual desires, are excluded. These are excluded by the original theory, since it allows nothing but what is 'involuntary,' 'and these are on all hands allowed to be under the control of the will.'"

This passage, thus strangely changed, stands in Mr. Stevens's article as a formal quotation; and the reader is particularly referred to that article, p. 58, for the use made of the omission of the reference to "the perfect man."

From Mr. Stevens's last article, p. 45.

In his [my] last article he tells us that this case of *Satanic influence* "obviously refers" to a matter "entirely distinct" from the theory's general definition of temptation.

The passage of my article here referred to may be found on p. 381. It is there said that the case—*not* of *Satanic influence*, but of—"'violent excitement,' which has its origin in 'Satanic suggestion,' and is accompanied with 'reflections and imaginings horrible, offensive, and impure,'"—is a matter entirely distinct, &c. *Satanic influence* is but an incident in this kind of temptation, and is not peculiar to it alone.

The following are from Mr. Stevens's first article, vol. ii.

The "solicitation to evil" may be presented to his [the perfect Christian's] *thoughts*, but it is not felt in his *passions*. There may be excitement, intense excitement, but instead of its tending to "unlawful indulgence," &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency; the excitement of horror against it, or of conscious triumph over it, &c.—P. 435.

We have admitted that temptations to *unlawful indulgence* may be presented to the *intellect*—we have admitted that they may produce excitement, intense excitement, yet not an excitement like that of the reviewer's, tending *toward*, flowing in the *direction* of, the unlawful object, but an excitement of abhorrence *against* it—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy.—P. 447.

This sentiment is reiterated on pp. 446, 451, and 456; and in his last article, p. 50, referring to these passages, he says,—"We admitted, among others, [other forms of excitement,] that of the 'moral sensibilities.'"

From my last article, p. 388.

Elsewhere [referring to the foregoing passages] the reviewer [Mr. S.] has admitted, in regard to the sanctified Christian, that this intellection may be accompanied with the *moral* emotion of "horror" and "abhorrence." If this admission be extended to the original transgression, instead of mending the matter, it but makes it worse; for that which before did not amount to a temptation, now actually becomes a powerful impulse in the contrary direction; for he says explicitly of this excitement, "instead of its tending to 'unlawful indulgence,' &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency." This temptation, which takes the direction of the *moral sensibilities*, is such, we feel assured, as no metaphysical writer ever yet suggested to the world.

In the last article of Mr. Stevens, p. 40, a part only of the foregoing extract is quoted, commencing with the second period, "If this admission," &c.; and in such connection as to make the pronoun "this" refer to another antecedent from that which I gave it. This he makes the occasion to pronounce it a "preposterous misrepresentation," which, he adds, "forms the force of his [my] article." The reader cannot perceive the full extent of the injustice done to the argument by this omission and consequent change of antecedent, without referring to the passage cited.

Other matter of a similar character might be adduced; but here I leave the subject, and without comment. I deeply regret that my reverend friend should have felt compelled, on the appearance of my last article, to decide that a personal character had been given to the discussion. I assure you, Mr. Editor, and your readers, that nothing was further from my thoughts, or more foreign to my feelings; and if I supposed that in the judgment of the disinterested and discerning I was justly responsible for such a result, the least satisfaction I could wish to render, as it would be the only satisfaction in my power, should be most cheerfully presented, in a frank acknowledgment of my error. But even yet, I prefer not to consider the discussion "personal." The absence from my articles of many of the expressions of courtesy, and of many explanatory and relieving remarks, may be accounted for on the ground, that in this discussion I have been restricted to forty-five pages—twenty-one less than my friend has been permitted to occupy; and though compelled thus to yield to the demand of circumstances, had I presumed nothing on the indulgence of personal friendship, I might perhaps have been more punctilious in repeating my assurances of respect and esteem. I have, however, never been accustomed to think such assurances essentially requisite between men engaged in the honest search after truth.

Very truly yours, M. Caldwell.

Art. VI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr. Augustus Neander, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Councilor, etc. Translated from the third edition of the original German. By J. E. Ryland. Complete in one volume. 8vo., double columns, pp. 331. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1844.

The author of the above work is of a school of divines who have for several years made most commendable efforts for the restoration of an orthodox theology, and an evangelical spirit in the German Churches. The present work is characterized by sober criticism and profound investigation. The field it covers embraces the first developments of Christianity. The writings and ministry of the apostles, with the establishment, institutions, and usages of the primitive church, are presented and considered in the author's truly masterly manner. The work is one of great importance to the Biblical student, and is peculiarly appropriate to the times, as it stands in stern opposition to several dogmas which, by a portion of the Christian public, are considered essential elements of "catholic truth."

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2. *Danger and Duty; or, A Few Words on Popery, Puseyism, and the Present State of the Times, in Connection with Truth, Righteousness, and Peace.* By Rev. Richard Marks, Vicar of Great Missenden, Bucks. First American, from the ninth London edition. 18mo., pp. 128. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1844.

This is an earnest appeal to the Protestantism of the Church of England, against Puseyism and its really Romish developments and tendencies. It breathes the spirit of true Christian sympathy, and is entirely made up of the overflowings of a godly jealousy for the purity and safety of the Church of England, now suffering the dreadful ravages of a most destructive heresy. In theory the author is of the type of Archbishop Whately. He repudiates the doctrine of "the apostolical succession," and extends his confidence to all ministers of Jesus Christ of every name. His manner indicates, what he does not affect to conceal, that he fears the Church of England is destined to the judgment of being "unprotestantized," *Romanized*, and cursed of God for her sins, and especially for her criminal indifference to the spiritual wants of her numerous perishing children. We confess we sympathize with him in his alarms. And we would not fail to unite with him in his fervent prayers that God would pour out upon that slumbering, guilty Church, the spirit of repentance and supplication, that his fierce wrath may be averted.

3. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the three first Centuries.* By Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by H. J. Rose, B. D. In one volume. Containing the Introduction; the History of the Persecutions of Christianity; and the History of Church Discipline, and of Christian Life and Worship; the History of Christian Sects and Doctrines, and an Account of the chief Fathers of the Church. 8vo., double columns, pp. 470. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1843.

The object of this work is sufficiently indicated in the title-page. Its character is so well understood that little need be said by us. Dr. Neander addresses himself to his task in true German style. He is no copyist—he searches, and thinks, and speaks for himself; and if he errs in the philosophy of his facts, it is because their *rationale* lies too deep to admit of a comprehensive survey. The present volume is the first part of a History of the Church which is now brought down to the twelfth century, in the German language. The whole, when completed, will greatly increase the facilities for the study of ecclesiastical history, and should be read by every minister.

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4. *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne. Fourteenth edition. 8vo., double columns, pp. 426. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New-York: Saxton & Miles. 1843.

5. *D'Aubigne's History of the Great Reformation.* Abridged by the Rev. Edward Dalton. Volume I. (Being an abridgment of the first three volumes.) Second American edition. 12mo., pp. 447. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1843.

It is no small source of gratification that this great evangelical History of the Reformation meets with so rapid a sale in this country, and that our enterprising publishers are sustained in the issue of such a variety of impressions. We noticed the work on a former occasion, and need not now dilate upon its merits. Its extensive circulation will do much toward fixing correct views of the glorious Reformation in the minds of all unprejudiced and thinking men, and so far will tend to arrest the progress of Popery and semi-popery in the land. We wish every edition of it all the success its publishers could desire. The present octavo embraces all of the work that is published; and this, or the abridgment, can be obtained at so very low a price, that none need be without one or the other.

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6. *Sermons.* By the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. 8vo., pp. 303. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

The volume before us contains twenty-one sermons, delivered upon different occasions, upon highly-interesting topics. They are the pro-

ductions of one of the greatest men of an age remarkably fruitful of genius. "There were giants in those days," and Bishop Butler was by no means among the least of them. Of the merits of these Sermons we need scarcely speak, the name of the author being a sufficient recommendation. The volume also contains the correspondence between Bishop Butler and Dr. Samuel Clarke, in relation to Dr. Clarke's "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God." Here we see the collision of two master minds, upon a metaphysical question of great subtilty and difficulty. But what frankness! what candor! what Christian forbearance are here! If the spirit of this controversy could be infused into the discussions of our time, they would doubtless promise a great harvest of practical and profitable results.

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7. *A Protestant Memorial: comprising*—1. *A Concise Historical Sketch of the Reformation.* 2. *The Antiquity of the Religion of Protestants demonstrated.* 3. *The Safety of continuing in the Protestant Church.* 4. *Romanism contradictory to the Bible.* By THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B. D., author of "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." From the ninth London edition. 18mo., pp. 149. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1844.

THIS manual, from the learned author of the "Introduction," is timely, and will do much good. Its character is sufficiently indicated in the title-page, as given above. Whoever wishes to see the enormous heresies of Rome contrasted with the pure, simple truths of the Bible, within the compass of a few small pages, can scarcely find a more appropriate work than this of Mr. Horne. It is truly refreshing, in these times, to see several of the most gifted theologians of the English Church holding and unequivocally adhering to "the Reformation" and the "religion of Protestants."

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8. *The Voice of the Church: one, under all the Successive Forms of Chistianity. A Discourse pronounced at the Opening of the Theological School at Geneva.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D., author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century." Translated by REV. K. SMITH, Waterford, N. Y. 18mo., pp. 63. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co.

THE high reputation which the author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century" has acquired will secure eager attention to whatever may emanate from his pen. The great object of this Discourse is to show the different forms which Christianity has assumed in different periods. These, in his own peculiar manner, he presents as follows:—1. The form of life. 2. The form of dogma. 3. The scholastic form. And 4. The form of the Reformation. Under these several heads is sketched the leading features of the great periods or ages of the church. The whole shows the hand of a master—a genius

which we hope is destined, for years to come, to shed its brilliant rays upon the churches of Christendom, and will, through all future time, be regarded as one of the greatest ornaments of the age in which we live. Let all possess themselves of this admirable little book.

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9. *Natural Theology.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, &c. In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 401—420. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THE manner of Dr. Chalmers is peculiarly his own: and that manner he carries with him in the investigation of all subjects. The argument of the work before us could not be made wholly original. It had been ably treated by Derham, Paley, and others; but in the hands of Chalmers it assumes all the freshness of originality. The present edition, as respects form and price, is well suited to the purposes of a text-book for students, and to that class of purchasers, especially, the enterprising publisher has rendered an essential service. The merits of the work, we presume, are well understood; and we would notice, that among its recommendations one of the highest and strongest is, that it "has been introduced as a text-book into the University of New-York."

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10. *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha.* By PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNOLD, WHITBY, and LOWMAN. A new edition; with the text printed at large. Royal octavo. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. New-York: Wiley & Putnam.

WE are happy that we are to be furnished with this learned Commentary from the American press. It is to be issued in numbers, and the price of the whole will not exceed thirteen dollars. Dr. Clarke says, "*Patrick* and *Lowth* are always judicious and solid; and Whitby is learned, argumentative, and thoroughly orthodox. The best comment on the New Testament, taken in all points of view, is certainly that of *Whitby*." No modern critic is more worthy of confidence in a matter of this kind than Adam Clarke. He had made the Bible and the critics matters of study for many years, and never gave a favorable opinion merely for effect. His opinions were carefully formed and honestly expressed. But we do not quote Dr. Clarke as authority in a matter of which we have no knowledge. Our personal examinations have fully convinced us of the correctness of his high commendation, so that we are prepared to indorse, and make it our own.

We hope the enterprising publishers of this great work will be sustained in their enterprise by a liberal demand upon the part of the public. The specimen number before us is not inferior to the English copy, and the price of the whole will be much lower than that for which the English edition can be imported. If the Methodist preachers wish to go beyond the publications of our own press in this department, this is precisely the Commentary they want.

11. *Pioneer: a Narrative of the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Charles Giles, Author of the "Triumph of Truth," etc. With Incidents, Observations, and Reflections.* New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

This work will be exceedingly interesting to many readers. Especially to those who are acquainted with the amiable and pious author, and the scene of his labors, and the persons and places to which he makes allusion, this book will be a rare treat. With our personal partiality for the author, and acquaintance with many of the facts he records, we hardly dare predict that others, not so circumstanced, will feel the lively interest which we felt in perusing his book. We think, however, we should run no hazard in recommending to all who wish to see how things were done up in central New-York, just back a little, to read the Pioneer. We hope to be pardoned for just adding that the venerable *Ebenezer White*, so long the colleague of the author, to whom he justly gives so high and excellent a character, was our *spiritual father*, and his own sister, *Anna Blair*, next to our own dear mother, labored the most fervently for our conversion, and enjoyed the highest place in our earliest religious affections.

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12. *Sketches and Incidents, or a Budget from the Saddle-bags of a Superannuated Itinerant.* New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

The title-page of this little work gives a fair idea of its contents and character. The style is sprightly, and the sketches well drawn. The reader who wishes to be entertained at the same time that he is profited, will do well to procure and read this book. We especially commend it to those who wish a little pleasant relaxation from severe duties, and in the mean time desire to improve their moral feelings.

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13. *Notes, Illustrative and Explanatory, on the Holy Gospels: Arranged according to Townsend's Chronological New Testament.* By Joseph Longking, Junior Superintendent of the Greene-street Sunday School, New-York. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1844.

This volume closes the series upon the Gospels. The Notes, as the title-pages purport, are designed to accompany the "Questions" by the same author. We take pleasure in saying that our friend, the author of the Questions and Notes, has most wisely appropriated his rare talents for aiding the Sunday school department. His plodding industry and practical knowledge have happily supplied our sabbath schools with apparatus for Bible-class instructions of great excellence and adaptation. The rapid sale of these works, and their general adoption, are evidence that their worth is appreciated.

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14. *The Life of James Arminius, D. D., formerly Professor of Divinity, in the University of Leyden. Compiled from his Life and Writings, as published by Mr. James Nichols.* By Nathan Bangs, D. D. 18mo., pp. 288. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

The subject of this work has been misunderstood and misrepresented so generally by a certain class of writers, that to a vast multitude *Arminian* is but another name for *heretic*. The present work presents, in a narrow compass, a complete vindication of the honesty, the piety, the learning, and the orthodoxy of Arminius. So far as all these matters are concerned, the work is calculated to do much good, and to annihilate a world of prejudice. Here the injured man speaks for himself, and refutes, if he does not silence, all his calumniators. Though as a biography the work is deficient in incident and consecutive historical delineation, as a vindication of the character and theology of the great leader of the "Remonstrants" it is truly an important production, and the compiler has brought the churches under a debt of gratitude for the good service he has rendered them. The topic is worthy the talents and research of a Clarendon, a Mosheim, or a D'Aubigne; and we hope the time may come, when, from the materials which still lie comparatively unknown, in the Latin

and Dutch languages, such a history of the life of one of the greatest and best men who has lived since the days of the Reformation as the dignity of the subject demands may be given to the world. In the meantime, the compilation by Dr. Bangs should have a wide circulation and careful perusal.

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15. *The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy asserted and maintained; to which is added a Discourse of the Office Ministerial.* By the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D. D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. 12mo., pp. 361. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.

16. *The Unity of the Church.* By Henry Edward Manning, M. A., Archdeacon of Chichester. 12mo., pp. 305. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.

17. *Portrait of an English Churchman.* By the Rev. W. Gresley, M. A., Prebendary of Lichfield, author of a "Treatise on Preaching," "Bernard Leslie," etc. From the seventh London edition. 12mo., pp. 239. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.

18. *The Rectory of Valehead.* By the Rev. Robert W. Evans, M. A. From the twelfth English edition. 12mo., pp. 259. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1844.

Here are four beautifully-executed volumes from the press of the Appletons, all of which teach the peculiar doctrines of that body of Christians styled by its adherents, "the Church." The first two of these works are professedly and formally argumentative, and in them the reader will find all that learning can do in defense of the doctrine of "apostolical succession" and *episcopal* "unity." For those who wish to study "Church principles," and to see their practical developments, as drawn out by their admirers, and to commune with the spirit of our best high-Churchmen, both of a former and the present age, a better selection could scarcely be made among the many works upon the subject now teeming from the press.

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19. *Simcoe's Military Journal.—A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, called the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Lieut. Col. J. G. Simcoe, during the War of the American Revolution: illustrated by ten engraved Plans of Actions. Now first published: with a Memoir of the Author, and other Additions.* 8vo., pp. 328. New-York: Bartlet & Welford. 1844.

This is an important contribution to the history of our revolutionary struggle. In reading the narrative of Lieut. Col. Simcoe, we could not suppress the reflection, that if the military skill, untiring energy, and great moral excellence of the leader of "the Queen's Rangers" had characterized all the higher officers of the British army, the revolutionary struggle would have been much protracted. The narrative is an unostentatious presentation of facts as they appeared to the writer, and drawn out in a perspicuous, neat, classical style. The poor "Lieut. Colonel" was finally sorely mortified in leaving "the rebels" unsubdued: for this, however, we most heartily thank God, and the world we doubt not will have cause to rejoice till it reaches its final destiny.

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20. *Religion in the United States of America.* By Rev. Robert Baird, D. D. First American edition. 8vo., pp. 338. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

This work was first published in Europe in the fall of 1843, and was recommended to the British public by Rev. Drs. Welsh, Cunningham, and Buchanan. Its author is well known to the religious community on both sides the Atlantic, having traveled extensively on both continents, and is peculiarly well qualified for delineating the religious history and character of his native land. This work, which has been revised and extended, and is now presented to the American reader, is a minute and faithful portraiture of the origin, progress, and present state of the various religious denominations in this country, and of the influence of religion generally on the early settlement and subsequent advancement and growth of the several colonies and states, from which the nation has arisen, and which now compose it; the whole illus-

ture of the voluntary principle in distinction from a religious establishment by the state. The work has been very favorably reviewed in Europe, and will, we doubt not, be cordially welcomed by the American public as a most valuable contribution to the religious literature of the nineteenth century.

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21. *"Can I join the Church of Rome while my Rule of Faith is the Bible?" An Inquiry addressed to the Conscience of the Christian Reader.* By CÆSAR MALAN, D. D., Pastor of the "Church of the Testimony," Geneva. Translated from the second French edition. With an Introductory Notice. By REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D. D. 8vo., pp. 250. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

THIS is a minute, faithful, and able examination of the corrupt doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, in the peculiar style of the author, and on the basis of the Romish fathers, councils, and doctors, to whom copious and accurate references are made throughout the work. At the present time, when the great contest between Popery and Protestantism seems to be revived for final decision, this work is most seasonable; as it will serve as a manual to those who would make the same examination with its author, and learn the mystery of abominations from the mouth of Rome herself. We commend its perusal to the Protestant community, and to those of our Roman Catholic friends who are willing to come to the light of truth.

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22. *Church History: or History of all the Religious Denominations in the United States.* Philadelphia: James Y. Humphreys. 1844.

WE have been permitted to examine four hundred pages of this volume, which comprises entirely original, doctrinal, and statistical sketches of all the religious denominations which exist at the present day in the United States; being authentic accounts of their rise, doctrine, and progress. The Sketches are expressly written for this Church History, by eminent theological professors, ministers, and lay members of the respective denominations. The Narratives are arranged in alphabetical order; beginning with the "Associate Presbyterian Church," and extending, at the end of four hundred pages, to the "Latter Day Saints," by Joseph Smith. The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this work was written by Dr. Bangs. The volume of course exhibits a great diversity of talent, and must unavoidably contain some discordant materials. But in detailing and defending the peculiar views of each religious community, there seems to be not any necessity for direct assault upon other denominations: nevertheless, the article entitled "*Protestant Episcopal Church*" is of that belligerent character. The whole of it, exclusive of the mere statistics, occupies twenty-three pages, ten of which are devoted to a vituperative castigation of the Wesleys, Coke, Asbury, and all the Methodists, for their separation from the English Establishment, and then for our own ecclesiastical organization. Mr. Shimeall, the author of that article, has evinced the disposition to discuss almost any other subject than that proposed for his history. He has taken the pains to collect some trifling inadvertencies in act and expression, which can be culled from the reminiscences of the founders of Methodism, both in America and Britain; and has wasted nearly one half of his allotted space on subjects altogether irrelevant, if not utterly exceptionable, and censurable. He has presented us with what he calls a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which is totally defective in every quality requisite for such a work. The distinctive attributes of the Protestant Episcopal Church are thus summarily described. Their system, he says, "involves the principle, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order distinct from and superior to presbyters, is a requisite, without which a valid ministry cannot be preserved." Then follow the ten pages of rambling extracts from John Wesley's writings, and those of Charles Wesley, Coke, Asbury, Whitehead, and others, to prove that we Methodists are without that valid ministry, and are not a church of Christ at all. Four pages are devoted to the trifles connected with the ordination of Dr. Provoost and Dr. White at Lambeth, by virtue of the British Act of Parliament, without which Act there could have been no valid episcopacy in the

United States; thus proving that the American Protestant Episcopal Church originated in the favor of the British government.

All that Mr. Shimeall has said of the internal polity and exterior aspects of the Protestant Episcopal Church is included in these few words:—"The doctrines of the Church are to be found in the Creeds, in the Liturgy, and in the Thirty-nine Articles." Nevertheless, it seems, at the convention in 1792, respecting those doctrines, Creeds, Liturgy, Articles, &c., that the five bishops, Claggett, Madison, Provoost, Seabury, and White, were at utter variance upon the true meaning of those documents; and that there was just as little harmony among those five dioceasans then, as there is among the present twenty-two; who exhibit their boasted concord in only one way, the liberty to differ as loudly, and long, and widely as they please.—We notice the "Church History," in which Mr. Shimeall's strange article appears, expressly to acquaint our readers with the forthcoming volume; and also to state that all the other articles which we have seen are devoted to the theme designated. Mr. Shimeall being only a recent proselyte, and unacquainted with his topic, instead of complying with the prescribed claim for a history of the Protestant E. Church, has dispatched the main subject in a very concise form, vented his dislike of the Methodists in a lengthened caricature and philippic, and by way of giving us the annals, and constituent principles, ceremonial, &c., of his own community, has filled thirty pages containing "everything but nothing much." The reader may expect more anon.

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23. *Bibliotheca Sacra: or Tracts and Essays, on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology.* Editor, EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. 8vo., pp. 573. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

THIS learned work is comprised in three parts, and contains a variety of articles upon subjects of great importance. The reputation of the editor for profound Biblical research is fully sustained in this contribution to the stock of Biblical learning. Besides the editor's productions, there are elaborate papers in the volume from Professer Stuart, President Wayland, Professor Turner, and Rev. Eli Smith. The volume is well worthy a place in every theological library in the land.

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24. *A Church without a Bishop.—The Apostolical and Primitive Church, Popular in its Government, and Simple in its Worship.* By LYMAN COLEMAN, Author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. 12mo., pp. 432. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. New-York: M. H. Newman. 1844.

WE have but just received this work, and, of course, can have but little knowledge of its character or merits. The character of the author, for learning and research, is favorably known, and surely, if his work needed any indorsement, nothing more fully satisfactory could be asked to this end than the name of the pious and learned Dr. Neander. We promise ourselves a rich treat in Mr. Coleman's book. It is a work for the times, and will doubtless meet with an extensive sale.

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25. *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor.* By REV. LOT JONES, A. M. 18mo., pp. 324. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1844.

A MOST beautiful illustration of the influence of religion upon the female character, especially in the family circle, Sunday school, &c. Had we space, we would say much in commendation of the excellent Christian spirit of this book.

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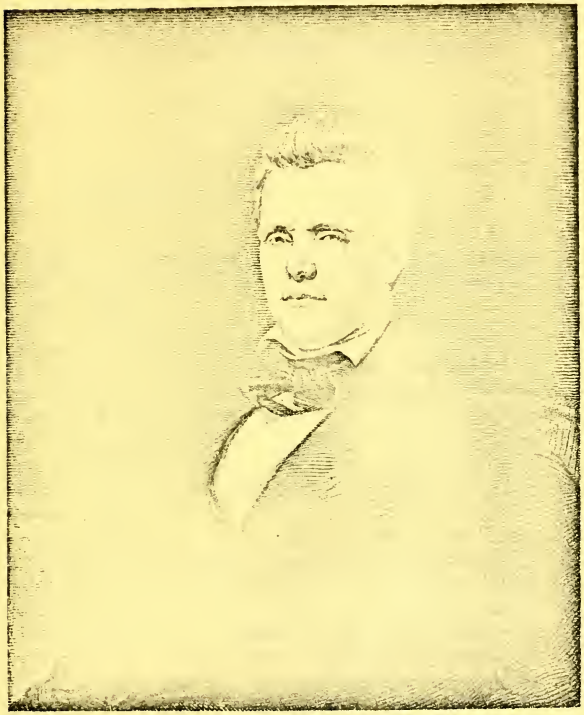
26. *History of the Church of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption in* 1843. By REV. W. M. HETHERINGTON, A. M. 8vo., double columns, pp. 500. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THIS is a work of great interest, and, *Deo volente*, will be reviewed at length upon a future occasion.



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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1844.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Baptism:—The Import of βαπτιζω.* By REV. EDWARD BEECHER, President of Illinois College. Biblical Repository, 1840, 1841, 1843.

THE examination of this subject, which has been carried on at intervals for some two years, in the periodical above named, by President Beecher, is viewed with much interest, both in this country and in Britain. Indeed, the originality of the author's views, the learning he brings to their support, his candor and pious spirit, and the solicitude generally felt in the question at issue, cannot fail to render the inquiry attractive to every mind interested in theological subjects.

What is the import of *βαπτιζω?* Our brethren of the Baptist Church maintain that it signifies to immerse, in all cases. To this definition a large majority of the Christian world object. Such is the nature of the case, and such the connection in which the word is often found, that the exclusive meaning to immerse is deemed defective and incorrect. But what then is its meaning? The word must *have* a meaning; and if we object to that given by the Baptists, we are bound to furnish another. If we think their definition not consistent with reason and truth, it devolves on us to present one that is so. Until we do this, they will undoubtedly have the vantage ground in the controversy; for while we thus tacitly confess that we cannot tell what the word does mean, the world will justly question our right to declare what it does not mean. Not that we would insist upon having the word *translated:* we are satisfied with its form, but we wish to understand its meaning. It is no objection to a word because it is transferred: we have a multitude of such words. Baptize is transferred, and *immerse is transferred:* the only difference is, the one was transferred from the Greek, and the other from the Latin. It is no objection to a

word from another language, that it retains its foreign costume, provided we correctly apprehend its original import. To say that the word in question signifies to administer the rite of baptism, is to leave the matter just where we found it: it is using the word as a mere technic—an arbitrary name for a particular rite—and it has no more significance than would belong to any other word agreed upon as a mere sign to designate the rite; yet such is no doubt the only sense in which the term is used by the great mass of Christians, with the exception of the immersionists. But, says the more intelligent reader, I understand *βαπτιζω*, or baptize, to mean the application of water to the person in the name of the Trinity, in token of spiritual cleansing. Very well. But is this a philological, or a theological definition? It may be a correct definition of the term; but how have we come by it? Our Baptist brethren will tell us, it is a definition of the word derived from our preconceived notions of the ordinance; whereas our notions of the ordinance should be drawn from the meaning of the word. The nature of the rite has been made the proposition; the meaning of the term the corollary. This order should be reversed. The meaning of the word is the first thing to be settled; this done, the nature of the rite is readily and legitimately inferred. This is the principle upon which Mr. Beecher proceeds. His investigations are strictly philological. He considers that *βαπτιζω* is a generic, and not a specific term; it expresses an effect produced without specifying the outward act by which it is produced. As when our Lord said to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," the word "go" is generic, requiring them to proceed on their mission, but not determining whether it should be by the act of walking or riding:—so the author maintains that the word in question signifies *to purify or cleanse*, without designating whether the purification shall be effected by affusion or immersion: understanding, of course, that where the baptism referred to is of water, the purification is only symbolical; and where it is of the Spirit, it is real and effectual. The author's views upon this subject are acknowledged to be original, as a system, even by his opponents. Yet the main position, the idea of the generic import of *βαπτιζω*, is not with him original; and we have the greater confidence in the system from this very circumstance. *New* doctrines and *new* discoveries in religion, at this late day, are very justly suspicious. The idea that the meaning of so important a word as that before us, the word denoting the rite of initiation into the Christian church, should have lain concealed for one thousand eight hundred years, and should now for the first time have

been revealed, were altogether incredible. Mr. Beecher does not pretend this. On the contrary, one of the main sources of support to his view is found in the fact, that his definition of the word was the one in use by the church for the first thousand years of her history: and among modern writers his opinion receives support from Owen, Robinson, Dwight, Wesley, and Watson. Dr. Robinson says that *βαπτιζω*, in the New Testament, signifies "to wash, to cleanse by washing: and in the middle sense, to wash one's self, to bathe, to perform ablutions." Says Dr. Dwight, "I have examined almost one hundred instances in which the word *βαπτιζω* and its derivatives are used in the New Testament; and four in the Septuagint; these, so far as I have observed, being all the instances contained in both. By this examination it is to my apprehension evident that the following things are true: that the primary meaning of these terms is cleansing; the effect and not the mode of washing," &c. Mr. Watson, in speaking of this word in his Theological Dictionary, remarks, "It is evident from hence that it does not express the manner of doing a thing, whether by immersion or affusion, but only the thing done; that is, washing, or the application of water in some form or other." Indeed, we believe the generic sense has been, and is now, the common, though confused, impression of the Pedobaptist churches. We had the idea, but we scarcely knew from whence we had derived it: we believed the fact, but we were not in possession of the appropriate proof. President Beecher has brought out that proof; has stated the principle more distinctly, and established it upon the basis of sound argument and clear philological evidence: and that the reader may have some general idea of the manner in which this is done, we will proceed to exhibit an analysis of the author's leading views in as few words as may be; without affecting originality at all; but with the simple design to bring his sentiments before an important class of readers who otherwise might not generally have access to them. His main position, however, ought to be stated at length.

"The position I shall endeavor to prove, in accordance with these views, is this, that *βαπτιζω*, as a religious term, means neither dip nor sprinkle, immerse nor pour—nor any other external action, in applying a fluid to the body, or the body to a fluid, nor any action which is limited to one mode of performance. But as a religious term,* it means at all times to purify or cleanse—words of a meaning so general, as

* By "a religious term," as used here and elsewhere, we understand the author to mean, a term employed to express a religious act, that is, an act pertaining to some part of ceremonial or experimental religion.

not to be confined to any mode, or agent, or means, or object, whether material or spiritual, but to leave the widest scope for the question as to the mode—so that in this usage it is in every respect a perfect synonyme of *καθαριζω*," (to purify.)

Granting that the term does, in its original classical use, signify a variety of external acts, of which immersion is one, and perhaps a prevailing one, Mr. Beecher contends that as thorough purification is frequently performed by immersion, so the word *βαπτιζω* came by the use of language to signify to purify, without any reference to the outward act; that is, it came to signify the effect instead of the cause: and in this meaning it is always employed in the Scriptures when used as a religious term. That there can be no objection, *a priori*, to this idea, is shown from the fact that nothing is more common in the phenomena of language, than for words originally of one meaning to take another analogous meaning by subsequent use. It depends upon one of the first and simplest operations of the mind, the association of ideas. It is the foundation of metonymy, a figure of speech, than which none is more common. To give a single example of similar usage, we would instance the word *prevent*, whose original and literal signification was to *go before;* (as in 1 Thess. iv, 15;) but now it has come to mean an *effect* of going before, namely, to hinder. But not only is there no probability against such a secondary sense to the word under examination; there is strong probability in its favor. By the existing manners and customs of the Jews, such a meaning of the term would naturally be superinduced. The customs particularly referred to are those of bathing or immersing the body for purposes of purity; which, though they were not enjoined by the law of Moses, but simply washings of the body, were nevertheless practiced: as also the sprinklings of blood and of water on various occasions, all which had for their grand object, to impress upon the minds of that nation the necessity of moral purity. Again, this probability is greatly heightened by the fact that *βαπτιζω* is employed to designate the work of the Holy Spirit upon the human heart, which is to purify. Of His work the writers of classic Greek had no idea: hence, when the word came to be applied to a subject of thought unknown to them, it is natural to suppose its meaning was somewhat modified. His way being thus prepared, the author proceeds to establish his position by an appeal to facts in the use of the word, as it occurs in the canonical Scriptures, the Apocrypha, and the fathers.

I. In John iii, 25, *καθαρισμος* (purifying) is used as the synonyme of *βαπτισμος*, (baptism,) the substitution of the latter word in the

place of the former not only conveying a sense consistent with the context, but clearing up a passage which is otherwise obscure. The question which arose between some of John's disciples and the Jews is called a question about "purifying;" yet the context, both before and after, shows that the question was about baptizing. Indeed, John's remarks, when the subject of the dispute was referred to him, cannot be explained but upon the ground that he understood the question to arise out of a supposed rivalry between his and Christ's baptism. This view is further strengthened by chapter iv, 1–3. Hence *βαπτισμος* is synonymous with *καθαρισμος*.

II. This definition best explains the existing expectation that Christ should baptize. It was not foretold that he would immerse, but it was foretold that he would purify, Mal. iii, 2, 3: hence when John came purifying multitudes in Jordan, and still denying that he was the Christ, they could ask with much force, (John i, 25,) Τι *ουν βαπτιζεις*: Why then dost thou purify? And John's reply (verses 26–33) perfectly comports with this sense of the term. As though he had said, Do not suppose I am the great "Purifier" foretold by Malachi: I purify merely with water,—he shall purify you with the Holy Ghost. To purify men by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon their hearts, is a natural idea, and in perfect accordance with the analogy of faith. But to immerse a person in the Holy Ghost, what can that mean? The conception is preposterous.

III. In 1 Cor. xii, 13, we are again said to be baptized by the Holy Spirit, where all external acts are out of the question. The baptism here is internal: and it is not an immersion of the soul, but it is that purification of the soul by which we become united to the "body" of the invisible church of Christ. Or to use the apostle's own exposition of the passage, it is "the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour," Tit. iii, 5, 6.

IV. The fact that *βαπτιζω* and *καθαριζω* are used in the same relation to the forgiveness of sins, strongly favors the idea that they are synonymous. *Καθαριζω* relates to both kinds of purification, legal and moral; that is, to the cleansing the conscience from sin by pardon, and the cleansing the heart from moral defilement by regeneration. For the former, see Exod. xx, 7; xxxiv, 7, Sept., and 1 John i, 7; Heb. ix, 14. For the latter, see Psa. l, 2, 7; xix, 12, 13, Sept., and 2 Cor. vii, 1. For a similar use of *βαπτιζω* in relation to legal cleansing, see Mark i, 4; Acts ii, 38, and xxii, 16. And for its use in a similar relation to moral cleansing, see all

those passages where the baptism is that of the Spirit. Hence, as the two words have the same extent of application, and stand in the same relation to the forgiveness of sins, it is highly probable that they have the same sense. By giving *βαπτιζω* a signification as extensive as purify, it is adapted to fulfil all its relations. By confining it to a sense so limited as to immerse, it is unfitted for at least one half the relations in which it stands.

V. In Heb. ix, 10, the context, and the scope of the writer, require that *βαπτισμοι* (baptisms) be used synonymously with *καθαρισμοι*, (purifications,) that is, he is not speaking of diverse immersions, but of "diverse washings," according to the English version; and although the former word (*βαπτισμοι*) does not relate here to the Christian rite, yet as it is used in a religious sense, and as it relates to those customs which it is believed gave rise to its secondary sense, the sense of purification, it becomes a passage of much interest in the discussion. Several things are to be observed:— 1. The scope of the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters, is to show, by contrast, the superior purifying effect of Christ's atonement over the atonements made under the law: that while the latter "sanctified only to the purifying of the flesh," the former "cleansed the conscience from dead works to serve the living God." The one had only a symbolical, the other a real cleansing power. 2. The passage in its whole range relates to the effects of the Mosaic ordinances upon *persons*, and not upon things. 3. Among these ordinances for persons *βαπτισμοι* are mentioned. 4. *But the immersion of persons is nowhere enjoined under the Mosaic ritual.* This is proved by the fact that no washings of persons is ever enjoined by the word טָבַל to immerse, even in a single instance, nor by any word that denotes immersion, but by the word רָחַץ to wash, or purify, without any reference to mode. 5. Hence the *διαφοροι βαπτισμοι* of the law were not diverse immersions, but diverse purifications, or washings, and this is their meaning in Hebrews ix, 10.

VI. In Mark vii, 4, 8, and Luke xi, 38, *καθαριζω* is the natural sense of *βαπτιζω*, and *καθαρισμος* of *βαπτισμος*. 1. This sense fulfils perfectly all the exigencies of the passages. Indeed, in the quotation from Luke, *καθαριζετε*, in verse thirty-nine, actually answers to *εβαπτισθη*, in verse thirty-eight; and in that from Mark, *νιψωνται*, (wash,) in verse three, answers expressly to *βαπτισωνται*, in verse four; and hence our translation renders them both very properly by the same term. 2. Nothing in the context demands the meaning immerse, but powerful reasons forbid it. All must confess that purification, or cleansing, is the only idea involved in the subject of thought.

Was the Pharisee offended with Christ because he was not immersed before he sat down to dinner? Common sense accords with the opinion of Bloomfield and Rosenmuller, in maintaining that the passage from Mark teaches, not that the whole Jewish nation were in the habit of immersing themselves before their meals, as often as they returned from the market, but that they purified themselves in whatever way convenience might dictate. But above all, who can believe that they were accustomed to immerse the couches on which they reclined at their meals? That κλιναι, in Mark vii, 4, signifies couches, is conceded by impartial critics on both sides of the question. These couches or beds were large enough for from three to five persons to recline upon, each of them with ease. And now that "all the Jews" were in the frequent habit of immersing these articles is utterly incredible: that they purified them by some slight ceremony, as sprinkling or otherwise, is natural, and perfectly comports with all the circumstances of the case.

Our author next strengthens his position by quotations from the Apocryphal writers; of course not as recognizing their authority in questions of doctrine, but simply to exhibit the sense in which they use the word in question. And there is the more force in testimony from this quarter, from the fact that these writers were Jews, acquainted with the Mosaic rites, and used the same dialect in which the New Testament was written, namely, the Alexandrine Greek.

I. We are told (Judith xii, 7) that Judith remained in the camp of Holofernes three days, and that each night (καταννκτα) she went out to the valley of Bethulia, and purified or washed herself, εβαπτιζετο, in the camp, at the fountain of water. The circumstances of the case in this passage forbid, at first sight, the idea of immersion; and those who examine the connection in which the account is found, will only be confirmed in the impression: for if there was an immersion, it was performed in a state of nudity, or it was not. That it was the latter, is incompatible with the state and character of Judith's apparel, as described with great particularity of detail both before and after the repeated ceremony; and to believe the former in the case of a pious female, for three nights in succession, at so public a place as a fountain in a camp of soldiers, is impossible even for credulity itself!

II. Another passage from the Apocrypha is Sirach xxxi, 25.* In this place it is said, "he that is cleansed from a dead body, βαπτιζομενος απο νεκρου, and again toucheth it, of what profit to him

* Thirty-fourth chapter, English version.

is his cleansing?" (λουτρον.) That the writer of this passage understood βαπτιζω in the sense of purifying is evident. 1. Because the preposition απο (from) suits the idea of purification, but is contrary to that of immersion. It is natural to speak of purifying one from a dead body; but to speak of immersing one from a dead body is unintelligible. 2. Because no immersion is commanded by Moses on account of touching a dead body, but simply a washing. 3. Because the principal ceremony in cleansing a person from the defilement contracted by coming in contact with a corpse, and that which alone was made indispensable, was the sprinkling the "water of separation," or the water in which had been mingled the ashes of the red heifer: the neglect of this was punishable with death. The ceremony, therefore, referred to in the text by βαπτιζομενος was a purification; an immersion it cannot have been.*

For his last source of evidence, President Beecher resorts to the fathers. He quotes them not because he considers them the standard of theological opinions, for he acknowledges that their doctrinal views were pregnant with superstition: he cites them merely as testimony in a matter of fact with which they were acquainted. The Latin fathers were men of eminent learning; they must have known the import of the term before us: and as to the Greek fathers, their usage is of great weight in determining the meaning of a Greek word of the most common use among them; especially as some of them wrote soon after the apostolic age, and their language partook strongly of the dialect in which the New Testament was written. "That the Greek fathers," says Prof. Stuart, "and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, *understood* the usual import of the word βαπτιζω, would hardly seem to be capable of a denial." The same point is conceded with equal explicitness by the great Baptist champion Mr. Carson. Now let the fathers declare whether the word was used by them in the specific sense of immersion, or in the generic sense of purification. We have already seen that there is the strongest reason to believe, that the latter was its signification before and during the age of the apostles. And if it shall now appear that the word was used in the same sense by their successors, and by the great lights of the church, not only during the period generally assigned to the fathers, but even as low as to the eleventh or twelfth century, the proof from philology will be complete, and such as should satisfy every unprejudiced mind. Of the numerous passages quoted by our author, we shall cite but a few, and those of that class which are

* See Numbers xix.

most unequivocal, and which exclude the possibility of the sense, immersion.

I. In Origen, Hom. 7, on Judges vi, occurs a long passage on the baptism of blood, in which he says, speaking of the crucifixion of Christ:—"*vides ergo quia profusionem sanguinis sui baptisma nominavit:*" thou seest therefore that he named the outpouring of his blood a baptism. Here it is impossible that *baptisma* (baptism) should have the sense of immersion: but give it the meaning of purification, and all is plain; for an outpouring of blood is a purification in a sacrificial sense.

II. Clemens Alexandrinus says,—"That may be an image of baptism which has been handed down from Moses to the poets thus, (quoting from the Odyssey,) 'Penelope having washed herself, νιψηναμενη, and having on her body clean apparel, goes to prayer.' And again: 'Talemachus having washed his hands νιψαμενος in the hoary sea, prayed to Minerva.' Εθνος τουτο Ιουδαιων ως και το πολλακις επι κοιτη βαπτιζεσθαί, this was the custom of the Jews that they also should be often baptized upon their couches." Now what is the import of this passage? Why—1. In the mind of Clemens, that which was a simple literal washing, was the image of Christian baptism; for of such baptism he is speaking in the context. 2. He states that the nation of the Jews were accustomed, while reclining at their meals, to be baptized often upon their couches. Now, a purification in this posture, as a washing of the hands, accords with his quotations from the Odyssey, and was perfectly practicable. Indeed, as a matter of fact, we know this was the custom of the Jews. But immersion does not accord with those quotations, and under the circumstances was impossible. A whole nation in the habit of frequent immersion on the couches on which they reclined at table, and each couch large enough to accommodate from three to five persons! We thought the case sufficiently difficult when it was required of the Baptists to show how the couches alone could be immersed. And when Mr. Carson thinks he has disposed of that difficulty by supposing the couches so constructed as to be readily taken apart and put together again, how sad his disappointment, to be met with a case where, from the very nature of things, the couch must not only be immersed entire, but some four or five persons upon it! Are his powers of invention adequate to this exigency? Will he have a baptistery under the dining room, and provide ropes and pulleys, and a trap-door, by which guests could be immersed, couches and all? But if he furnish this machinery for one house, he must for all, for the custom was a national one. But how is this to be done in the rough

elevated country of Judea, mostly retired from the sea, and in general destitute of lakes and rivers? To make the hypothesis probable, it would be necessary to transport the nation from the arid heights of Ephraim and of Gilead, and set them down amidst the canals of the Netherlands or the lagoons of Venice: and even then, the people must become amphibious, or they never could endure the frequent, endless repetition of a custom so repugnant to beings not originally aquatic.

III. Says Ambrose, speaking of Psa. li, 7, "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow;"—*Qui enim baptizatur, et secundum legem, et secundum evangelium videtur esse mundatus. Secundum legem, quia hyssopi fasciculo Moyses adspergebat sanguinem agni,* &c. For he who is *baptized*, both according to the law and according to the gospel, is made clean. According to the law, because Moses, with a branch of hyssop, sprinkled the blood of a lamb, &c. 1. The reference here is to the sprinkling of the blood of a lamb upon the door-posts, at the original institution of the passover; for this was the only sprinkling of the blood of a lamb by hyssop in the Old Testament. 2. Now as his main position, Ambrose is stating that he who is baptized, both according to the law and according to the gospel, is made clean. 3. Of course there *were*, as he understood the term, baptized persons under the law. 4. Of these baptized persons, Ambrose gives one example to prove his main position. Who were they? This is the point. Were they persons immersed, or purified? Plainly the latter, for he refers to a case in which there was nothing but purification; that is, expiation by the sprinkling of the blood of a lamb, and in which immersion was impossible.

IV. In a passage from Proclus, where the writer is expounding the reply of John to Christ, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" the following language is held: "How shall I dare to purify *βαπτισαι* thee? When is the fire purified *καθαιρεται* by the stubble? When does the clay wash *πλυνει* the fountain? Πως *βαπτισω τον κριτην υπευθυνος*; How shall I, a culprit, purify my judge? Observe particularly the last clause: what violence is done to the connection, to ask, How shall I, a culprit, immerse my judge? But to inquire, How shall I, a culprit, purify, legally, that is, acquit my judge? harmonizes with the sentiment of the whole passage. Indeed, the laws of antithesis absolutely require this sense. This is seen not only in the context already quoted, but in what follows; for he goes on to say,—"How shall I purify *βαπτισω* thee, O Lord! I see no fault in thee. Thou

hast never fallen under the curse of Adam: thou hast committed no sin. How will the earth bear to see him who makes pure *αγιαζοντα* the angels, purified *βαπτιζομενος* by a sinful man? How then shall I, a polluted man, purify *αγιασω* God—the sinless God?" What Greek scholar, after observing *βαπτιζω* first used antithetically with *πλυνω*, *καθαριζω*, and *ἁγιαζω*, and then actually exchanged for *ἁγιαζω*, but will insist that it must here be used in the sense of purify, and that it cannot have the sense of immersion?

V. In commenting on Isaiah iv, 4, (Sept.,) "For the Lord shall wash away *εκπλυνει* the filth of the sons and the daughters of Zion, and shall purge *εκκαθαριεῖ* the blood of Jerusalem from the midst of them, by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of burning," Basil remarks thus:—"Plainly the word foretells the same things concerning the Lord, by John; who says that he shall baptize *βαπτισει* you by the Holy Ghost and fire. But concerning himself he says, I indeed baptize *βαπτιζω* you with water unto repentance." In one series of expressions the terms are *πλυνω* and *εκκαθαριζω*, and in the other *βαπτιζω*, and Basil says that the import of both modes of expression is "plainly the same."

VI. To the same effect is the testimony of Athanasius. In speaking of the passage, "he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost," he says, in so many words, that *βαπτιζω* has the sense of purify. His language is as follows:—*Το αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευματι αγιω, τουτο θελοι, οτι καθαριεῖ ὑμας*: "The expression, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, means this, that he shall purify you;" that is, absolve you, or remit your sins. That this is his meaning is clear from what follows; for he adds, "Because the purification *βαπτισμα* of John could not do this, but that of Christ, who has power to forgive sins."

VII. The ancient lexicographers, Zonaras and Phavorinus, define *βαπτισμα* thus:—"The remission of sins by water and the Spirit; the unspeakable forgiveness of sins; the loosing of the bond, (that is, of sin,) granted by the love of God toward man." These are all equivalents of sacrificial purification, or forgiveness of sins. They would be perfect definitions of *καθαρισμος* in the sacrificial sense. Again, they give definitions of *βαπτισμα* in its moral sense; that is, the sense of moral purification or regeneration, thus:—"The voluntary ordering of a new life toward God, or according to the will of God; the releasing or recovery of the soul" (that is, from sin) "to that which is better;" that is, holiness. These again would be perfect definitions of *καθαρισμος* in its moral sense, as denoting moral purification. As to the authority of these

writers, Phavorinus was an authentic and noted lexicographer, and Zonaras was one of the most distinguished men of his age. He wrote a history from the beginning of the world down to 1118. Of this history Tittman says it is not surpassed by any Byzantine writer. Of his Lexicon he says, "I consider it, after that of Hesychius, the most learned of all others that survive, the most copious, and most accurate; so that by it we may correct and confirm Suidas, the author of the Etymologium, and even Hesychius himself." Here then we have two lexicographers who wrote in Greek, who took their definitions from the fathers, and in their phraseology; one of them a historian perfectly familiar with the works of the Greek fathers, the author of commentaries on the apostolical canons: did not these men know the meaning of *βαπτισμα*? And yet of immersion they say nothing; every definition is an equivalent of *καθαρισμος*.

VIII. Again, as if to exclude all doubt, the prepositions which often follow *βαπτισμα*, in patristic usage, are entirely consonant with the sense of purification, but exclude that of immersion. They are *δια*, *εκ*, *απο*, and in Latin, *per*. We find *βαπτισμα δια πυρος*, *δια δακρυων*, *δια μαρτυριου*, *δι αιματος*, *δι ὑδατος*, purification by fire, by tears, by martyrdom, by blood, by water; not immersion in fire, in tears, in martyrdom, in blood, in water. We have also *βαπτισμα εκ* or *απο πνευματος*, *ὑδατος*, *πυρος*, purification from or by the Spirit, water, fire, not immersion in the Spirit, or water, or fire. And Hilarius, speaking of the passage in 1 Cor. x, 2, "And were all baptized *εβαπτισαντο* unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," remarks thus:—"Their past sins were not imputed unto them, *sed per mare, et per nubem purificati*, but being *purified* by the cloud and by the sea, they were prepared to receive the law." So full and decisive is the proof from the fathers in favor of the meaning contended for by our author: and what has here been exhibited is scarcely a tithe of what is presented in his work. Still he does not deny but that in speaking of baptism, the two senses, immerse and purify, are both sometimes used. But it is to be observed, they are applied to the rite in different ways, and for different ends. "Taken in the sense of purify, *βαπτιζω* denotes the real import of the rite, and the thing enjoined, and is used in the sacrificial and religious sense; but when it denotes the act of immersion, it is not used to denote the real import of the rite, nor in the religious sense, but simply to denote a physical act, that is, a mode in which purification may be performed." And even when it is desired to speak of immersion as a definite physical act, *βαπτισμος* is not generally used, but *καταδυσις*, (plunge.)

In concluding the argument, President Beecher remarks:—

"The idea of purification is better adapted to the name of the rite than immersion. It has a fitness and verisimilitude in all its extensive variety of usage which cause the mind to feel the self-evidencing power of truth, as producing harmony and agreement in the most minute as well as the most important relations of the various parts of this subject to each other. This is owing to three facts:—1. The idea of purification is the fundamental idea in the whole subject. 2. It is an idea complete and definite in itself, in every sense, and needs no adjunct to make it more so. 3. It is the soul and centre of a whole circle of delightful ideas and words. It throws out before the mind a flood of rich and glorious thoughts, and is adapted to operate on the feelings like a perfect charm. To a sinner desiring salvation, what two ideas so delightful as forgiveness and purity? Both are condensed in this one word, [purification.] It involves in itself a deliverance from the guilt of sin, and from its pollution. It is a purification from sin in every sense. It is a purification by the atonement, and purification by the truth—by water and by blood. And around these ideas cluster others likewise of holiness, salvation, eternal joy, eternal life. No word can produce such delight on the heart, and send such a flood of light into all the relations of divine truth; for purification, in the broad Scripture sense, is the joy and salvation of man, and the crown and glory of God.

"Of immersion none of these things are true. 1. Immersion is not a fundamental idea in any system or subject. 2. By itself it does not convey any one fixed idea, but depends upon its adjuncts, and varies with them. Immersion? In what? Clean water or filthy? In a dyeing fluid, or in wine? Until these questions are answered the word is of no use. And with the spiritual sense the case is still worse; for common usage limits it in English, Latin, Greek, and, so far as I know, in all languages, by adjuncts of a kind denoting calamity or degradation, and never purity. It has intimate and firmly-established associations with such words as luxury, ease, indolence, sloth, cares, anxieties, troubles, distresses, sins, pollution. We familiarly speak of immersion in all these, but with their opposites it refuses alliance. We never speak of a person immersed in temperance, fortitude, industry, diligence, tranquility, prosperity, holiness, purity, &c. Sinking and downward motion are naturally allied with ideas which in a moral sense are depressed, and not with such as are morally elevated. Very few exceptions to this general law exist, and these do not destroy its power. Now for what reason should the God of order, purity, harmony, and taste, select an idea so alien from his own beloved rite for its name, and reject one in every respect so desirable and so fit? Who does not feel that the name of so delightful an idea as purification must be the name of the rite? And who does not rejoice that there is proof so unanswerable that it is so?"

As to the *rational* evidence of the correctness of his system,

compared with that of the immersionists, Mr. Beecher briefly remarks:—

"1. It is more adapted to the varying conditions of men, and to all changes of climate, times, seasons, and health. 2. It is more accordant with the liberal and enlarged spirit of Christianity, as a religion of freedom, designed for all countries and all times. 3. It better agrees with our ideas of what is reasonable and fit. 4. It offers no temptation to formalism, nor does it tend to foster arrogance and exclusion. 5. It is perfectly adequate to harmonize the church. 6. It is susceptible of any necessary degree of proof."

Having thus traced the general outline of our author's position and proofs, we will now consider in brief some of the objections it has encountered. And first, it is objected that the fathers baptized by immersion, and hence they must have understood the word βαπτιζω in that sense. Now that the church in the patristic ages did commonly, though not always, administer the ordinance in that way, is freely admitted. But does it follow from hence that they must have understood the word in the exclusive sense to immerse? Certainly not. For—1. Understanding it as Mr. Beecher does, and as he has shown they did from their works, they would still be at full liberty to immerse if they chose, for his view leaves the mode perfectly optional, and recognizes immersion as valid baptism; not, to be sure, because it is immersion, but because it is a mode of purifying. 2. There were causes directly predisposing the Eastern churches to prefer that mode. These were, first, their climate, costume, and mode of life, which were all adapted to bathing: and secondly, a mistaken interpretation of Rom. vi, 3, and Col. ii, 12, as referring to external baptism, and as representing by immersion the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, an interpretation early rendered current by the influence of Chrysostom in the East, and by Augustine in the West. We shall notice these passages again in another place. But the main opposition which the author has met with is from Mr. Alexander Carson of Edinburgh, a scholar of considerable note, and one of the guiding minds among the Baptists in Great Britain. He has come out upon President Beecher with the virulence of a heated controversialist, and, in a style not remarkable for modesty or Christian courtesy, pronounces his views nonsensical, stupid, and false. In the highly figurative and very Christianlike language of the London Baptist Magazine, with respect to our author's work published in that country, in a pamphlet form, "Mr. Carson has seized it with both hands, divested it of every particle of covering, torn it limb from limb, dissected it with the minutest accuracy, and then, without the slightest token

of pity, committed the fragments to the flames." This may be true of Mr. Carson's treatment of the *pamphlet*, for aught we know, but as to the *teachings* of the pamphlet, so far from suffering annihilation in his hands, they appear to have come forth from the terrible ordeal unmarred and triumphant. Mr. C. objects—

1. That his opponent in giving to βαπτιζω the sense to purify, is defining the nature of the rite, and not its name. To this the latter replies, "that its name and nature coincide. The fathers define its name purification, and its nature is the same." This answer is satisfactory; for it is a well-known principle in logic, that the *nominal* and *real* definition often coincide; that is, the meaning of the word and the nature of the thing are identical.

2. The reader has observed in passing through this sketch of Mr. Beecher's work, that he depends in his reasoning, not solely upon the force of his arguments separately considered, but also upon their combined impression. To this his antagonist violently objects, and maintains that when immersion has once been established as the primitive meaning of βαπτιζω, a secondary meaning cannot be admitted without evidence absolutely demonstrative; that is, unless a case be presented in which the meaning to immerse is impossible: and that as every proof less positive than this would be nothing, so any number of such proofs, taken together, would amount to nothing,—a mere multiplication of cyphers. Now, in the first place, the unprejudiced reader will feel that many of our author's passages do in fact come up to the standard which Mr. Carson himself has erected; they are passages in which the meaning to purify is indubitable, and the idea of immersion utterly out of the question. But secondly, the demand is unfair. To require this in mathematical demonstration would be just, because in that species of reasoning, every argument, like the separate links of a chain, is independent and perfect in itself. But in moral reasoning, to which, of course, all philological discussion belongs, the case is very different. This kind of reasoning is cumulative. It is like the weights of a balance: the matter to be weighed may resist the force of either of them taken alone, yet it is easily poised by the united power of the whole. So in moral evidence. Over and above the force of each argument considered alone, they have an important collective force from their coincidence; for the fact of their coincidence can only be explained upon the assumption of the truth of the position which they favor. The unreasonableness of this objection, therefore, suggests the suspicion that Mr. C.'s outcry against principles so just in themselves, and so universally conceded, must arise from a fear lest there should not be sufficient

solidity in his own system to act as a counterpoise to that of his opponent, and that should the latter be permitted to avail himself of the combined effect of all the arguments he has adduced, the favorite system of exclusive immersion would be "weighed in the balance and found wanting."

3. The objection which Mr. C. urges specifically against the argument drawn from patristic usage is equally futile. Indeed, his attack upon this argument has only served to increase the embarrassment of his own cause. Full of self-confidence, and urged on by an impetuous zeal for a favorite dogma, he commenced the assault upon Mr. Beecher's work when he had issued only his second number, and had as yet but just touched upon the patristic argument. In this attack the assailant first declares his full conviction of the competency of the fathers to decide upon the apostolical use of βαπτιζω. "They knew," says he, "the meaning of the language which they spoke." And again, "To suppose that persons who spoke the Greek language might understand their (the apostles') words in a sense different from that in which they used them, would be to charge the Scriptures as not being a revelation. Whatever was the sense of the word must have been known to all who heard them, or read their writings." This is a very important concession. Coming from the great Baptist leader of the day, and being the established sentiment of the learned on the other side of the question, it transfers the heat of the controversy, by mutual consent, from classic to patristic ground. It now becomes a question of great magnitude in the discussion—Does the general use of the fathers authorize the generic or the specific sense of βαπτιζω? Do they mean by it to purify, or immerse? Those who have examined the quotations brought forward by our author will not hesitate to decide in favor of the former. But Mr. C., not having seen this array of proof when he wrote, strenuously and unqualifiedly asserts the latter. He says, "Mr. Beecher next professes to find proof in the fathers. Proof from the fathers that βαπτιζω means *purify!* As well might he profess to find in them proof for the existence of rail-roads and steam-coaches. There is no such proof. There is not an instance in all the fathers in which the word or any of its derivatives is so used. Without exception they use the word always for immersion." Now Mr. C. had either read the fathers on this point, or he had not. To say that he made this sweeping assertion after having read them, would involve his moral character in a way that we certainly should be unwilling to do. And yet, on the other hand, if he had not read them, the assertion was little less blameworthy. For it was not only "affirming

things whereof he understood not," but it was trifling with the confidence of the numerous and respectable body of Christians of which he is the distinguished representative, and who adopt the opinions of their leader with implicit faith. But whichever horn of the dilemma he shall choose, the state of the controversy remains the same:—First, Mr. C. has acknowledged the perfect competency of the fathers to testify in the case; and secondly, they have uttered their testimony directly against his position, and in favor of his opponent,—testimony that is clear, concurrent, and overwhelming.

4. Finally, it will be objected by some, that there are passages in the Scriptures in which the definition advocated by our author would be indefensible—such as Matthew xx, 22; Luke xii, 50; where the word evidently means to overwhelm or immerse. But it is sufficient to remark on all passages of this class, that Mr. Beecher proposes in the beginning to treat of the word exclusively as a religious term; that is, a term denoting strictly a religious act. He grants that when employed for other purposes, it may sometimes return to its primitive signification. But the passages upon which our Baptist brethren lay the greatest stress, and which indeed they consider as deciding the whole question against us, are Rom. vi, 3, and Col. ii, 12. "These passages," says Mr. Carson, "contain God's own interpretation of his own ordinance." And taking it for granted that the baptism referred to is external, and that the expressions, "buried with Christ in baptism," and "risen with him," are designed to express a resemblance between the immersion and emersion of the candidate from the water, and the burial and resurrection of Christ from the grave, they consider these texts an end of all controversy. To this our author replies in substance:—

1. That if you grant the immersionists all they ask here, his view of the meaning of *βαπτιζω* is not disproved. It would only prove that under a command to purify, the apostles chose to purify by immersion. But,

2. The baptism, burial, and resurrection, in these passages, are all internal: the passages do not refer to the external rite at all, nor derive any of their language from it; (except the word baptism;) but the language would have been just as it is, if the rite had been administered by sprinkling alone, or if there had been no external rite. This is shown,—1. From the course of the argument in the passages. The inquiry in that from Romans is, whether the Christian system does not encourage sin, by the exercise of grace in forgiveness. Answer, No:—the spiritual baptism (purification)

which we experience at conversion renders us dead to sin, and therefore we shall not continue therein. 2. From the *usus loquendi*, (mode of speaking,) as to the terms death, burial, and resurrection, in a spiritual sense, as found not only in these two passages, but in many others: instance Eph. i, 19–23; ii, 1–7: Col. iii, 3, 4: Gal. ii, 19, 20; vi, 14: 1 Peter iv, 1, 2. For the principle on which such passages are to be interpreted, is, that what took place externally, in connection with Christ's sufferings, has something to correspond to it internally in the experience of Christians: and hence the comparison in the two passages in question is not between the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and the mode* of baptism; but between his death, burial, and resurrection literally, and our death, burial, and resurrection, spiritually considered.

3. A critical examination of the phrase *βαπτισθηναι εις χριστον*, to be baptized into Christ, (Rom. vi, 3,) proves that it is used expressly to designate internal baptism; that which actually unites with Christ. For evidence of this, compare this text with Gal. iii, 27, and 1 Cor. xii, 13. Whereas the expression *βαπτισθηναι εις ονομα χριστον*, (to be baptized in the name of Christ,) is used to express the external rite. See Matt. xxviii, 19: Acts ii, 38; viii, 16; x, 48; xix, 5: 1 Cor. i, 13–15. An investigation of these places will show that in every instance where *ονομα* is used, there is internal evidence in the passage to prove that the formal, and not the spiritual baptism is meant. On the other hand, in every case where *ονομα* (name) is omitted, and *εις* (into or unto) immediately precedes *χριστον* or *σωμα*, (body,) internal baptism is the subject of thought. In 1 Cor. x, 2, *εις τον Μωσην εβαπτισανται*, (were baptized unto Moses,) does not denote Christian baptism, nor literal external baptism, but a throwing back the name of the antitype upon the type, from a regard to similar effects. Believers, by spiritual baptism, (the antitype,) are delivered from Satan and united to Christ. The children of Israel were delivered from Pharaoh, and really united to Moses as a leader and Saviour, by the transaction of the cloud and the sea, (the type.) There was here no external profession, but a real union to Moses as a leader, effected by a separation

* Indeed, there is no resemblance between immersion and that kind of burial referred to in these texts. The Eastern mode, and that in which Christ was buried, was to deposite the body in a sepulchre, not formed as with us, by a perpendicular, but by a horizontal excavation, made in the side of a hill or rock, where, in the walls of each sepulchre, niches or crypts were prepared for many dead bodies, in the form of a dove-house. The act of burial, therefore, had no resemblance to immersion.

and deliverance from Pharaoh. In all this Moses was the representative of Christ, and therefore the name of the antitype is thrown back upon this transaction, and it is called baptism unto Moses. In Romans vi, 3, we have the phrase, "to be baptized into Christ:" in Gal. iii, 27, to be baptized into Christ is equivalent to putting on Christ: but in Rom. xiii, 14, to put on Christ is explained as the real acquiring of a holy character; as also in Eph. iv, 24, and Col iii, 10–12. Therefore, to be baptized into Christ, expresses not the outward but the inward cleansing. Again, in 1 Cor. xii, 13, spiritual baptism is expressly spoken of: the effect of this is to unite all who experience it "into one body," namely, the invisible church: but in Gal. iii, 27, 28, baptism into Christ is declared to have the very same effect; therefore baptism by the Spirit, and baptism into Christ, are only different expressions for the same thing. Hence, to be buried into death, with Christ, by baptism, implies simply that as Christ died for sin on the cross, so we die to sin in conversion; and the means by which that death is accomplished is internal baptism. The passage from Colossians is of course decided by that in Romans. Still, it is worthy of remark, that the spiritual sense of the baptism in Colossians is sufficiently established by the context: for the resurrection there spoken of is "through faith;" and as is the resurrection, so must be the burial. Further, the baptism here is the "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh," which is only another expression for regeneration, and hence called "the circumcision made without hands."

4. The incongruity of the external interpretation with the tenor of Bible truth. For this interpretation rests the reforming power of the gospel mainly upon the solemnities and professions connected with water baptism; for, says the objector, in the passage from Romans, "as forgiveness is by grace, let us continue in sin that grace may abound." And now the external interpreter makes the apostle reply—"O no! by outward baptism we die unto sin, and therefore we cannot continue therein." But if it were proper to attribute such an effect to any mere ceremony whatever, it would be incongruous to take so much notice in this place of one outward institution, and that too, one which occurs but once in the believer's life, and say nothing of others, as the Lord's supper, the holy sabbath, and the preached gospel, which are ever recurring. Again, it were incongruous to establish the Lord's supper as the institution expressly designed to show forth the atoning death of Christ till he come, and then intrude upon its province by baptism, as if established for the same end. How much more congruous with the general system of Bible truth, to consider the

former as indicating how redemption was procured, the latter how it is applied—the one commemorating the atonement by Christ, the other regeneration by the Holy Ghost.

5. From the tendency of the external interpretation. For it tends naturally to make outward baptism the great destroyer of sin, and the defense of the church against it; thus excluding real holiness, and replacing it by a religion of forms. In other words, it tends to the abominable doctrine of *baptismal regeneration.* Such was in fact the result of this interpretation in the days of Augustine and others of the fathers. Modern writers, it is true, have made corrections and limitations to the patristic rendering, but they have not neutralized the injurious tendency of the external view. Nor can they do this, so long as the great fact remains, that in an argument designed unanswerably to prove the sanctifying power of the Christian religion, a mere external rite comes in where the internal energy of the Holy Ghost ought to come; and while Baptist writers continue to harp upon the "holy tendency of baptism," the mighty reforming influences of its promises and ceremonies, and of the act of the candidate when he "sinks into a watery grave, and comes forth once more to the vital air, thereby showing forth his duty to die to sin and rise to a new and holy life:" and when all who have not been sunk into this watery grave are excluded from the Lord's table, and it is not obscurely hinted that they are still out of the kingdom of Christ, and have nothing to hope for but in his uncovenanted mercies.

Concluding remarks. *First.* From a close and prayerful examination of Mr. Beecher's work, and other kindred works, we are convinced that in his main position he is correct; and though there may be subordinate points, advanced by him in the course of the discussion, which, without further examination, we should not be prepared to indorse; yet that *βαπτιζω* is used in the generic sense, to purify, whenever it is used in reference to the external or internal baptism, we have no doubt. *Secondly.* If this view be correct, it is important that it be everywhere held up and vindicated. For, 1. It changes the ground of the discussion in an important particular. The question has formerly been, Does the word mean immersion exclusively, or does it also sometimes mean sprinkling and pouring? The Baptists took the former, and we the latter position. This was to our disadvantage, for we labored under the embarrassment of having to prove that the same word may have different meanings, when applied to the same thing, which is inadmissible. Under different circumstances the same word may of course have various meanings, but under the same circumstances,

and applied to the same thing, its meaning cannot change. Hence upon that ground the debate has been protracted, and could never come to a correct, enlightened issue. The great question to be settled is, whether immersion be, or be not, an exclusive mode. The negative of this question is our true position: and this position we should sustain by arguing in the first instance from the import of the term in which the command is couched. And here we should maintain, not that as a specific term it has sometimes one meaning, and sometimes another, but that it is a generic term, and signifies always to purify, and therefore leaves the mode perfectly optional. To corroborate this, other auxiliary arguments will of course be adduced. As, 2. Apostolic practice. For from this we learn that though the apostles may sometimes have baptized by immersion, they did not always—just such a result as we should anticipate from the definition which we defend. And, 3. From the typical relation of the rite to spiritual baptism. External and internal baptism stand to each other in the relation of type and antitype. But as this relation is always founded upon the principle of resemblance, and as the internal baptism is applied by "shedding forth," and pouring out the Holy Spirit upon its subjects, it is proper that the external baptism should be applied in a similar way. We are called upon to be active in sustaining this view secondly, from the uncharitable and exclusive ground assumed by our Baptist brethren: taking it for granted that baptism is essential to church membership, and that the command to baptize is a command to immerse, they infer, says our author,—

"1. That all other denominations are unbaptized because unimmersed, and that they are therefore in a state of disobedience to God."

"2. That other denominations cannot be recognized and treated by them as members of the church of Christ, because unbaptized, and are therefore to be excluded on this ground from communion with them at the table of the Lord."

"3. That other denominations are guilty of mistranslating the word of God, or at least of covering up its sense on the subject of baptism."

"4. That to the Baptist denomination is assigned the great work of giving a correct translation of the Bible to the world, and of restoring the gospel to its primitive purity and simplicity."

Nor are these principles with them a mere dead letter: as though the period of argument were past, and the period of triumph had fully come, they affect to rejoice over a universal and undisputed victory; and exultingly declare that no one will now have the hardihood to question their rendering of the disputed word, unless it be persons who "have no reputation as linguists and philologists

to lose!" And accordingly they have, in their condescension, commenced to supply the world, at home and abroad, with versions of the Bible expurgated from those gross mistakes by which community, through our ignorance, have so long suffered. Now, in view of these things, we must do one of two things. If these positions of the Baptists are tenable and true, why then we ought all to confess our folly, ask pardon of God and man, and become Baptists at once. But if they are not true, we should say so: the world ought to know it. To say nothing of our own interest, as separate Christian communities, the cause of God, the honor of Christianity requires it. The world look with doubt upon what is called a religion of love, when they see one church excluding all her sister churches from the table of their common Lord. The good man weeps when he reflects that the Bible Society, that noble "bond of brotherhood," which it was hoped, like the gravitating power, would ever hold the various portions of the Protestant church in substantial unity, has been rent asunder, and the way thus paved to introduce into the whole missionary field, and perpetuate to the end of time, those unhappy disputes which have so disturbed the peace of the church at home: and his tears flow afresh when he sees the hand of violence laid upon our own cherished version, beholds it altered and mutilated, and a precedent thus established, which, if followed by the other denominations, would shatter the noble temple of Christianity into a thousand fragments, and make the religion of Jesus the sport of infidels,—a hissing and a byword in the earth. If, then, we have the means of correcting the fundamental error from which these deplorable consequences flow, we ought to use them. Such means we think are furnished in the work before us. The position of this author once settled, and the most important results follow. His position is, "*That there is no command to dip or immerse in the New Testament, but solely a command to purify, in the name of the Trinity.*" From this it follows—

"1. That other denominations are not unbaptized though unimmersed, because they are purified."

"2. They are not substituting human forms in place of a commandment of God, nor are they in rebellion against God."

"3. There is no good reason to exclude them from the table of the Lord."

"4. Nor are they guilty of mistranslating or obscuring the word of God."

"5. That the Baptists are not divinely set apart to the great work of giving correct translations of the Bible to the heathen world. . . . . ."

6. *That the mode of baptism is no longer a question of morals, but simply a question of expediency.* Immersion is valid baptism, and affusion is equally so. The only question is, which is the more expedient, that is, more decorous, more convenient, more significant, more favorable to collectedness of mind, devotional feelings? &c. Placed upon this ground, we confess we prefer the latter mode. But if our Baptist friends, *on this ground*, are inclined to the former, very well. We have not a word to say. And hence,

7. It should not be overlooked that while President Beecher's system is pointedly opposed to the high-toned assumptions of the immersionists, it furnishes at the same time the most broad and catholic grounds for reconciliation. For it simply maintains that while baptism, in the sense of purification, is enjoined by a specific command, no particular mode is designated. Here is a liberal basis of agreement. For, in the first place, it permits them to retain their own favorite mode, and allows its validity. *It only denies them the right to censure and exclude.* And, in the second place, it simply asks of them to grant us the same things; and what can be more desirable than a union which requires of neither party the sacrifice of principle or of any valued practice? Especially when that union brings brethren of the same family to eat together around the table of their common Lord,—makes those visibly one, who are already spiritually, and expect to be eternally so,—wrests from the hand of infidelity its worst weapon; and instead of arraying party against party in the church of God, marshals the forces of Emanuel, in one united, resistless phalanx, against the powers of antichrist, to the discomfiture of sin and Satan, and to the joy of heaven.

ART. II.—*The Literary Policy of the Romish Church;—her Indexes, Expurgatory and Prohibitory; her deadly War on the Liberty of the Press, and Literature.*

AT the present crisis in the history of our own country, this topic of discussion would seem to commend itself to every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, as worthy of his diligent inquiry. The lessons which "philosophy teaching by example" has spread out upon the pages of veritable history, furnish the key of interpretation by which we may unlock the mysteries, which else are inscrutable, in the signs of the times. The present and the future may thus be seen faithfully reflected in the mirror of the past.

It is proposed in this paper to exhibit the proofs, that the Church of Rome has ever waged a deadly war upon the liberty of the press, and upon literature; and that her expurgatory and prohibitory policy is perpetuated to the present hour; not only against the truth of revelation, but equally against the truth in nature and in science; both learning and religion having been the doomed victims of her perennial despotism.

As preliminary to the presentation of these historical and documentary proofs, it is important that we should satisfy ourselves of the sameness of the Romish Church in all ages, and of her unchanged character in the United States, both in creed and practice. All disinterested men will unite in execrating what the Church of Rome has been in past centuries, though many such have been made to believe that her character has improved for the better with the march of mind and the meliorating spirit of the age. It is because of the prevalence of this capital mistake that so strange and criminal apathy is witnessed among the Protestants of our country, and of which Jesuitism has been availing itself meanwhile, in choosing positions, erecting bulwarks, and planting engines of assault and defense in our very midst. The warning voice of history seems to be unheeded; the solemn admonitions of patriotism are scarcely heard; the faithful notes of alarm, uttered by the watchmen on the walls of our American Zion, have all failed to awaken the multitudes of slumbering Protestants around us; such is the false security which their faith in the harmlessness of Romanism, *as it is*, has inspired. And yet such ought to be assured, that the Romish Church is not now a whit less hostile to human knowledge and human liberty than it was in the days of Queen Mary, or in any other period of its blood-stained history.

For the proof that Romanism *is* what Romanism *was*, we need

no Protestant testimony, for out of the mouth of the Romish Church she is self-condemned. The authentic creed of Pius IV., dated 1564, and recognized by the Council of Trent, contains the explicit claim of infallibility and unchangeableness in doctrine, discipline, and morals, which is affirmed in the encyclical letter, bearing date 1832, and issued by the present reigning pope, Gregory XVI. This single fact demonstrates, that for the past three centuries this immutability is claimed by the highest authority in the Romish Church; and the present pope consistently reprobates every innovation or improvement, and pronounces the idea of renovation or regeneration in the church utterly absurd. So also their ablest apologist, Charles Butler, in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," a standard authority to this hour, most vauntingly affirms, that "it is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be unchangeable; and it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith *ever has been*, such *it now is*, and such it *ever will be*."

But again: all the Roman Catholics of the United States, whether clergy or laity, are required to receive and profess to the very letter the creed of Pius IV., and they are equally bound to acknowledge and obey all the decrees of the Council of Trent; and proselytes to the Romish Church are obliged to repeat and testify their assent to this creed without restriction or qualification. With the dogmas of this creed we have now no concern, our object at present being simply to prove that no change, amendment, or improvement is possible, and thus to establish the position, that Romanism now *is* precisely what Romanism *was*, and must for ever continue to be, without an abandonment of the claim to immutability and infallibility to which the Romish Church makes exclusive pretension. It may seem to change, as it is made to assume the Protestant garb which Romanism has to assume in America, while as yet toleration is the extent of her prerogatives, and civil and religious liberty are here in the ascendant. But though she may thus seem to yield her supremacy, where the sovereign people retain the dominion in Protestant hands, yet it is only the semblance of change, for her infallibility being relinquished by conceding any real changes, her epitaph would be written, and her very existence would suffer annihilation.

This modification of her despotic prerogatives, under the force of circumstances which she cannot control, is an exemplification of another characteristic of Romanism; than is, that her government is administered irrespective of truth and righteousness, and wholly on the principles of worldly policy and time-serving expediency, thus

meriting the title of antichrist. Christianity was introduced by its divine Author, and propagated by his apostles, with the presentation of truth, and not by human policy. The latter, whenever and by whomsoever employed, has been the dictate of worldly wisdom, and is among those carnal weapons which the gospel of Jesus Christ repudiates and condemns. And yet the Romish Church has always been governed by policy—deep, crafty, and cunningly-devised policy; and though compelled by the stress of circumstances to relinquish her settled policy for a time, or modify its rigor in certain places, yet so soon as she could, either by fraud or violence, overcome the restraints which imposed such temporary modification, her immutability has been demonstrated by the development of her latent policy in its utmost rigor. All history is replete with the evidence of this sameness of the Romish Church, whenever and wherever she has held the ascendency; and when adverse fortunes have placed her within the jurisdiction of liberal governments, and she has been compelled to succumb to the supremacy of the civil power, she has ever assumed the mask of submission, lowered for a time the standard of her exclusiveness and intolerance, and thus given the semblance of improvement.

It is at present only in Italy, Austria, Spain, South America, and Ireland, that the Romish Church can act upon her settled policy, and exemplify her naked deformity. In the United States, for example, no attempt is made to subject all spiritual authority to her own temporal aggrandizement. But is not the creed of Romanism the same here as in Italy? Let the bull of Gregory IX. answer this question; for this, like every other Papal bull, is binding on the conscience of every Roman Catholic on the earth.

"There is only one name in the world,—the pope! He only can bestow the investiture of kings,—all princes ought to kiss his feet. No one can judge him;—his simple election makes him a saint;—he has never erred;—he never will err. He can *depose kings, and absolve subjects from their allegiance!*"

The Council of Florence, whose infallible decree is binding upon every Roman Catholic, explicitly proclaims that "the pope of Rome has supremacy over all the earth!" And that this supremacy is that of a political as well as an ecclesiastical prince, and includes temporal as well as spiritual power, is still more manifest by the oath of allegiance taken by every bishop or other prelate in the United States who has received any dignity from the pope. This is an oath of both temporal and spiritual vassalage, and the decree of Pope Boniface VIII. declares that "it is necessary to salvation that every creature be subject to the Roman pontiff."

Such then is obviously the relation subsisting between every Roman Catholic in America and the pope of Rome, and yet the policy of the church which holds this absolute and universal supremacy is *in appearance* relaxed pending the continuance of our republican institutions; but in fact, the oath of allegiance to our political government may be absolved at the pleasure of the pope, whose secret instructions to that effect may be held in readiness by every Jesuit bishop in the land, and which may be promulgated whenever the interests of the Romish Church may allow her to resume her settled policy. Is it necessary here to say, that a train may be thus laid, more formidable to our civil and religious liberties than any "gun-powder plot," and to which the match may be placed whenever Pope Gregory XVI., or his army of Jesuits in America, may find it safe to return to the established policy of Rome?

That essential and unchangeable despotism constitutes this policy is exemplified by dictating how men shall think, speak, and act, on pain of eternal damnation. This power, both of dictation and prohibition, extends to thoughts, words, and actions, and is vested in the pope, bishops, and clergy. The opinions of men, as well as their conduct, upon all subjects, whether political or religious, are under this clerical authority; nor can any man differ from the Romish Church on any question of doctrine, discipline, or morals, without incurring her anathemas both in this world and the next. The Romish Church avowedly prohibits all freedom of thought by the express terms of her creed, for therein every Roman Catholic binds himself to the end of his life to hold and profess, to promise and swear to whatever opinions the church holds on all subjects, and implicitly to obey the Roman bishop. And in the same solemn manner every Roman Catholic must "promise and swear, that to the end of his life he will condemn, reject, and anathematize all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church."

This oath annihilates every vestige of freedom of opinion, and binds the immortal mind in chains of interminable bondage. The right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, nay, the privilege to think, or reason, is hopelessly renounced. A Roman Catholic is not at liberty to have any opinion, sentiment, conscience, or religion of his own choice, and the soul itself, including every attribute of manhood, is crushed beneath the iron hoof of Papal despotism. And to induce men thus to surrender their souls to the Romish Church, the priests are ever ready to enter into a solemn covenant, as they did with the old duke of Brunswick, that "if he happened

to be damned for becoming a Roman Catholic, they, the priests, would be damned in his stead."

The unbroken chain of tyranny and oppression with which Romanism has bound the human intellect in all ages is exhibited in the records of impartial history. And at the present hour, in those countries under Papal dominion, a bondage is endured more galling than Algerine slavery, the withering influence of which is apparent in all the nations who still wear the Papal yoke. Human liberty and the rights of man can have no existence where Rome dare assert her supremacy; indeed, the very name of either is so formidable to the ghostly tyrants of the Romish priesthood, that to plead for either civil or religious freedom would expose the heretic to the tortures of the Inquisition here, and to damnation hereafter. And yet in this and other Protestant countries the Romish Church professes to be vastly tolerant, and we hear of bishops and priests discoursing upon the blessings of our free and independent government. Under this plausible disguise, however, they only deceive and betray, for there never was an instance in ancient or modern times when the Romish Church ever did tolerate any other religion, where she had the supremacy. In the light of recent events, it is plain that the power only is wanting in the Jesuits in our midst to crush our young liberties into the dust. So long as the interests of the Romish Church require the present unnatural pretension to toleration, so long will this disguise be retained; but should the time arrive, when by numbers, wealth, and influence, she dare assert her boasted supremacy, there will be an end to toleration; and the hopes of the world in respect to our free government will be quenched in blood.

In no aspect of this subject, however, do the proofs accumulate against the Romish Church as in her expurgatory and prohibitory policy in regard to literature and science; nature as well as revelation being under the ban of her despotism,—matter as well as mind being included in her universal claim of dominion; and we now proceed to show how the majesty of truth is outraged and trampled under foot, whenever her interests demand the sacrifice.

Except painting and sculpture, no one of the arts or sciences has escaped the anathemas of Rome; and these have only been fostered because they could be made tributary to the idolatrous ceremonials of the church. Indeed, these arts are prostituted in her service to the purposes of fraud and imposture, which the Romish Church is ever perpetuating; as, for example, when over the head of their images of the Virgin Mary, whether depicted on the can-

vass, or sculptured in marble, they impiously and blasphemously write that horrible lie, "The mother of God."

Who can recount the number of Papal bulls which have been fulminated against successive discoveries in science, when announced in Romish countries? Pope Zachary uttered his anathemas against Virgil, a bishop of his own church, for daring to think and speak the awful heresy, that there were men living on the opposite side of the earth. "If," says this infallible pope, "he persist in this heresy, strip him of his priesthood, and drive him from the church, and from the altars of his God!" The venerable Galileo shared a still worse fate, for presuming to think and teach that the earth was a sphere, turning on its axis, and moving round the sun. Pope Urban and the Inquisition, *infallible authority*, decreed that his doctrine was false and heretical, and then doomed him to a dungeon for daring to think contrary to holy mother church. One can almost excuse the righteous indignation of the bosom friend of this aged philosopher, when he exclaimed, concerning Pope Urban and the other despots who condemned Galileo, "*I shall devote these unnatural and godless hypocrites to a hundred thousand devils.*"

These and multiplied similar blunders of the infallible church, in reference to literary and scientific discoveries, are the solemn and recorded acts of popes, cardinals, bishops, and priests. They have never been revoked, repealed, or corrected; nor can they ever be reversed without an abandonment of the attribute of infallibility. Hence every Roman Catholic in the United States is bound, by his creed and oath, to hold and profess his belief that we have *no antipodes*. For though voyagers have sailed round the globe, and brought men before our eyes whom they found on the opposite side of the earth, yet still the infallible church has decreed such belief a damnable heresy, and meriting her ghostly anathemas. And as the infallible pope decreed, as early as 1633, that the earth is the centre of the solar system, and is immovable, and that it has a plane surface, resembling a cardinal's hat, every Roman Catholic is bound to believe it still. The discoveries of science, the lights of philosophy, mathematical demonstration, and even the evidence of the senses, are all insufficient to overthrow his faith in the decree of an infallible pope; nor can any number of infallibles correct or reverse the decree, or protect anybody who dares to doubt, from the anathema suffered by Galileo. Modern astronomy must therefore be consigned to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

But still worse: the Romish Church arrays herself against an-

cient and modern literature, whether sacred or profane, by placing under the ban of her holy reprobation every book which may by possibility interfere with her interests, and this without any, the least regard to its intrinsic merits. By her *Index Expurgatorius*, she provides for *erasures*, *interpolations*, *emendations*, and *alterations* in many of the books which, after these forgeries and falsifications of their contents, she graciously allows to be read by the faithful. It is thus that she labours to fabricate what she calls the "unanimous consent of the ancient fathers," by *expurgating* their works of all the testimony they bear against her heresies, and then *interpolating* passages which she afterward quotes in favor of her *novelties*, many of which were invented hundreds of years after these fathers had been dead. The proofs of these deeds of high-handed iniquity are not merely those detected and exposed by Protestant investigation; for Roman Catholic writers have not only acknowledged, but *vindicated*, the precise forgeries of which they have been convicted. Their pretext is, that *unwritten* traditions impower the church to correct those which are *written;* while they hold *both*, as explained by "*the church*," to be of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures. Hence it is, that not content with *expurgating the Bible!*—by omitting, and inserting what the Romish Church decrees—they do more, for by numerous copies of the *Index Prohibitorius, the Holy Bible itself is a prohibited book!* not merely Protestant translations, but even their own Douay Bible, is not to be read without a written license from the bishop. But the Bible, in any vernacular tongue, is absolutely prohibited, and so also all books on any subject, written by heretics, are forbidden even to the priests, without their bishop's ghostly permission.

All those books, whether religious, literary, or classical, which cannot be expurgated to the necessary extent, are absolutely prohibited; and accordingly we find that the pope and his grand inquisitors include, in the *Prohibitory Index*, Young's Night Thoughts, Milton's Paradise Lost, Cowper's Poems, and the like classical and standard works, whether in history, literature, or morals, explicitly naming them, and prohibiting them to be read or possessed by any Roman Catholic in any country. Booksellers trading within the civil jurisdiction of the pope are forbidden to sell any book contained in the Index, under the fearful penalties of excommunication, burning of the books, and even *death!* In the invaluable work of Mendham on this subject, the history of these Indexes is given at length, the author quoting from the original copies, printed by authority of popes, inquisitors, cardinals, and bishops, in different countries and for successive centuries. The multiplied alterations,

enlargements, and new editions of these Indexes are here detailed, by which it appears that the license given by one pope to read certain authors has been again and again *revoked and annulled by his successor* in the Papal chair, and a new and enlarged Index Prohibitorius has hence been demanded.

The Index Prohibitorius consists of a catalogue of known and unknown authors, new editions having been issued by successive pontiffs. The works of Martin Luther stand at the head of many of these, and in that of 1550, published by the supreme authority of the senate of the Inquisition, no less than fifty Bibles in different languages are condemned, together with the works of Luther and other reformers, including Calvin and Erasmus. It consists of thirty-six leaves; and after enumerating the names of entire authors, particular books, and anonymous publications, which are condemned, including the various New Testaments then extant, it reprobates these, together with all similar editions and translations, and then adds a list of sixty-one *prohibited printers!* In anathematizing Erasmus, this Index prohibits, in detail, his *commentaries, annotations, dialogues, letters, strictures, versions, and all his books and writings, whether or not they are adverse to religion, and even if they are not on the subject of religion!* It will be observed, that the Greek Testament of Erasmus is here included in the reprobation of this infallible pope, although Leo X., the preceding infallible pope, to whom it was formally dedicated by the author, not only licensed it, but *highly commended it.* This, however, is less remarkable than the fact which these Indexes disclose, that books published by cardinals, who have themselves afterward become popes, have been placed in the Index by their authors immediately after their election; so soon as they acquired infallibility, reprobating their own works as heretical. Pope Paul IV. and Pius II. are both examples of this, and the reason assigned by one such was, that "when he was raised higher he saw things more clearly!"

Thus has the Romish Church ever labored to suppress every species of literature which could not be made tributary to her hierarchy, and this by such desperate measures as excommunicating the authors, burning the books, and prohibiting booksellers, printers, &c., from dealing with them, while the faithful were warned of the spiritual and temporal penalties they incur by reading the works of the prohibited authors, who indeed are anathematized not only in reference to the works already written, but equally those which *these authors might write in the future.* Decrees have been issued, ordering public and private libraries to be searched for prohibited books, as also all bookbinders', stationers', and booksellers'

shops; requiring not only *heretical* books and pamphlets, but all other such hurtful and dangerous poisons, to be utterly removed, suppressed, or burned; and severe punishment has been inflicted on all who concealed such writings.

Nor let it be imagined by any, that in the United States greater liberty is allowed to the faithful; for the decrees of popes, accompanying the Indexes, expressly require these prohibitions to be enforced in "*all cities, territories, and places, of whatsoever kingdom, nation, and people;* and to have authority in whatsoever way, even without publication, the edicts shall be known." Moreover, a Papal decree, issued as lately as 1822, includes in the Index seven works in English on the Papal controversy in North America, expressly mentioning certain published addresses to the congregation of St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, and of the Right Rev. Bishop of Pennsylvania; thus affording positive and recent testimony, that his holiness of Rome does not consider these transatlantic regions as alien to his ghostly authority, nor does he despair of finding his prohibitions in the Index respected in the city of Philadelphia.

But we have still later testimony in point in the encyclical letter of Pope Gregory XVI., the present reigning pontiff, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, and bearing date at the Papal see in Rome, August 16th, 1832. It is promulgated in Latin; but with the original before the reader, the following translation of extracts will be found strictly accurate:—

"*Liberty of conscience* is an absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather mad conceit, and the prevalence of this most pestilent error is owing to that *liberty of opinion* which is spreading far and wide, to the ruin of both church and state; and both these should combine against that trinity of evils, an ungoverned freedom of opinion, public harangues, and a desire of innovation." Again he fulminates his anathemas against "that most vile, detestable, and *never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated* liberty of booksellers, who publish writings of whatsoever kind they please, a liberty which some persons dare with such violence of language to demand and promote." Again:—

"We are horrified, venerable brethren, when we behold the monstrous doctrines, or rather the portentous errors with which we are overwhelmed, which are disseminated far and wide on every side by the vast multitude of books, and pamphlets, and tracts, small indeed in bulk, but large in mischievous intent."

After rebuking the folly of those who hope to vindicate the church from the wounds she is receiving from the unbridled liberty

of the press, by publishing some book or other in her defense, his holiness proceeds,—

"Far different was the discipline of the church in extirpating the infection of bad books even in the days of the apostles, who, we read, publicly burned a vast quantity of books." And after eulogizing the Council of Trent for compiling an Index Prohibitorius, he repeats the decree of Clement XIII., his predecessor in the Papal chair, and adds,—

"We must, with all our might, exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books, by *consuming the guilty elements of depravity in the flames!*"

These citations from the official bull of the present pope may suffice, demonstrating as they do that the Romish Church is prompted at the present hour by the maxim openly avowed more than three centuries ago by the vicar of Croyden, in the time of Henry VIII. :—

"*We must root out printing, or printing will root out us!*" and under the like policy a Spanish bishop has, within a few years, forbidden the printing of any book in his diocese, except the Prayer-book.

But the present reigning pope, it is obvious, is not content with thus making war upon books, printing, and the liberty of the press, giving the official sanction of the apostolical see to a censorship of books, by which they may be forcibly wrested out of men's hands; but in this encyclical letter he commands them to be burned, and especially condemns what he calls the "*vile, detestable, and never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated liberty of booksellers!*" thus demonstrating, that if his holiness had the power, he would, by an *auto da fe* in the United States, not only burn the books, but their authors and the booksellers, treading in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors in the chair of St. Peter at Rome.

And yet, with this apostolic epistle from the present pope in their hands, the bishops, who are his chosen agents and representatives in the United States, are *professing* to be the friends of our free and republican government; while their oath of office obliges them to carry out his decree against the liberty of the press and freedom of opinion whenever they can obtain the power, leaving them no alternative but sacrilegious perjury.

Let Protestants read in this encyclical letter of the present pope the denunciations of the apostolical see against the Waldenses, Beguards, Wickliffe, Luther, &c., who are all declared by name to be deservedly anathematized as "sons of Belial," "the offscour-

ings and disgrace of the human race," "old knaves," "guilty of the most flagitious designs," &c. These are the epithets applied by the pope to Luther, and all who have followed in the Reformation, and against those who were burned at the stake, martyrs to that liberty of conscience against which he fulminated the thunders of the Vatican as lately as *eleven years ago*, for they bear date 1832!

And let American Roman Catholics read the following extract from the bull of Gregory XVI., and compare it with the public protestations of the Romish bishops and priests of the United States, all of whom are sworn to obey *this* pope, and yet declare themselves to be opposed to the union of church and state. Their pope uses the following language :—

"We cannot augur happy results, either to religion or monarchy, from the wishes of those who are anxious that *the church should be separated from the state*, and that the mutual concord of the empire and the priesthood should be torn asunder. For it is certain that these favourers of the *most audacious liberty* do exceedingly fear that *concord* which has ever been *advantageous and salutary* to both religious and civil interests."

Now it is well known, that in England the bishops of this same pope are bellowing forth their hostility to this very union of church and state as exceedingly sinful, which their lord and master here praises as "advantageous and salutary;" while in America his bishops and priests exhibit an outward show of violent opposition to this union, a course which their pope designates as "audacious liberty."

The degree of confidence which can be placed in the professions of Roman Catholics in America, who declare opinions differing from those of the pope, may be estimated by the citation of the creed to which they all subscribe :—

"I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ."

And we may also appreciate the similar professions of Romish bishops here or elsewhere, by the oath every one of them has taken, a brief extract from which will suffice :—

"I will be faithful and obedient to our lord, the lord and pope, Gregory XVI., and to his successors." "I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others, his apostolical mandates. *Heretics, schismatics, and rebels* to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will, to my utmost, persecute and beat down; and I will humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. So help me God! and these holy gospels of God!"

Such are the solemn oaths by which every Roman Catholic prelate, here and elsewhere, is bound to carry on the war of Pope Gregory XVI. against freedom of opinion, liberty of conscience, and "the vile, detestable, and never-to-be-sufficiently execrated liberty of the press and booksellers." And by the like oaths they are all bound to observe, with all their might, his decree in favour of the "union of church and state,"—this "concord between the empire and the priesthood."

Surely it cannot be necessary to cite the examples in the history of Romanism, and in the lives of the popes, in which Bibles by thousands have been consumed in common bonfires by priestly and episcopal order, for they are familiar to every reader; and such a bonfire of Bibles has recently been made in the state of New-York, by a Canadian priest. The first bishop of Mexico, as is well known, exhibited his deadly hostility to literature by destroying all the symbolical writings and monuments of art, accumulated by the Mexicans for ages, ascribing them to Satan, and alledging that they savored of heresy. Cisneros, a Spanish inquisitor, by order of the pope, committed to the flames at one time eighty thousand volumes of the most valuable works extant, on all the departments of science. Indeed, the Prohibitory Indexes condemn, by name, the most illustrious authors in every language, anathematizing such men as Bacon and Locke, Milton and Young, Watts and Cowper, Addison and Johnson, with all their books, past, present, and to come. Surely no further proof can be desired of the deadly war waged against literature and the liberty of the press by the Romish Church, or of its continuance to the present hour.

Let us now glance, however, at the most heinous of all the God-provoking and soul-destroying abominations of the Romish Church, in the deadly hostility she has ever shown to the oracles of God, the precious Bible, the last best hope of human liberty, and upon the purity of which, under God, depends the very existence of revealed truth, and the salvation of the world.

We have already seen that the general circulation of the Douay Bible, translated from the Vulgate by Romanists, is not tolerated by the Romish Church; for every one of the versions and translations of the Bible is found in the Index Prohibitorius. Still, however, it must be apparent, that by expurgation and interpolation, popes, councils, cardinals, and Jesuits, can make a Bible to teach every dogma embraced in their "refuge of lies." Indeed, we have authentic proof that *they have done so*, for in the reign of Louis XIV., the Romish Church did authorize the circulation of fifty thousand copies of a French version of the New Testament,

a few citations from which will now be made to sustain the position just taken. The reader will be shocked to perceive, that in this Popish forgery there is *express mention* made of the MASS, of PURGATORY, and of the ROMAN FAITH!! A multitude of similar outrages against the words of the Holy Ghost, wilfully perpetrated by the highest Romish authority, might be furnished from this fictitious New Testament; but the following examples must suffice:—

In the common version, as in the original, we read, "As they ministered unto the Lord;" but this Popish version renders it, "They *sacrificed* unto the Lord the *sacrifice of the mass!!*"

In 1 Tim. iv, 1, where it is said by St. Paul that in "the latter times some shall depart from the faith," this Romish New Testament has it, "depart from the *Roman* faith!"

In 1 Cor. iii, 15, where the apostle speaks of them who are to be "saved as by fire," this French version renders it, "saved by the fire of *purgatory!*"

These specimens of the whole go to show that St. Luke, St. Paul, and the other inspired writers, are all subjected to the same expurgations, falsifications, forgery, and interpolation, which the ancient fathers have received at the hands of Romanism. And Protestants may here see what kind of a Bible, if any, would be employed in Roman Catholic schools if they should succeed in diverting the public school fund from its rightful secular use in the business of popular education, and it should once be committed to these ghostly priests for the propagation of the Romish religion. If Protestants are willing to be *taxed* for having the *mass*, *purgatory*, and the *Romish* faith introduced into the New Testament, and taught in the public schools, "let them speak, or for ever hereafter hold their peace."

Such being the literary policy of Rome in all generations, and with such evidences that the same policy is perpetuated, it would seem to be fit and proper that every citizen of our free country should be fully in possession of the facts, that he may govern himself accordingly. Happily, in Protestant America, we *yet* have liberty of speech, freedom of opinion, and an unchained press. Hence if there be manhood and moral courage among us, the truth ought to be told with all plainness on a subject involving the destinies of our nation, and affecting the interests of the world. There are doubtless those among us so sadly in love with priestcraft, that, in full view of the extent of despotism exercised by the Romish Church, they are prepared to consent to be its slaves, and continue the mere vassals of the foreign potentate who rules in the Papal

see, and arrogantly exalts himself above all that is called God, issuing his laws for the universe. Be it so; but there are some of us who had rather share the dungeon with Galileo, or die the death of martyrdom, than to relinquish the rights of conscience, the liberty of speech and of the press, so dearly purchased by the blood of our fathers. Sooner shall our bodies be mangled upon a wheel, or borne home lifeless to our families, victims of inquisitorial barbarism, than our necks bow down beneath the yoke of Papal domination: for if our hats are ever removed in token of submission to clerical despotism, either by pope or bishop, our heads must come with them.

But thanks to the God of our fathers, he has set his bow in our heavens, at once the pledge and promise that America shall be free. Here liberty—civil and religious liberty—such as the world never saw, has spread her banner to the winds of heaven, and under its ample folds our country is enjoying the blessed fruits of the glorious Reformation, and rejoicing in the inheritance of that freedom for which the immortal Luther braved the thunders of the Vatican, and defied the vengeance of the pope of Rome, whom till then he had regarded as the father of Christendom. In striking his first blow at the trade of indulgences, that damning mockery of Heaven, he struck a blow for liberty and for man which has ever since been filling the world with the sons of thought, of reason, and of religion; and here in America we are beginning to appreciate the stupendous benefits of the world's Reformation.

True, when Luther thus lifted his voice for truth and God, his writings were doomed to the flames by the common hangman, and his body to be sent bound to Rome. His intended fate might well be anticipated by that of his fellow-champion for truth, John Huss, the victim of the treachery and bloodthirstiness of the Popish Council of Constance. He was placed in a stone dungeon, three feet wide, six feet high, and seven feet long, and "in this living grave they burnt the true voice out of this world," as has been well said, and choked it in smoke and fire.

But they had not yet conquered the truth of God, burning in Luther's noble soul, though his works were condemned to the flames, and he bound for the sacrifice. His righteous soul, vexed with holy indignation at this outrage upon the majesty of truth, which he prized more than ten thousand lives, burst forth in a strain of withering rebuke, allied to the authoritative tones of inspiration, uttering those deathless words of truth and soberness which awoke the world:—

"These writings, aiming faithfully, as human inability would

allow, to promote God's truth on earth, and to save men's souls,—you, God's vicegerent, answer by the hangman and fire. You will burn me and them, as an answer to God's message we strive to bring you. You are not God's vicegerent, you are another's, I think. I take your bull as an emparchmented lie, and burn it. You will do what you see good next; this is what I do."

And burn this fire decree he did, in the most public place of Wittenberg, and a shout went up into the heavens: it was the shout of the awakening of the nations.

Then to the pope himself he had the lion heart to say, "This thing of yours, that you call a pardon of sin, is a bit of rag paper with ink. It is nothing else. God alone can pardon sins. Standing on this, I, a poor German monk, am stronger than you all. I stand solitary and friendless, one man on God's truth. You, with your tiaras, triple hats, your treasuries and armories, thunders spiritual and temporal—you stand on the devil's lie, and are not so strong."

Verily Luther was the representative of a world lying in bondage beneath a black spectral nightmare, and triple-hatted impostor, calling himself father in God. But he was divinely armed for his high behest; and when he was warned, in view of the fate of Huss, from going to the Diet of Worms, he exclaimed with a martyr's zeal,—"Were there as many devils there as there are roof tiles, I would go on."

And on he went; and after a two hours' spirit-stirring speech before emperor, princes, Papal nuncios, dignitaries spiritual and temporal, sustained by the world's pomp and power, he proclaimed his undying purpose never to recant, in the following words:—"Confute me, confute me, not by the hangman and fire, but by proofs of Scripture, or else by plain, just arguments. I cannot recant otherwise, for it is neither safe nor prudent to do aught against conscience. Here stand I! I can do no other. God help me!"

This is the man who, under God, won our yet young liberty from the bondage to Rome; which else had, until now, enslaved the human soul, and imprisoned the world. Such firmness, courage, and love of truth, are needed in America to consummate the work begun in Germany two centuries since;—not by persecution or intolerance, for Protestant Christianity will tolerate neither, but will extend to the Romish Church our own liberty—not ours, but the rightful inheritance of universal man. And here the great battle is to be fought, in which Romanism is to die; and when the hoary walls of her Babylon shall fall, and fall they must, then, and

not till then, will civil and religious liberty become the inheritance of the world.

Already this "mystery of iniquity" is tottering to its ruin. Where now are its inquisitions and indulgences, its racks and dungeons, its fagots and fire? In our country they may be sought for in vain, thanks to the Bible and the God of the Bible; for but for this agency, North America would be now what South America is. And even there, as in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Ireland, where Romanism finds its last lingering refuge, it is destined to vanish before the onward march of civilization, which is fatal to the very name of every false religion.

The trepidation and alarm of his holiness, Gregory XVI., the present pope, as betrayed in his last published bull, are but the fruit of the conscious insecurity of the tenure by which he holds his triple mitre. Hence his furious anathemas against "audacious liberty" of conscience, of opinion, and of the press, which he feels must presently be fatal to Rome and her dominion. Hence also his reiterated curses upon Luther and the Protestants for thus endangering his supremacy, and undermining his throne. And though he calls, with uplifted eyes and hands, upon the Virgin Mary, whom he declares to be his "greatest confidence and the whole foundation of his hope;" and though Peter, the prince of the apostles, and his co-apostle Paul, are also the objects of his humble prayers, yet these dead saints happily know no more of his idolatrous worship than do their images in his palace at Rome. And when, last of all, he hopes that Jesus Christ will console him under his manifold apprehensions, we are reminded of certain kindred spirits in the days of the apostles, who attempted to cast out devils, in imitation of the miracles performed by these holy men, and who said to the evil spirits, "In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, we command you to come out;" but the evil spirits answered, "Paul we know, and Jesus we know, but who are you?" and they fell upon them and overcome them. We pray that his holiness, by timely repentance, may escape a similar fate.

D.

ART. III.—*Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy.* By M. STUART, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1842.

THE literary standing of the author of this book very naturally and justly drew to it the attention of those who felt interested in the interpretation of prophecy, in hope of finding a solution of many vexing yet important questions in Biblical exegesis. And the very favorable notices which it has received from the press show, that despite the novelty of some of his opinions, Professor Stuart is regarded as having done much by this treatise to hasten the attainment of an ultimate opinion regarding the exposition of some mysterious prophecies in the Holy Bible. Whether it is to become a standard treatise upon the subject of *Biblical hermaneutics*, or is to pass away with the excitement of the particular occasion which called it forth, remains to be determined.

That this little book has contributed to allay the unhealthy excitement created by the "Miller" theory of interpretation is most certainly true and thankfully acknowledged; but that it furnishes a satisfactory exposition of the book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse is seriously questioned, upon what we deem valid grounds of doubt. This intimation of dissent from the doctrines of the "HINTS" must not however be understood as referring to all that it contains; for we are happy to acknowledge our obligation to the professor for his very able, and, as we think, clear refutation of the doctrine of a "double sense of prophecy." We had earnestly embraced the opinion which our author has so ably argued in the first part of his book, but in the belief of which we have been confirmed since having read this section of his treatise.

The proposition involving this subject is the first of three topics which the author has discussed in the volume before us. We cannot better place before the reader the purpose of this book, than by quoting a paragraph from the author's Introduction, p. 8, in which he says,—

"The subjects of discussion to which I have adverted may be comprised under three distinct heads. The first is the proposition, that there is in many parts of the prophecies an occult, mystical, undeveloped meaning, which renders those predictions occasionally pregnant with a double sense. The second, that some other prophecies have a meaning which is so concealed and obscure, that it can never be discovered until the events take place to which they refer. The third is, that the leading designations of *time* in the book of Daniel and the

Apocalypse, namely, 'a time, times, and half a time,' and 'forty and two months, or twelve hundred and sixty days,' comprise, not the actual period literally named, but twelve hundred and sixty *years*. In other words, the general principle in respect to this third head is, that the *times* named in the two books before us are designed to be understood as meaning, that each *day* is the representative of a *year*."

Although these "principles" of interpretation "have been so current among the expositors of the English and American world, that scarcely a serious attempt to vindicate them has of late been made;"—and though "they have been regarded as so plain, and so well fortified against all objections, that most expositors have deemed it quite useless to defend them," the professor, *deeming* them essentially defective, has made bold to assail them. Now the grounds upon which our author has done this are so democratic and high-minded,—and as, moreover, they will serve for a justification of our dissent from the professor's application of his own rules,—we shall cite the passage in which they are contained.

"Is it lawful and safe, now, to call in question a mode of interpretation so generally admitted, and which has so long been current among us? *Lawful* I think it may be; for the Scriptures have prescribed to us none of these rules, nor have any of the creeds of Protestants dictated anything which binds us to admit them. *Safe* it may be, provided *truth* admits of our questioning such rules; and surely it must be safe, if truth demands that we should reject them, for it is always safe and proper to follow truth. The true and legitimate principles of interpretation depend on no individual man, no sect, no party. They are independent of all parties, else they would be of little or no value. They depend on no niceties of philosophical theories—on no far-fetched and recondite deductions—on no caprice of fancy or imagination. Were they so dependent, they would be of little value even to the learned, and of none at all to the great mass of men who read the Scriptures. The origin and basis of all true hermaneutical science are the reason and common sense of men, at all times and in all ages, applied to the interpretation of language, either spoken or written."—P. 9.

The two quotations now before the reader are sufficient to enable him to comprehend the general purposes of the book, and to appreciate the general method by which they are sought.

We have already expressed our concurrence in the opinion of the author respecting the first of the three topics discussed in his book; and we now add, that we do not see cause of decided dissent from the doctrine of the succeeding section.

We should be happy indeed if we could have agreed with Professor S. in the opinions and illustrations which he has advanced upon the third and last topic of his book. But here we are met

with difficulties, not verbal and unimportant, but such as we judge to be fundamental, and irreconcilable with the truth in relation to the matters in question. This remark, however, regards the *application* of the rules of "*grammatico-historical exegesis*" to a particular case, rather than the rules themselves. For as it regards the *numbers* and *terms* indicative of time, in prophecy, we fully believe with our author, "that the plain and obvious interpretation of *numbers* in the prophecies is to be followed, unless there be cogent reasons for a departure from this rule," (p. 74,) and that "nothing can be plainer, then, than that *usage* in the prophecies, as to *designations of time*, does not differ from ordinary usage elsewhere." —P. 82.

Did the issue which we are about to make with the learned author of this work regard mere questions of philology, we might be induced, by the consideration of his celebrity, to pause; but as the question is one regarding historical interpretation, and as, according to the professor's own admission, "the origin and basis of all true hermaneutical science are the reason and common sense of men, at all times and in all ages, applied to the interpretation of language, either spoken or written," we feel relieved in part of that embarrassment which might arise from a declaration of our total dissent from his interpretation of the seventh chapter of the book of Daniel. We except, indeed, to his exposition of Dan. viii, 14; but it is the special design of this article to examine his explication of that part of Dan. vii, which relates to the *fourth beast* and the *little horn* that came up among the ten horns of that beast. The following passage, found on pp. 83, 84, contains a summary view of the historical matter embraced in this famous prediction, according to the professor's method of exposition:—

"The first passage in Dan. vii, 25, is so clear as to leave no room for reasonable doubt. In verse 24 the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes is described; for the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19–26, as all must concede, is the divided Grecian dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great. From this dynasty springs Antiochus, (ver. 24,) who is most graphically described, in ver. 25, as one who 'shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out (destroy) the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hands, *until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.*' The long, bitter, and bloody persecution of Epiphanes; his persevering efforts to abolish the Jewish ritual, and even to extinguish the religion which the Hebrews professed, and destroy all the copies of the Holy Scriptures which were in their hands, are too well known as historical facts to need any comment here, or any specification. The only question on which anything needs to be said is, How does the result here described, namely, 'the giving up all these things into

his hands,' accord with the time specified, provided the designation of this time be interpreted by the common laws of exegesis?"

The reader will please to notice, that the "subject matter" of this prophecy is brought forward to settle the question of actual time designated by "*a time, times, and a dividing of time*;" that is, that it means three and a half years. Well, we agree to the conclusion; and also that what is said about the character and conduct of Antiochus Epiphanes is true: but we are left to conjecture upon what grounds Professor S. affirms that "verse 24 describes the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes;" and our astonishment is heightened when he adds, "For the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19–26, as all must concede, is the divided Grecian dominion, which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great." Now with due deference to the various learning of the author of the "Hints," we cannot refrain from saying, that we regard this as a very important mistake in Biblical interpretation. Professor S. assumes, for proof is not attempted, that the "fourth beast is the divided Grecian dominion," and thence concludes that the "little horn," whose conduct is described ver. 25, is Antiochus Epiphanes, and then explains the terms indicative of *time* to conform to the history which he supposes is couched under the symbolical language of the prophecy. Will our author admit the soundness of this logic when the conditions of the case are changed? Let it be assumed that the fourth beast symbolizes Papal Rome, and that the little horn signifies the pope, must all concede that this is the true interpretation, and that the *time, times, and the dividing of time*,—the forty-two months, and the twelve hundred and sixty days,—are to be interpreted as meaning so many years, merely because the pope held civil power and abused it for that length of time? Yet this mode of reasoning is admitted by many respectable expositors; but the legitimacy of the conclusion, it must be apparent, does not always make out the truth of the premises.

The error in the supposition, and indeed in the text of our author, lies in supposing that to be true which is not true.

When we first read the paragraph in question, we concluded that here is a typographical error; that seven was printed where eight was intended. But when we saw it several times repeated, and that the whole course of the argument was intended to carry out the opinion, we gave up the idea of verbal error, and concluded that the mistake was, as we are sorry to believe it is, in doctrinal exposition.

Upon the assertion that the "little horn of vii, 25, is Antiochus Epiphanes," and that the "fourth beast is the divided Grecian

dominion," we make the issue, and shall attempt to show that this is not the true interpretation of the prophecy.

Now as no argument is offered in support of the main assertion, we are obliged to meet the question upon general grounds, and suppose we are at liberty to choose our own method of proof. It seems hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the doctrine laid down in the quotation is directly at variance with the language of the prophet, or rather his interpreter, the angel.

He says, Dan. vii, 23, "*The fourth beast shall be the fourth* KINGDOM *upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.*" Verse 24, "*And the ten horns out of this kingdom are* TEN KINGS *that shall arise: and another shall arise after them,*" &c. It will be observed that the *singular number* is applied to the power symbolized by the fourth beast. But there could be no propriety in using the singular number if the symbol is used to represent the "Grecian dominion in its divided state;" for *one* it never was, as a Grecian dominion, after its partition by Cassander and his contemporaries: or if it shall be said that it became Rome, and thus was made one, we reply, Then it ceased to be the divided "*Grecian dominion.*" We may remark here, that while we totally disbelieve that the several symbolical representations in the book of Daniel constitute one vision in successive portions, we strongly incline to the opinion that they mutually assist in the interpretation of these several prophecies. This remark applies specially to the second and seventh chapters of the book, and perhaps not less so to the eighth.

How, for example, can you interpret ii, 44, without reference to chapter vii? Who are these "kings" in the fourth kingdom, in whose "days" the "God of heaven" sets up his kingdom? Not a single word is said about *kings* in this prophecy, except in this verse. But verse 44 is an explanation of verse 34, in which it is said, "Thou sawest till a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces." The "days of these kings" is therefore an historical indication of the period when Christ's kingdom should be established in the earth. There is a striking coincidence of the historical matter of the fourth kingdom, as symbolized by the "terrible beast" of chapter vii, with the matter of the fourth kingdom of chapter ii, which is represented by the "iron legs."

Let the reader turn to ii, 34, 35, 44, 45, and compare what is there said respecting the kingdom of God with what is said of it in chapter vii. In verses 13, 14, it is said that the Son of

man received a kingdom, that all nations, people, and languages should serve him: and about the same time that the desolations of the eleventh horn are made, the kingdom is given to the saints, and his (the horn's) dominion is taken away and consumed unto the end, verses 21–27. Now all these events happened before the *death* of the *beast*, as foretold in verse 11—*the* event which constitutes the *terminus ad quem* of this vision. That these obvious parallelisms do not, however, prove identity of prophetic scene and object, is sufficiently shown by the incontrovertible fact, that the period at which the symbolical scene of chapter ii ends, is when the stone strikes the image upon the feet, which, in ver. 44, is said to be "in the days of these kings:"—but the prophetic scene of chapter vii runs on to the period of *the death of the beast;* that is, the breaking up of that kingdom in which this dynasty of kings figured, the last of whom is represented as being a monster of cruelty and impiety.

With this brief collation of events, we are prepared to raise the inquiry, What power is symbolized by the "fourth beast," and who are "these kings," the last of whom ends the dynasty with a finale of unsurpassed depravity and presumption?

The *great historical event* upon which all these prophetic lines centre *is the incarnation of Jesus Christ,* here represented (ii, 35, 45) by a "stone cut out of the mountain without hands,* which smote the image, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

This we think is an undeniable position; and if so, it follows that we have a sure *datum* from which we may pursue the investigation of the historical events of this prophecy. We think it has been sufficiently shown, that the *smiting of the image,* and the *days of these kings,* were synchronical events; hence the *fourth beast* is Rome, and not the "Grecian dominion in its divided state;" for the "Grecian dominion" had been swallowed up in this ascendant power before the incarnation of Jesus Christ. This *beast* "devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." "It reduced Macedon into a Roman province about one hundred and sixty-eight years, the kingdom of Pergamus about one hundred and thirty-three years, Syria about sixty-five years, and Egypt about thirty years before Christ."†

Here then it is shown, that the last branch of the divided Grecian dominion fell thirty years before Christ; but the "fourth

* That the "stone" symbolizes this great event, see Psa. cxviii, 22; Isa. xxviii, 16; 1 Pet. ii, 4–10; Matt. xxi, 42–46; Rom. ix, 32, 33.

† Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, p. 207.

beast" was not given to be "burned" until some hundreds of years after the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. How then could this "beast" symbolize the fragments of Alexander's dominion, or the "little horn" the person and power of the Syrian king? for, according to the professor's own showing, Antiochus Epiphanes died in the year 164 B. C., p. 92. Our author is not alone, we are aware, in the belief that this mode of interpretation is the true one. The same general exposition is given by Diodoti in his Annotations; (in loc.;) and Calmet, according to Dr. A. Clarke, sets down the following list, as being the *ten kings* meant by the "ten horns," namely: "1. Seleucus Nicator; 2. Antiochus Soter; 3. Antiochus Theos; 4. Antiochus Callinicus; 5. Seleucus Ceraunus; 6. Antiochus the Great; 7. Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, brother of Antiochus Epiphanes; 8. Laomedon of Mitylene, to whom Syria and Phœnicia had been intrusted; 9. Antigone; and, 10. His son Demetrius, who possessed those provinces—with the title of *kings*."*

The history, therefore, to which our author appeals, however it may throw light upon other portions of Daniel, (and we concede that it is the true interpretation of the *little horn* of Dan. viii, and xi,) utterly fails, as we believe, to answer the question regarding the fourth beast and little horn of chapter vii.

We must be permitted still to adhere to the opinion before expressed, that *the setting up of the kingdom of the Messiah is the great event* of these prophecies, from which we are to proceed in an inquiry into the details of them.

We regret that after having examined, as thoroughly as we are capable, several theories of interpretation of this subject, we have not as yet met with any that secures our confidence in any considerable degree. And after so great learning and abilities have been applied to the investigation of this subject without having secured a tolerable degree of unanimity of opinion, it may appear to some either vain or presumptuous in us to suggest another, and in some respects, so far as we know, new method of exposition. Still, however, we hope for a candid hearing from those who are not already committed to an opinion, in a few thoughts, which, if they were fully investigated, would, it seems to us, conduct us to the desired result.

Let the reader then recur to what has already been said respecting the events of these prophecies—first, that it was during the existence of the *fourth kingdom* that the "God of heaven" was to set up his kingdom; secondly, that it was in that particular period

* Clarke's Commentary on Dan. vii, 7.

of it, denoted by the dynasty of kings, which were symbolized by the "ten horns;" thirdly, that the stone was to strike the feet of the image at a time when *clay was mixed with iron;* and lastly, that the eleventh horn was to end the line of kings foretold by this prophecy—and he will concur with us, we think, in believing that the true exposition of this subject remains to be developed. It is said, ii, 44, "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up his kingdom." What kings, we ask? All will agree in the answer,—The kings of the fourth kingdom; for it was the symbol of this government that the prophet was now explaining, as may be seen by commencing to read at verse 40. This shows, by historical allusion, when the kingdom of God was to be established.

In verse 34 it is said, "Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces." But what is signified by the *mixture* of iron and clay? The answer is given in verse 43: "And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." This mixture of iron and clay was to denote the elements of dissolution. The *repugnancy* of these elements showed that the *iron age* of Rome had passed away when the "God of heaven set up his kingdom." It was during an incipient decay that the stone smote the image.

Let us now turn to the history of Rome, and ascertain, if we can, in what particular time we are to look for "these kings." None we think will pretend to say that the reference is to the line of kings immediately following Romulus, who laid the foundation of the empire, about seven hundred and fifty years before Christ. This line of kings ended with Tarquin the Proud, five hundred and nine years before Christ, which is obviously too early for "these kings."

With the death of that cruel tyrant terminated the first monarchical form of government at Rome. From this period we date the republican, or iron age of Rome. It will be perfectly apparent that the first kingly government of Rome was too nigh the "thighs of brass;" for the days of *these kings* were down in the feet of the image. The days of these kings, therefore, were subsequent to the period of Roman liberty, or it was during that condition of the empire denoted by the *clay* and *iron*. We are aware that historians date the decline of Rome at a period considerably later than the Christian era; but we must, notwithstanding, be permitted to think that clay was mixed with iron long before the days of Commodus. The very language of verse 44 shows that these days

began before the advent of Jesus Christ, for it was during *their days* that the God of heaven set up his kingdom.

With Augustus, the second Cesar, began the second kingly government of Rome. Now are we not authorized to say, that the general period in which we are to search for the setting up of this kingdom is that embracing the history of the Cesars? In the period of the first kings it could not be; it must therefore have been during the time of this latter monarchy, for besides these two there were no other.

We anticipate an objection that will be made by some, especially those who have embraced the opinions advanced by Bishop Newton, and others of the same school. It will be said that the *days of these kings* was the time of the *ten kingdoms*. What *ten kingdoms?* we beg to inquire. "Why, the ten kingdoms of Daniel." I answer, Daniel nowhere speaks of *ten* kingdoms. "But does he not say that the image had *ten* toes?" No, he does not. He does say it had toes; and the presumption is that it had ten, neither less nor more. "And does not this signify that the fourth kingdom would be divided into ten parts?" No; no more than because the image had two legs it was thereby signified that Rome was always two kingdoms; or because it had ten fingers, that Medo-Persia was, or should be, divided into ten principalities. The toes were merely a part of a *perfect image*, and therefore had no prophetical meaning, any more than the eyes, ears, nose, or fingers of the image. If, indeed, the division had been affirmed of the fact of its having *toes*, the inference in that case would have been plausible, that the number of the parts, when divided, would have been equal to the number of the toes. But the division is predicated of the *clay* and *iron*, and not of the toes, ver. 41.

Professor S., by making the little horn signify Antiochus Epiphanes, seems to us as wide of the true interpretation of this matter as those who make it represent the pope, who, by the by, did not arise until several hundred years after the advent of Jesus Christ. The time of the Syrian king is therefore too early, and the period of the Roman pontiff is too late, for the chronology of these "kings."

Our course of remark, it will be seen, is leading us on to a position, not only at issue with the author of the "Hints," but also with commentators in general. This, however, is not a matter of choice, but the result of honest conviction. And if this avowal of a logical necessity does not save us from criticism, we trust at least that it will screen us from censure.

Cherishing full confidence in the opinion before expressed, that the setting up of God's kingdom, and the rising of the ten horns,

are to be found in the same general chronological period, we shall pause here to look for the general historical detail of this prophecy.

"*The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth,... and the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise*," vii, 23, 24.

It seems unnecessary to enter upon lengthy argumentation, to show that the fourth beast symbolizes Rome, notwithstanding the professor has said, "All must concede that it is the divided Grecian dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great." That the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream represented *four* distinct kingdoms, has not, so far as we know, ever been questioned; nor can we see any sufficient grounds to conclude that the vision of the *four beasts* represents only three kingdoms; that is, as the professor is obliged to suppose, the third or Macedonian empire has two symbols in the same vision, while the other two have only one each. Nor can we imagine what object could be gained by this unequal representation.

Our author says, "For the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19–26, as all must concede, is the divided *Grecian* dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great. From this dynasty springs Antiochus, (ver. 24,) who is graphically described in ver. 25."—P. 83. We are a little at loss to understand this remark. Does Professor S. mean to be understood to say, that Antiochus arose in Macedonia or Greece proper? We suppose not; for certainly he did not, in the proper sense, succeed Cassander, who took this portion of Alexander's kingdom. Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria, and belonged to the dynasty founded by Seleucus, which is symbolized by one of the four heads of the leopard. The *leopard*, and not the "terrible beast," represented the dominion of Alexander; and the *four heads* signified the *four* kingdoms into which the one kingdom of the Macedonian should be broken. But the "*fourth beast* shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth," *and not the fourth part of the third empire.*

The conclusion, that this prophetic symbol points us to the Roman government, seems to us to be warranted, independent of the fact, that the general description of the fourth beast is inapplicable to any one branch of the Grecian dominion in its divided state, and to none more so perhaps than the dynasty of Syria, from which Antiochus sprang.

But if we reject the mode of interpretation adopted in the "Hints," what alternative is there but to adopt the principles of the Miller theory, and make the little horn symbolize the pope; and the *time, times, and a half time*, indicative of twelve hundred

and sixty years? We have before shown, in the progress of this investigation, that the *ten kings*, which were on the fourth kingdom, must synchronize with the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the earth.

The question then is, Are there facts which go to support a fulfilment of this prophecy, in connection with the advent of the Messiah, and the early history of Christianity?

I. Our Saviour was born and crucified during a kingly form of government in Rome. The first event occurred under Augustus, and the second during the reign of Tiberias Cesar. These facts would fulfil Dan. ii, 44.

II. Daniel saw ten horns on the beast; afterward there came up another, making in all eleven. The eleventh was a vile blasphemer against God, and persecutor of the saints of the Most High. The imperial government of Rome began with Augustus, the second Cesar,* from whom, to Domitian, the twelfth Cesar inclusive, are *eleven* kings. This fulfils Dan. vii, 24.

III. The character of the little horn is an exact portraiture of Domitian. "He shall speak *great* words against the Most High," are rendered by Symmachus, (Benson's Commentary, in loc.,) "he shall speak great words as the Most High;" that is, assert the attributes of the Deity. A historian says of Domitian, "Conceiving at last the mad idea of arrogating divine honors to himself, he assumed the titles of Lord God, and claimed to be the son of Minerva."† "He caused himself to be styled *God* and *Lord* in all the papers that were addressed to him."‡

"He shall wear out the saints of the Most High." The persecution of the Christians by this enemy of Christ was so cruel, bloody, and systematic, that it is designated as the second of the ten persecutions. It was Domitian who banished the apostle John to Patmos.

"And they shall be given into his (the little horn's) hand, until a time, and times, and a dividing of time;" or, as read in the margin, a *part* of a *time*. We perfectly agree with our author in his exegesis of the phrase, "time, times, and the dividing of time;" that is, "three and a half years and forty-two months—twelve hundred and sixty days." The question to be raised here is, Did Domitian persecute the Christians for three years and a half?

Mosheim, p. 32, says: "The flame broke out anew in the year 93 or 94, under Domitian, a prince little inferior to Nero in wickedness."

* Millman's Gibbon, vol. i, p. 41. † Anthon's Classical Dict., p. 453.
‡ Robbins, vol. ii, p. 22.

In a note upon this passage, (p. 58,) Mr. Murdock informs us that Toinard sets down this persecution as having commenced in the year 94, and Pagi in the year 93. Petavius sets down this persecution as having begun in the early part of the year 93,—his death as having happened on the 14th Kalend of October, vol. ii, pp. 382, 383.

Reckoning back from his death, which occurred Sept. 18th, A. D. 96, for "a time, times, and the dividing of time," or three and a half years, and you are brought to the early part of the year 93, the time at which Petavius dates the commencement of the second persecution. Here then would be a striking fulfilment of Dan. vii, 25. We cannot conjecture how our author would explain verse 26, upon the hypothesis that the "little horn" of this chapter is Antiochus Epiphanes. The judgment which was to sit was to take away *his* dominion, and utterly destroy it to the end. Now, whether you apply this to the *family* or *kingdom* of the Syrian monarch, in neither case would it be true, either that *his* family was superseded, or his empire broken up at the expiration of the period named; for Antiochus Epiphanes was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, and his government remained after his death, which happened B. C. 164, till B. C. 65, when it fell under the all-conquering power of Rome.

But the language in question has a most striking fulfilment in the history of Domitian. The days of the Cesars were days of ambition and intrigue for the purple. The favor of the soldiery would carry any man to the throne. It did carry Vespasian, a descendant of an obscure family at Reate, to the highest place of dignity and trust in Rome. The dynasty founded by him was destroyed in less than thirty years. The Flavian family, after giving three emperors to Rome, was expelled from the throne, and, after the death of Domitian, "the senate issued a decree that his name should be struck out of the Roman annals, and obliterated from every public monument." Thus was *his* dominion taken away, and consumed unto the end. If the emphasis be placed upon the pronoun *his*, and the subject seems to require it, then it was the *dynasty* represented by the "horn" that was to be destroyed, and not the civil kingdom that is prophetically indicated by the 26th verse. This is the more probable, as the death of the beast is distinctly foretold, verse 11; whereas verse 26 foretells what is to happen to one of the "kings that shall arise" out of the beast.

The facts now cited regarding Domitian are a very clear and striking fulfilment of those points in the prophecy, for the illustra-

tion of which they are brought forward. And we very confidently rely upon this mode of interpretation, having shown, as we believe, that the *fourth beast* is Rome, and not the Grecian dominion in its divided state.

Had the author of the "Hints" taken for his text the eighth chapter, verses 5, 8–12, his exegesis and historical illustration would have been just and conclusive; for verse 8 describes the Grecian dominion in its divided state, from the eastern dynasty of which springs Antiochus Epiphanes, who is graphically described in verses 9–12. But the interpretation which the professor has given these verses we cannot otherwise regard than as entirely erroneous.

The last portion of the "Hints" is a brief inquiry into the general purpose of the APOCALYPSE; but regarding certain details of which somewhat more than *hints* are set down concerning the exposition of several symbolical scenes and indications of time.

The paragraph which we are about to quote, obliges us to regard the pages which our author has devoted to the Apocalypse as a synopsis barely of his theory of interpretation of this, to general readers, obscure book. He says,—

"Here is perhaps more difficulty than in the interpretation of Daniel; but still we must travel in the same road as before, and see if we can find solutions which are satisfactory. This I apprehend may be done if we continue to regard only the simple principles of interpretation. But before we undertake to do this, I must beg the reader's attention to a few simple, yet very important, facts, in regard to the tenor and object of the Apocalypse. I cannot here discuss the topics which I am now about to suggest at length, nor attempt the vindication of my views by appeal to all the minute particulars which the book of Revelation exhibits, and which might serve to confirm them. This must be reserved for another work of a more copious nature than the present, and where a more ample discussion than the present would naturally find an appropriate place. I must, however, beg the reader's earnest attention to the following suggestions, and entreat him, at least, to examine and well consider them, before he decides against the views that may be proffered in the sequel."—Pp. 103, 104.

The "suggestions" are,—

"(1.) It lies upon the face of the Apocalypse, from beginning to end, *that it was written in the midst of a bitter and bloody persecution of the church.*"—P. 104.

"(2.) That *the things to come to pass* are those which are SHORTLY TO COME TO PASS."—P. 105.

These "suggestions" are, in our judgment, well sustained by Professor Stuart, and warrant the following general conclusion:—

"It would seem to follow from the positions thus laid down, that we are at liberty, or rather that we are obliged, if possible, to seek for a

fulfilment of the predictions in the main body of the Apocalypse, within a time which is not far distant from the period when the book was written. If such a fulfilment can be found as coincides with the periods named in the Apocalypse, then what good reason can be offered why we should reject it? Or rather: *Why are we not exegetically obliged to admit it?*"—P. 108.

Now as it regards the scope of the book of Revelation, and the principles by which it is to be interpreted, in the main we agree with the learned author of the "Hints." But so far as he has applied them to certain prophetical symbols, and illustrated the interpretation under them by historical allusions, we esteem him to have erred here not less than in his exegesis of Daniel. And if we have not misjudged of the import of the intimation given in the quotation from page 103, we cannot upon the whole but regard it as unfortunate that the details of this section of the "Hints" were not reserved "for another work of a more copious nature than the present, and where a more ample discussion would naturally find an appropriate place," as it will require more than mere *hints* to secure the universal belief of some of our author's hypotheses, whatever his book may have done to stay the progress of Millerism and Chiliasm.

We now specially refer to the assertion in the following sentence; the capitals and italicising are his own:—

"*The persecuting power of imperial Rome, and specially that power as exercised by* NERO, is beyond all reasonable question symbolized by the beast in question."*—P. 115.

Confident language this; but our author seems scarcely to have finished the sentence before his judgment misgives him respecting the truth of the second proposition in the statement; for he says, "*the particular reference to Nero* may not improbably be questioned; and, therefore, a few words in respect to this will not be out of place." That we may not seem to do injustice to our author, we shall quote the following passage, which contains the substance of the argument in support of his theory. Now if these "few words" are only specious and sophistical "words," the illustrations in the pages following will be of no great purpose to his argument, for, being irrelevant, their mere historical accuracy will not affect the true issue. The following is the passage *verbatim et literatim*:—

"To the beast is assigned *seven heads and ten horns*, Rev. xiii, 1. That the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors, (for both

* Revelation xiii, 1–10.

were called *βασιλεῖς* by the Greeks,) is certain from the explanation given in Rev. xvii, 10: 'the seven heads . . . . are seven kings.' But in the language of the Apocalyptist, the beast stands not only as a symbol of the *imperial power* of Rome, generically considered, but frequently for that power as exercised by some individual king or emperor, for example, Nero. Such is the usage in chapters xiii, xvii, and occasionally elsewhere. It is important to note this; for otherwise the reader may be easily misled. Whenever the *beast* is distinguished from the seven heads, it then is employed as a *generic* symbol of the imperial power; but when particular and specific actions or qualities of a personal and distinctive nature are predicated of the beast, it designates the imperial power as individually exercised, for example, by Nero. That Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse, seems to be quite plain from Rev. xvii, 10: 'Five [kings] are fallen; one is; the other has not yet come, but when he shall come, he will continue but a short time.' The *five fallen* are Julius Cesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Of course *Nero* is the sixth; and he is therefore the one *who now is*. Galba, who reigned but seven months, makes the seventh."—P. 115.

The history, criticism, and logic of these "few words" have equally surprised us. The proposition is, "*the persecuting power of imperial Rome, and specially that power as exercised by* NERO, is beyond all reasonable doubt symbolized by the beast." And how does our author prove it? Why, forsooth, by asserting "that the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors;" and the second proposition is sustained by the assertion that "both [emperors and kings] were called *βασιλεῖς* by the Greeks;" and this again is proved by an appeal to Rev. xvii, 10, which is quoted in the following manner, namely: "The seven heads . . . . are seven kings;" and the whole categora is confirmed by the historical fact "that Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse." Here, surely, is an array of evidence, before which those more modest than ourselves might reverently bow, but which, whatever imputation may fall upon us for our temerity, fails to make us a convert to the conclusion. We confess ourselves so fully grounded in our author's doctrine that "the origin and basis of all true hermaneutical science are the reason and common sense of men," that we are obliged to dissent from both the conclusion and the conclusiveness of the method by which he has arrived at it.

Admitting then, for the sake of testing the argument, that the Greeks did use the term *βασιλεῖς* to mean "emperors or kings" indifferently, does it follow that *θηριον* and *κεφαλὰς* are used synonymously with *βασιλεῖς*? Now if the professor had shown this, we should have yielded him our assent. Or if our author had

proved that *κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ seven heads* were identical with *κέρατα δέκα ten horns*, his *usus loquendi* might have been available for his argument; but as the matter now stands we cannot see its relevancy.

If we do not altogether misapprehend the Apocalyptist, he uses *θηρίον* (*beast*) to represent the civil power or government, whose history he prophetically delineates; and the *κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ* and the *κέρατα δέκα* to signify separate and distinct characteristics of the "beast." What these characteristics were historically, we are not now bound to show; it will be sufficient for our purpose to prove that the revelator, John, employs these expressions to represent different things. And if this can be clearly made out, we think it will avail little if anything at all for the professor to say "that the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors," however certain it may be that "both were called *βασιλεῖς* by the Greeks." But admitting the fact of the synonyme, it will not follow that he is authorized to so explain "Rev. xvii, [9 and] 10," as to make it mean seven regal persons, as he evidently intends his readers shall understand him when he says, "the five fallen are Julius Cesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Of course *Nero* is the sixth, and he is therefore the one *who now is*."

But what will our author do with the *δέκα κέρατα* of verse 12? for these are also *δέκα βασιλεῖς ten kings*. Are not these "kings or emperors," that is, regal persons? These added to the seven would make seventeen kings. Why has the Apocalyptist separated them into classes or dynasties? We think that this *hint* is founded upon misapprehension of the text, at least the true exegetical import of it.

We shall pause here for a moment in order that we may trace the symbolical history of *ἡ γυνὴ* xvii, 9, who is represented as sitting upon *αἱ ἑπτα κεφαλαὶ*, which, according to the showing of our author, are used synonymously with *βασιλεῖς ἑπτά*, verse 10. The first clear intimation which we have of this symbolical *personage* is in xiii, 1, and is called *ὄνομα βλασφημίας the name of blasphemy; ὄνομα* being used here in the sense not merely of appellation, but fame or renown, or a *characteristic*. In the progress of the Apocalyptic scene she appears in xvii, 1, *πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης, the great whore;* and in verse 3 as a mere *γυναῖκα woman*. But here she is brought to light in her original associations with the "beast," "seven heads," and "ten horns." In verse 4 you see her ornaments:—her filthiness and her idolatries. But in verse 5 you have her *ὄνομα*,—her characteristics, which are "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."

Now let the reader observe that the symbolical scene ends with verse 6, and thence forward to the end of the chapter is a prophetical explanation of the symbols, the last verse of which is in the following language :—"*And the* (γυνὴ) *woman which thou sawest is that* (πόλις ἡ μεγάλη) *great city which* (βασιλείαν) *reigneth over the* (βασιλέων τῆς γῆς) *kings of the earth.*" Can any one doubt that this is, or that it was intended by the angel to be, descriptive of Rome—not the *empire*, but the CITY of Rome? Let it also be noted by the reader that this vile *symbolical person* is represented, xvii, 1, as sitting upon "*many waters*," which is explained, verse 15, to be "peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues."

In xiii, 1, she is described as sitting upon the *heads* of the beast, which, xvii, 9, is explained to mean "*seven mountains.*" How our author could find seven *regal persons* in ὄρη εἰσιν ἑπτὰ, as is evident he does in the following paraphrase,—"the seven heads .... are seven kings,"—is more than we can conjecture. For let him render καί as he will, we cannot see how he can be justified in leaving out a material part of the explanation of the symbol as given by the angel to John, Rev. xvii, 9, 10. The whole sentence as it stands in the text is as follows :—Αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ, ὄρη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτά εἰσιν.

The freest translation that could be given to the text would not, it seems to us, bear such a construction as our author has put upon it: "*The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and* καί *they are seven kings.*" If the text were so rendered, we still incline to the opinion that it would not admit of his exegesis. That a *regal* aspect is given to the symbol we admit, but not differing in the sense in which it is ascribed to ἡ γυνὴ *the woman*, alias πόλις ἡ μεγάλη *the great city*, which βασιλείαν *reigneth* over the kings of the earth, xvii, 18.

It must be apparent that the *great city* can be said to reign over the kings of the earth only by a metonymy of speech, a use of words common in all languages. In the same manner *regal* influence is attributed to the *seven mountains* upon which the *woman* sitteth, not because they were "*kings* or *emperors*," but because they sustained the imperial city within whose pale was the seat of a government which βασιλείαν "reigneth over the kings of the earth."

We must now pass to notice one other point upon which great reliance seems to be placed for the support of this novel theory of exposition of the Apocalypse. It will be borne in mind by the reader, that, according to the opinion of our author, the *seven heads* are seven veritable "kings or emperors," and consequently

as "specific actions or qualities of a personal and distinctive nature are predicated of the beast," the *beast* is not now "a symbol of the *imperial power* of Rome, generically considered," but of "the imperial power as individually exercised, for example, by Nero."

So far as we have now examined the argument, all our author's rules and references seem intended to prepare the way for the following position, namely:—"That Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse, seems to be quite plain from Rev. xvii, 10, 'Five [kings] are fallen, and one is,'" &c.

Believing that the unsoundness of his exegesis has been sufficiently shown in our critique upon our author's exposition of the context, we shall pass at once to the question,—Did Nero hold and exercise imperial power at the time when the Apocalypse was written? The main point in this inquiry is historical, and we hold that it must be settled by evidence of a corresponding nature. But has the author of the "Hints" done this? He has done no such thing, although his theory, as a whole, hangs upon this very question. He has, to be sure, given us several pages of historical matter, portions of which prove that Nero did persecute the Christians for "the often-repeated and peculiar period of three and a half years." But how does this prove "that Nero was in the exercise of this [imperial] power when John wrote the Apocalypse?" For if the Apocalypse was not written until from twenty-five to thirty years after the death of Nero, it will not relieve the main question to show that many facts in the life of that infamous emperor are in correspondence with the delineations of the prophetic scene. When we first read this passage, it appeared so fundamental to the conclusion of the professor, that we naturally, as we now believe justly, expected some conclusive evidence of the truth of the doctrine which it asserts. But we have failed to find it in his book, nor indeed have we found it in any other book. There is as much evidence, so far as we know, that the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Claudius, as that it was written during the reign of Nero.

Mr. Horne says, "The unanimous voice of Christian antiquity attests that John was banished by the order of Domitian. Irenæus, Origen, and other early fathers, refer the apostle's exile to the latter part of Domitian's reign, and they concur in saying that he then received the revelations described in the Apocalypse." He adds: "It has been maintained, on the authority of the subscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, that St. John wrote it in the island of Patmos, in the reign of the emperor Nero, *before the destruction of Jerusalem.* This opinion is adopted by

Sir Isaac Newton: but it is untenable, for the Apocalypse was not translated into Syriac until the middle of the *sixth* century, and the anonymous subscription is of no force."

Now, as the chief evidence upon which our author has mainly relied is of an exegetical character to prove a purely historical proposition, and having shown that the exegesis itself is unwarranted, we think the assertion of the professor is more than balanced by the authorities quoted. Under these circumstances it will not be deemed incumbent upon us to discuss, at length, the historical issue regarding the time in which the Apocalypse was written. Until, therefore, it is conclusively shown that this famous portion of revelation was written during the reign of Nero, by creditable historical proof, we cannot embrace the theory advocated in the "Hints," the predictions of "soothsayers" and the "sibylline oracles" to the contrary notwithstanding.

There are other portions of the volume before us deserving particular notice; but as we have already extended this article beyond our first intention, and possibly beyond the convenience of the editor, we must now hasten to conclude our remarks upon it. Our strictures, it will be seen, have been made mostly upon the exposition of Daniel and the Apocalypse; for it is these portions of the book that we deem to embrace opinions not only erroneous in themselves, but decidedly hurtful to the cause of Biblical interpretation at least, so far as these portions of the Bible are involved, and they principally are concerned in the theory of exposition advocated by the author of the "Hints." The *style* in which this little book is written stands in no need of commendation from us, and to the philological and exegetical rules of interpretation laid down by our author we have made pretty full concessions; but from the historical conclusions arising from an application of them we do most conscientiously dissent, and must continue to do so until we have more conclusive evidence of their truth than is furnished in the "HINTS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY."

New-York, 1844.

ART. IV.—*The Huguenots: their Origin, Persecutions, and Progress in France;—their Settlement and History in America.*

IN the vast crowd of emigrants who came to this western world at an early period of its history, seeking an asylum from oppression and persecution, none had ever suffered the cruelties or endured the hardships that were inflicted upon the unfortunate Huguenots of France. For more than a century they had borne unheard-of miseries, under the operation of sanguinary laws and edicts, until at length they were forced to desert their fire-sides and their family altars. All Protestants were excluded from public offices, and even their rights as tradesmen and mechanics were abrogated. A Calvinist could not marry a Roman Catholic; and children not older than seven were invited to abjure the faith of their fathers. Chapels were razed to the ground—ministers tormented—schools abolished—property confiscated—and civil officers disfranchised. The rack and the wheel at last commenced their bloody work, and the Huguenots began to leave France for more quiet regions. Their well-known industry and skill made them welcome citizens in every Protestant country. No less than five hundred thousand thus escaped, and found welcome homes in Germany, Holland, and England. The prince of Orange gained whole regiments of soldiers from their numbers: one body reached the Cape of Good Hope: our American colonies received them with open arms: Massachusetts provided them with lands: some repaired to New-York about the year 1720: many of them settled the town of New-Rochelle, thus continuing the name of their own native city: a few located at New-Paltz in Ulster; others repaired to Virginia; but most to South Carolina, whose mild climate more resembled their own delightful Languedoc.

Before we enter, however, especially upon the introduction of the Huguenots into this country, it is proper to review some of the most prominent incidents of their European history.

That true light from above which shone forth in the sixteenth century, suddenly appeared among nations and people distantly separated from each other, in Germany, Switzerland, and France: all these lands received the divine rays from God. Zuingle, the great Swiss reformer, says, "I began to preach the gospel in the year of grace 1516, . . . when the name of Luther had never been heard among these countries. It was not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ—it was from God's word." Both were proclaiming the mighty doctrine once preached by Paul and his

brethren throughout Asia, Greece, and Italy, *justification by faith*; and the joyful sound soon spread over the plains of Saxony, and echoed through the lofty mountains of Switzerland. This doctrine was well calculated entirely to destroy the Pharisaic righteousness of Rome.

In France the Reformation originated on her own soil: its earliest seeds were germinated in the University of Paris, then a strong-hold of Romanized faith, and at the time the principal seat of European learning and Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The German universities themselves were colonies from those of the French capital, and their early statutes begin by lauding the *alma mater Parisiensis*. Among the people of Picardy and Dauphiny the first principles of the great work appeared, before they were manifest in any other country. This is the fact, if we regard dates; and the earliest honors of the Reformation belong to France, although this circumstance has been generally overlooked. Still Luther in zeal, knowledge, and success, was the master spirit of the age; and in its fullest sense he deserves the epithet of the *first* reformer.

Paris had caught the earliest beams of salvation, from which the ever-blessed Reformation was to come forth. Among the doctors of theology who then adorned the French metropolis was Lefevre; and while engaged in a task of collecting the legends of saints and martyrs, a ray of light from on high suddenly flashed into his mind, and abandoning his work, he cast away such foolish fables, and embraced the Holy Scriptures. The new impulse grew rapidly in his heart, and he soon communicated its divine truth to his classes in the university. Christ was preached within its walls; and this early teacher declared, "Our religion has only one foundation, one object, one head, Jesus Christ, blessed for ever: he hath trodden the wine-press alone. Let us not then take the name of Paul, of Apollos, or of Peter. The cross of Christ alone opens heaven, and shuts the gates of hell." He was born in 1455, at Etaples, a small town of Picardy: and Theodore Beza, speaking of him, remarks, that "it was he who boldly began the revival of the holy religion of Jesus Christ. As in ancient times the school of Socrates had the reputation of furnishing the best orators, so from the lecture-rooms of the doctor of Etaples went forth many of the best men of the age and of the church." Another Frenchman, who earnestly embraced the truth, was Farel, which he faithfully declared in his lectures before the faculty of theology at Paris. Briconnet, an illustrious prelate, who was bishop of Meaux, joined this little circle of pious and free spirits. Seeking instruction, Lefevre directed him to the Bible; and when he had read

the Scriptures, the simple doctrines of SALVATION filled him with joy, and he exclaimed, "Such is the sweetness of that heavenly manna, that it never cloys; the more we taste of it, the more we long for it."

Thus a new era opened in France, and the Reformation commenced its progress with the efforts of these earliest Christian warriors of the sixteenth century. It was not to be confined, however, to the university, or to be an affair of college life; but destined to have witnesses even in the king's court. The celebrated princess Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alencon, and sister to the reigning monarch, Francis the First, was soon a convert to the new faith, and dignified her profession by a pure, religious, and blameless life, amidst the dissolute and literary household of her royal brother. Her ruling passion was to do good; and she sought that peace and rest in the gospel which could not be found amidst the profligate and glittering society surrounding her. Margaret selected for her emblem the *marigold*, which, says Brantôme, the annalist of the court, "in its flower and leaf has the most resemblance to the sun, and, turning, follows its course." Her device was, *Non inferiora secutus*—I seek not things below—"signifying," continues our author, "that her actions, thoughts, purposes, and desires, were directed to that exalted Sun, namely, God,—wherever it was suspected that she had imbibed the religion of Luther."

From anticipations the most bright, the friends of reformed doctrines cheered themselves with the hope that the truth would spread freely, when a sudden and powerful opposition manifested itself. France was to signalize her history by three centuries of stern, bitter, and unholy persecutions against evangelical opinions. In no country have religious reformers met with more merciless opposers than in this kingdom. Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis the king and of Margaret, notorious for her licentiousness, naturally took side with those who opposed the word of God. Her favorite was Anthony Duprat, a vile and most avaricious character, who by her influence had been made chancelor of the realm; and he took orders with a view to obtain possession of the richest benefices. They were both devoted to the pope, and soon transferred to him the ecclesiastical supremacy of the nation.

The king concluded with Leo X. the memorable concordat, by which they divided between them the spoils of the church; and the supremacy of councils was also annulled and given to the pope. When Francis repaired to the cathedral of Bologna to ratify the infamous treaty, as if sensible of its iniquity, he whispered to one of the attendant courtiers, "There is enough in this to damn

us both." In consequence of these proceedings, and an increasing opposition, the leading reformers retired to Meaux, the residence of Briconnet, a town the first in France where regenerated Christianity found an asylum. The new doctrine made a deep impression upon the people, and the gospel was freely proclaimed in the churches.

Lefevre, in 1524, published a French translation of the New Testament, and the following year a French version of the Psalms. Many received the Scriptures from his hands, and read them in their families; and the word of God here, as in the countries beyond the Rhine, produced the happiest effects. The bishop of Meaux, through Margaret, sent to the king a translation of St. Paul's Epistles, richly illuminated, adding, "They will make a truly royal dish, of a fatness that never corrupts, and having a power to restore from all manner of sickness. The more we taste them the more we hunger after them, with desires that are ever fed and never cloyed."

The fires of persecution now began to rage more violently against this new sect. John Leclerc was the first martyr of the gospel in France. He was the pastor of the church at Meaux, and wrote a proclamation against antichrist of Rome, which enraged the priests, and made the Franciscans furious. The religion of Romanism is a different thing from the religion of God: the latter refers to the truth as he has given it for man's salvation; the former was devised by the priest, for his own advancement, and that of his church. No wonder then that a terrible example should be made on this occasion: the Romanists loudly demanded it. Leclerc was seized and whipped through the streets of the city three successive days, and then branded as a heretic with a heated iron on his forehead. But the martyr uttered not a groan, and he was again set at liberty. He then withdrew to Metz, where more awful sufferings awaited him; and again in the power of his enemies, they cut off his right hand, and tormenting him with red-hot irons, he was at last consumed by a slow fire. During all these horrid tortures his mind was kept in perfect fidelity and peace, and he ejaculated solemnly, "*O Israel, trust thou in the Lord; he is their help and their shield.*"

In the city of Nancy human blood also was shed, and the blow fell upon a faithful pastor, named Schuch. The confessor, before whom he was examined, cried out, "Heretic! Judas! devil!" but the prisoner, making no replies to these insults, held in his hand a little Bible, and meekly confessed Jesus Christ and him crucified! When called upon at the stake to recant, he refused, saying, "Thou

God hast called me, and thou wilt strengthen me to the end;" and he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm, which he continued to recite until the smoke and flames destroyed his voice. In the forest of Livry, three miles from Paris, lived a poor hermit, who had embraced the truth of revelation. Soon he became a faithful missionary to the cottages in all the neighboring districts, declaring that pardon which the Scriptures offered to the sinner, and infinitely more blessed than any priestly absolution. The new evangelist was seized, brought to judgment, and sentenced to be burned by a slow fire. To render the example the more striking, the victim was executed before the celebrated cathedral of Notre Dame, and there, bare-headed and with bare feet, thus degraded, he suffered his sentence, refusing to recant, by declaring that he was resolved to die in the faith of his Lord Jesus Christ! The Romish doctors, who stood foremost among the spectators, perceiving the effect which his Christian constancy excited upon the surrounding multitude, cried aloud, "He is a man foredoomed to the fires of hell."

These were among the first confessors of Jesus Christ, who suffered and died in France, and therefore demand the especial notice we have thus extended to their precious memory. But the cruel persecutors were not satisfied with the flames that had consumed Leclerc, Schuch, and the hermit of Livry; a system of terror now began over the whole of France. In vain, however, did the parliaments watch, and the monks invade churches, colleges, and even private abodes, to discover evidences of evangelical doctrines: vainly did the *gens d'armes* guard the highways to intercept the communications between the reformers: the glorious march of the Reformation was onward and sure. France had now been baptized with the blood of holy martyrs!

The scaffold, the rack, and the stake having been thus erected for the preachers of a pure gospel, many of those noble heralds sought refuge in Switzerland, and imparted a new impulse to the work, already spreading among the confederated cantons. How strikingly beautiful was this catholic character of the Reformation! The German preachers journeyed into Switzerland, and the French to Germany. Both had the same great object in view; with them there was one faith, one spirit, one Lord. A French church was established in the city of Basle, whose members had escaped from death and the persecutions at Lorraine. The presses in that town sent forth evangelical works into France, and among them Luther's *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*. These useful books were circulated through Burgundy and the adjacent districts by certain dealers, or *colporteurs*,—pious, but poor men, who went from

house to house selling their holy burdens. Such efforts were made as early as 1524 in Basle, and Bibles and tracts distributed by a class of humble, evangelical laborers, similar to those who are at this moment doing so much good among the peasantry of modern France.

In 1525 Francis First, the king of France, became the prisoner of the emperor of Naples at the battle of Pavia, and the kingdom was without a monarch. Amidst this great misfortune he comforted himself by repeating, "*Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur!*"—"All is lost except honour!" but Margaret, his pious and royal sister, to whom the event was most affecting, exclaimed, "*Fors Jesus seul, mon frere, fils de Dieu*"—"Save Jesus alone, my brother, Son of God!" This calamity, overwhelming the state in consternation, was charged, as were similar disasters in the earliest history of the church, upon the Christian sect, and fanatics demanded their blood to avert further misfortunes. Such were resolved to take advantage of the popular panic, for the extirpation of a power which had now become formidable to the Papacy. The parliament presented an address to the queen mother, in which they said, that "heresy has raised its head among us, and the king, by his neglecting to bring the heretics to the scaffold, has drawn down upon us the wrath of Heaven." Louisa accordingly wrote to the pope, and this pontiff, having failed to arrest the heresy in Switzerland and Germany, gave instant direction for the establishment of the infernal Inquisition in France, "the most Christian kingdom." A bull to this effect was dispatched to the parliament, which body issued its edict for the trial of persons "tainted with the Lutheran doctrine;" and, if found guilty, they were to be "condemned to the flames."

Briconnet, the bishop of Meaux, was the first elevated person who was accused and convicted. Monks, priests, and doctors, beset him to retract rather than suffer martyrdom—"in the name of religion, country, friends—nay, even of the Reformation itself—consent!" they entreated him. These sophisms unfortunately prevailed; and thus fell the earliest defender of the gospel in France, and by his recantation darkened the glory of a former fidelity. Lefevre was arrested next, but escaped to Strasburg, where he found safety among other refugees from his own country.

How different was the conduct of Martin Luther, the Augustine friar, from that of the bishop of Meaux! How disinterested and how noble! He ventured to preach against the sale of indulgences, a traffic which the voluptuous Pope Leo X. had authorized throughout all the Christian kingdoms. Luther's holy indignation was aroused by these absurd impieties, and he attacked the pope

with the heart of a lion, boldly denouncing him as the man of sin, or antichrist, predicted in the Apocalypse. The Papal throne began to tremble, and Leo, by a bull, condemned the tenets and the writings of the German reformer, and ordered his works to be burned. In return, the intrepid Luther burned the pope's bull, with his decretals, before an immense multitude, at Wittenberg, in 1520, and the Reformation began to make rapid progress. A bronze statue erected to his memory still stands on this very spot, where he kindled the fire which has never been extinguished.

In Saxony mass was soon universally abolished, idol images destroyed, convents shut up, and Luther himself took a nun for his wife. Notwithstanding all his persecutions, he was permitted to die a natural death, and in his last moments he sealed the truth of his doctrines with these remarkable words: "O my heavenly Father, though I must leave this body of clay and depart this life, I know for certain that I shall remain for ever with thee, and that nobody shall pluck me out of thy hand."

Switzerland also advanced in the path of religious reform; and the new doctrines were now approaching toward Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. In France the hallowed flame continued to spread, notwithstanding the frequent decrees of the parliament of Paris and the anathemas of the Vatican against Protestant preachers. John Calvin had now commenced his pious labors, and sent able ministers from Geneva to build up the infant Gallican Church. This intrepid French reformer was educated in the Church of Rome, but embracing the new doctrines, he separated from her communion, and fled to Switzerland in 1534, thus escaping the persecuting sword. He was called to the charge of the Protestant congregation at Geneva, and was the first who gave their doctrines a systematic form by his well-known *Institutes*. Calvin enforced his tenets there laid down by the establishment of synods, consistories, and deacons, which were also adopted by the reformers of France, and the Presbyterians of Scotland and England. "*Comburo* non consumor" was the device of their official seal, taken from the vision of Moses, when feeding his flock under the mount of God,—a bramble bush in a flaming fire, with JEHOVAH engraved on its centre, and the motto upon its circumference. What a sacred and beautiful emblem of their past and present condition!

The Bible was translated into French by Olivetan, an uncle of Calvin, and a minister in the Piedmont valleys, and it was read among their congregations and solemn assemblies. Clement Marot, a courtier of great genius, translated fifty of the Psalms also into metre; Beza the other hundred, and Lewis Gaudimel, a skil-

ful master, composed those simple and sweet tunes to which they are sung until this day.

These early Christians were then called Sacramentarians, and assembled for religious worship within the very walls of Paris; and the music of Marot's psalms was heard from the streets and lanes of the great city. In the midst of perils, opposition, and executions, the first national synod was called at the metropolis of the kingdom. This council published to the world their confession, which was entitled, "The Confession of Faith held and professed by the Reformed Churches of France, received and enacted by their first National Synod, celebrated in the city of Paris, and year of our Lord 1559." These churches embraced multitudes of exemplary members and of faithful martyrs, more so than any other Reformed churches in Europe. Beza presided over the national synod at Rochelle in 1571, when the reformers could count more than twenty-one hundred and fifty churches, many of them having over ten thousand members; most had two ministers, and some five. In 1581 their martyrs were computed to have numbered over two hundred thousand! Only twenty-seven years after the synod of Rochelle, in 1598, their flourishing churches had been reduced to seven hundred and six!

Against this rapidly-increasing sect of reformers, which had now received the appellation of Huguenots, Henry II. swore eternal vengeance; but the lance of Montgomery, at a fatal tournament, (1559,) quickly removed this scourge of the people of God from his throne and the world!

The epithet of Huguenot has been a subject of much discussion. When we read of the French Protestants under the names of heretics, Prétendus reformés, Calvinists, and occasionally only Protestants, each of these designations conveys its own meaning; but *Huguenot* is an obscure word, both in its etymology and the exact period when it was first generally applied.

Marshal Montluc, who took an active part in the religious wars of France, says, in his Commentaries, "They were so called, I know not why." Subsequent writers and critics have advanced the following, which are the principal versions:—

1. *Hugon's tower* at Tours, the place where the early Protestants secretly assembled for religious worship. D'Aubigné mentions this.

2. *Heghenen*, or *huguenen*, a Flemish word equivalent to Puritans, or καθαροι. The Albigenses were called Cathares for the same reason.

3. Verdier says, in his *Prosopographie*, "Les Huguenots ont

ete ainsi appelés de Jean Hus, duquel ils ont suivi la doctrine; comme qui dirait les *Guenons de Hus.*•

4. Coquille, *Dialogue sur les causes des misères de la France*, derives it from Hugues Capet, whose posterity was supported as belonging to the line of the Bourbon princes against the Guises.

5. The commencement of their petition to the cardinal of Lorraine—"*Huc nos* venimus, serenissime princeps."

6. *Heus quenaus*, which signifies, in the Swiss patois, a seditious people.

7. One *Hugues*, a Sacramentarian, is said to have originated this epithet.

8. *Huguenote* was the name of a common earthenware or iron stone, which derivation is not impossible, from the fact that so many early Huguenots perished in the flames. La Furetiere states, in his dictionary, that this utensil was so called because the Huguenots used it for dressing their meats secretly on fast days.

9. Benoit, in his "History of the Edict of Nantes," observes, that some supposed the term had originated from an incorrect pronunciation of the word *Gnostic*.

10. The most generally received etymology is traced to the word *Eignot*, derived from the German, *Eide-genossen*—federati, or *allied*. There was a party thus designated at Geneva; and the French very probably adopted a term which applied so well to themselves. Voltaire favors this opinion.

In the present essay we shall use the appellation of Huguenots, Calvinists, or reformers, as referring to the same body—the Protestant, evangelical party in France.

At this period (1561) Jane d'Albeet, queen of Navarre, became a zealous Huguenot. She was mother of the celebrated Henry IV. of France, and, with the Protestant nobility, encouraged the reformed clergy to preach in the open air, without the walls of Paris. Assemblies of thirty or forty thousand would thus congregate to hear divine truth, in a manner similar to modern field preaching. They divided themselves into three bodies, the women occupying the middle, surrounded by the men on foot, and these again encircled by others on horseback, while soldiers guarded the avenues to prevent disturbance during the sermon.

Pope Pius IV. then directed the politics of the Vatican, and excommunicated several prelates in France who had manifested tolerant feelings. He even cited the queen of Navarre to give an

• The Huguenots were thus called after John Huss, whose doctrine they followed: as much as to say, the she apes of Huss, (Guenon meaning a she ape.)

account of her faith, and in case of refusal the haughty pontiff declared her convicted of heresy, fallen from royalty, and deprived of her estates! So great was the indignation manifested on account of this rude attack on a crowned head, that the king of France had to interfere, and the pope was compelled to withdraw his bull.

Henry, the royal persecutor, had been taken away, and the Protestant party looked for some favorable change in their affairs; but their hopes were disappointed, for in the succeeding reign of Francis II. the religious disputes assumed a more serious aspect than ever, and open hostilities commenced from an event which occurred at the town of Vassy, in 1562. Here the Huguenots were engaged in prayer outside of the walls, agreeably to the king's edict, while the duke of Guise, the celebrated Popish leader, was passing by with a numerous escort. Some of his train having insulted the worshipers, both parties soon came to blows. Guise's men, sword in hand, fell upon the assembly, and a general massacre of the inhabitants ensued—the women, children, and aged persons being the first victims: two hundred were wounded, and sixty killed. Most Catholic writers treat this outrage with shameful indifference; but it was the occasion of a savage, bloody strife, which followed, called the second war, and was continued several years.

Orleans was taken by the Protestants, and Queen Elizabeth of England sent six thousand troops to their aid. Conde and Coligny commanded the Protestant armies, and the Triumvirs the Catholic, each ten thousand strong. Both parties committed fearful excesses, (1563,) too often emulating each other in cruelty and violence. Rouen was taken by storm, and pillaged by the duke of Guise; but the victory cost the king of Navarre his life, who was fatally wounded in one of the trenches; and a writer of the day says, that he died regretting his having embraced Romanism.

In these contests the Huguenots were led by the celebrated and brave Coligny and the prince of Conde, illustrious names in the early persecutions of which we are speaking. Coligny, in 1560, had presented to the king a petition from the Calvinists of Normandy for the free exercise of their faith. He was the first nobleman in France who ever boldly professed himself a Protestant and the patron of the Protestants. When the prince of Conde publicly embraced Christianity, many persons of rank followed his example; and in a short time audiences of fifty thousand might be seen assembled in the Faubourgs to hear evangelical preaching. Guise headed the Popish forces: he was a powerful adversary, and styled by the Parisian populace, the "defender of the faith."

France at this time presented a most melancholy picture. Towns were taken and retaken: when the Huguenots triumphed, they destroyed altars and images, and the Catholics in their turn burned all the Bibles they could seize. Such were the effects of fanaticism on both sides. To assert that the excesses were only committed by one party would be untrue, and that some of our race were allied to angels; but we hazard nothing in saying, that the reformed, in almost every instance, resorted to arms from motives of self-preservation. The most horrid brutalities were inflicted upon the Protestants: husbands and fathers were stabbed in the arms of their wives and daughters; and aged magistrates, who had been murdered, were dragged through the public streets, and thus insulted after death by a blood-thirsty populace. Guise was assassinated (1563) in his camp, by a fanatic named Poltrot, who declared before his execution that he committed the act solely by divine inspiration. The duke regretted on his death-bed the massacre of Vassy, and his dying advice to the queen mother was in favor of tolerant measures. Catharine was evidently so disposed herself, and seized this favorable opportunity for a general reconciliation among her distracted subjects. Guise's death, too, put an end to the Triumvirate, a detestable league formed by himself and a few others early in her reign to exterminate the heretics, and her authority became again supreme. Peace was once more restored, and intestine commotions in France for a time ceased, although Calvin and Beza, with other ministers, reproached Conde for conceding too much to their enemies. This prince, now surrounded by the snares of the artful Catharine, was highly honored at her voluptuous court, and he thus became an easy prey to her intrigues. In like manner were the Huguenot noblesse beguiled, the queen hoping to lull them into security, and thus the more easily prepare them for her secret and perfidious designs.

Notwithstanding all these professions of the French court, the liberties of the Protestants, secured by various edicts, were constantly infringed. Twice was the life of Coligny secretly attempted, but providentially preserved; and both parties, before long, again displayed the banners of war, which, as usual, was terminated by the enactment of some new treaty.

Among these last contests the battles of St. Denis and of Jarnac stand foremost. In the former the combat was most unequal, for the royal army numbered over twenty thousand infantry, while the confederates had only two thousand and seven hundred. The field and spoils remained to the Catholics, but they lost many of their valuable officers, with Montmorency the constable, their general.

In the long military career of this brave but bigoted leader, the victory which cost him his life was the only one he gained. Whether at home, on horseback, or in the midst of the troops, he would repeat his pater-nosters; and while thus engaged, as the occasion demanded, he would command, "Go hang up such a one; run him through with the pikes this instant; cut in pieces those vagabonds who wished to hold out that church against the king; burn me that village," and such like sentences of blind devotion and of war. Hence originated the saying, *Take care of the constable's pater-nosters.*

No less unfortunate to the Huguenots was the hard-fought battle of Jarnac on the 13th of March, 1569, in which their forces, consisting of six or seven thousand men, contended with an army four times as strong. During the fight, Conde, the Protestant general, displayed remarkable courage. Twice wounded, he continued to command, crippled as he was, until his horse fell under him, when he was removed to a neighboring hedge, and shot through the head by a captain of the duke of Anjou's guards, who was passing by at the time. His body was borne by an ass through the Catholic army, as an object of derision to many who before had trembled at the mention of his name. Such was the end of Louis of Bourbon, prince of Conde, a distinguished, brave, and skilful leader of the reformers. His mother, the queen of Navarre, even sold her rings and jewelry to aid the Protestants in these struggles. She caused the New Testament to be translated and printed at Rochelle; and, abolishing Popery, established the reformed faith in her dominions.

Pope Pius V. had now assumed the pontificate, and very soon interfered in Gallican affairs. He directed the queen mother to dismiss heretics from her councils; and nullified the royal edict which tolerated the reformers in their religious services out of cities. France became the theatre of his most persevering, and eventually his most sanguinary operations. Having anathematized Cardinal Odet de Coligny, bishop of Beauvais, and brother of the admiral, as a heretic, he was deposed, on account of marriage, which an apostle declares honorable to all.* He promulgated the celebrated and infamous bull, *In Cœna Domini*, which is probably

* The Abbe de Choicy, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives the names and titles of six more bishops who were also deposed. An illustrious band! their names deserve to be preserved—Jean de St. Chamand, archbishop of Aix; Montluc, bishop of Valence; Carricioli, bishop of Troyes; Louis d'Albret, bishop of Lescar; Barbanson, bishop of Parniers; and Charles Guillart, bishop of Chartres.

the boldest invasion upon the rights of Christian sovereigns ever issued from the Vatican, and stands unrepealed to this day.

The pontiff exulted greatly upon the defeat of the Huguenots at Jarnac, and has left seven letters written on the occasion, which remain terrible monuments of his unholy zeal. In the first, to the king, "his very dear son in Christ," he tells him, that he gave thanks to God for his great mercy upon the defeat of the heretics, and the death of their chief. To the queen mother he reiterates, in another, that "the anger of God can only be appeased by just vengeance for the insults offered to him;" and recommends that his enemies should be "*massacred*,"* and "totally *exterminated*."† He addresses the duke of Anjou, the victorious leader of the battle, and the cardinal de Lorraine, in the same strains of revenge and hatred. No note or comment is here necessary. The holy father did still more on this joyful occasion,—a medal having been struck, representing him uncrowned and kneeling, returning thanksgiving to Heaven for the triumph. Twelve standards of the vanquished were sent to him by the king, and were suspended in St. Peters, at Rome.

No pontiff, unless perhaps we except Innocent III., his predecessor, ever caused the Protestant world so much sorrow as Saint Pius V. The Inquisition was literally his nursery and school, and his exertions were unbounded and unwearied against Christianity, which he esteemed heresy.

Coligny, with his customary foresight, feared the treachery and duplicity of the imperial court; and hence, with an invention fruitful in resources, he determined, about this period, to secure for his persecuted friends a place of refuge in case of need. He did not think it sufficient that Rochelle and other towns in the hands of the Huguenots were well fortified, but looked to this new world for safety and a home. In 1555 he attempted a settlement at Brazil, with some French Protestants of Geneva, joined by others from Paris and Lyons; and the next year fourteen missionaries were sent from that town to plant the Christian faith in those distant regions of America. They were received at first with great joy. A congregation was soon formed; but through the perfidious conduct of the chevalier de Villegagnon, who led the expedition, the pious enterprise failed. The few emigrants who remained were massacred in 1558 by the Portuguese.‡

To Florida next, as the whole region of North America was then called, he directed his attention, and dispatched two ships, under the

* Ad internecionem. † Delitis omnibus. ‡ Hakluyt's Voyages.

command of John Ribault, a bold sailor and a Protestant, who was accompanied by some of the young nobility, and a body of veteran troops. In the month of May, 1562, the squadron reached our shores, and the emigrants landed probably about where Charleston, South Carolina, now stands, the precise spot being, at this day, a subject of doubt. Erecting the standard of France, they built a fort on a fertile island, naming it Charles, in honor of Charles IX., who had just ascended the throne. Their harbor they called Port Royale. Ribault left twenty-six of his party under the command of one Captain Albert, and returned home for supplies. The adieu, which we gather from an old chronicle, is touching, from its very simplicity:—"Having ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaves of *each* of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the forte by the name of Charles, and the river by the name Chenonceau. Wee hoysed our sales about ten of the clocke in the morning. After wee were ready to depart, Captain Ribault commanded to shoote off our ordinance, to give a farewell unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, wee sayled toward the north."*

In the mean time civil war had been kindled afresh all over the kingdom, under the auspices of that incarnate devil, Catharine, the queen mother, and the admiral was unable to send out the promised reinforcements and aid to the little settlement at La Caróline.

The situation of the colonists became precarious. On one occasion their fort, dwellings, and granary were all destroyed by fire at midnight; and more than once famine threatened them with its horrors. Albert was killed, while hunting, by Lachane, one of his soldiers, whom he had banished to a neighboring desolate island for some trivial offense, and his violent death appears to have been produced by his own cruelties and oppression. Nicholas Barré was chosen as his successor, who restored harmony among all parties. But they lost hope, and now resolved to return home in a "small pinnesse," constructed with their own hands. But how could they provide sails and tackle? Hear the chronicle, to which we have before referred:—"That good God which never forsaketh the afflicted did succor them in their necessities." Two of the neighboring Cassique Indians brought them cordage; the pine trees furnished rosin, and others moss, to caulk their vessel. "There

* "A Notable Historie, containing four Voyages made by certaine French Captaines into *Florida*, by Monsieur Laudonniere." This is now a very scarce work, and is to be found in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. I copy from the London edition, printed in 1600.

now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes."

Thus provided, the adventurers put to sea in their frail bark, and for three weeks only sailed five and twenty leagues. Provisions failing them altogether, they were forced to consume their shoes and leathern jackets. When these also gave out, and starvation in its most awful forms stared them in the face, Lachane, who had destroyed himself by his own hand, became the victim for the support of his famishing comrades. By this painful and horrid self-sacrifice of a brave man, the party was supported until a small English bark boarded and relieved them. The most feeble were landed upon the coast of France, and the others conveyed to the queen of England, who received them with great hospitality. Thus ended the first attempt of the Huguenots to settle a Christian colony in North America, a century before it was occupied by the English.

Coligny, undismayed by these disasters, dispatched three ships the following year on a second voyage to Florida. Rene Laudonniere, who had served under Ribault in the former, and a man of great intelligence, was appointed commander of this expedition. In 1564 the fleet reached their destination, and although the place of former settlement was discovered, it was now avoided, and the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and crowned a monument, bearing the arms of France, with laurel, and encircled its base with a basket of corn. Patriotism and religion doubtless prompted the voyage; still mutinies were frequent among the emigrants, and some were even guilty of piracy against the Spanish, who had also occupied the coast. Famine again threatened the adventurers: the confidence of the natives too was lessened, and the party, when just on the eve of re-embarking for France, descried strange sails, which proved those of Ribault, who had now arrived with powerfnl reinforcements of supplies and men.

The Huguenots were not permitted, however, long to retain quiet possession of their newly-discovered abode. That proud and bigoted Romanist, Philip II., could not brook the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the vicinity of his American provinces; and he ordered Pedro Melendez, long accustomed to scenes of blood in the wars against the Protestants of Holland, to Florida, with a large force of soldiers, priests, and Jesuits. His name and objects having been demanded upon his arrival, "I am Melendez of Spain," was the reply, "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare: every heretic shall die." A dreadful scene

of carnage ensued. Nearly two hundred persons—including children, the aged, and the sick—were butchered on the spot. Ribault and some others escaped to sea, when their whole fleet was driven ashore near St. Augustine, in a gale, when nine hundred more were murdered, not as "Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The French court beheld these horrid atrocities with apathy; but the Huguenots did not share in the same feelings of indifference. Dominic de Gourgues, a soldier of Gascony, to revenge the wrongs of his countrymen, fitted out an armament against the Spanish forts in Florida. Two of these, occupied by eight hundred men, he surprised, when he hastily returned to Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, placing over them this inscription: "I do not thus as unto Spaniards, or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." And here terminated the earliest efforts of these persecuted Protestants to find an asylum in this western world. What seas of blood might have been saved under Charles IX. and Louis XIV., if these bigoted monarchs had encouraged and protected these distant retreats for their persecuted subjects! Here myriads would have flocked; and, like the ancient Israelites, have left their own lands for the wilderness, where they could, unmolested, worship the almighty God, the supreme Sovereign of all.

To follow our subject in the natural order of history, Charles IX., an apt son of the crafty and intriguing Catharine de Medici, had now attained his majority, and was on the throne. With his mother, he entertained the most bitter enmity toward the Huguenots. She was the actual mistress and ruler of the kingdom; an Italian not more in lineage than in her subtilty and cunning. Unrestrained either by religion or humanity, she resolved to strike a bold and decisive blow against her Protestant subjects. Open violence had not succeeded: she now resorted to treachery and deceit.

By the peace and treaty concluded at St. Germains in August, 1570, their rights had been greatly restored; their confiscated property returned, and the exercise of their religion permitted in the suburbs of two towns in each province. To secure the faithful observance of the treaty, the Protestants were allowed to hold Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, which places, on oath, they were to surrender at the end of two years.

Every effort was made to allay the suspicions of the Huguenot nobility. Coligny, the chief of their association, or, as he was generally styled in his day, the "Admiral of Chatillon," was invited to court, and Charles, the king, consulted him upon all affairs of state, and the management of the Belgic war. To his counsel

and influence also especially were committed the two young Protestant princes of the blood, Henry, king of Navarre, and his cousin, the prince of Conde. And to consummate, as it was pretended, the reconciliation of the two religions, the court proposed a marriage between Charles's sister Margaret and Henry, the young king.

The queen of Navarre left Rochelle, where she had been usefully superintending the schools which had been established there, and reached Blois, then the residence of the court. She reluctantly consented that the nuptials should take place at Paris, and the articles were accordingly drawn up and signed. This excellent royal and Christian lady, however, did not live to witness the sorrowful scenes of that occasion, for she suddenly died, and the cause of her death remains a mystery to this day. An opinion prevailed at the time that she was poisoned by gloves presented to her, which was not at all surprising, such was the vice and depravity of that period. Perefixe himself, the archbishop of Paris, declares that there never was a more corrupt court. "Impiety, atheism, necromancy, most horrible pollutions, black cowardice, perfidy, poisonings, and assassinations," reigned there. This sudden and melancholy event alarmed many, and caused some Protestants of rank to retire from the capital, and among them the baron de Rosny, father of the illustrious Sully, who had several times declared of the marriage, "If it takes place in Paris, the wedding favors will be crimson."

Invitations to the royal nuptials were sent to the most distinguished Huguenot lords and gentlemen throughout France. Unsuspicious of danger, and especially upon such a joyful occasion, they flocked to Paris, so that by the middle of August the capital had collected within its walls most of the leading Protestants of the kingdom. On the 18th day of that month the ceremony was celebrated on a platform before the church of Notre Dame, and in the presence of a royal and splendid company from both religious parties. During the four succeeding days all Paris was occupied with fetes, ballets, and other gayeties.

Coligny, while returning from an interview with the king, on the 22d, was suddenly fired upon, and severely wounded, by one Maurevel, well known then as the *king's assassin.*

Up to this time there is reason to believe that Charles had not been informed of his mother's plan to assassinate the admiral, as he forthwith visited the old man, and swore that he would be avenged on the bold ruffian with a "vengeance never to be effaced from the memory of man." Catharine, however, sanguinary and

bent upon her purposes of destruction, soon turned these royal professions of friendship into a hatred bitter as gall, until the perfidious monarch with an oath declared—"The death of the admiral, the destruction of the whole party within the bounds of France!" The names of the Protestants were now secretly taken down, and white crosses marked upon the doors of their devoted dwellings, as the awful hour of destruction and of death approached. It finally came; and the signal for the murderers to fall upon their victims was the great clock of the Palace of Justice. As the bell pealed forth its solemn sounds, usually for public rejoicings, but now at the silent and unusual hour before daybreak, the work of slaughter commenced. It was Sunday morning, August 24, 1572. The veteran Coligny had the immortal honor of becoming the first martyr to the holy cause. Having been informed of his danger, he said, "I never was afraid of death, as I have long since prepared myself for it. I bless God I shall *die in the Lord*, through whose grace I am elected to a hope of everlasting life. I now need no longer any help of man. . . . The *presence of God*, to whose goodness I recommend my soul, which will presently fly out of my body, is abundantly sufficient for me." A band of ruffians rushed into his chamber, while the young duke of Guise, to whom was committed the foul business, waited at the door. A sword was next driven through his body by a German wretch named Besme; his remains thrown out of the window; his head cut off and presented to Catharine, and the mangled corpse of the admiral, dragged three days through the streets, was at last hung on a public gibbet at Montfaucon. His head was afterward embalmed, and sent to the pope and the cardinal de Lorraine. Other bells answered that of St. Germain, and from this moment the destruction became universal and indiscriminate. Persons of both sexes and of all ages alike fell victims to the unpitying rage of the cruel multitude. O God, who can describe the scenes—the horrors of that fatal night! Paris resounded with cries and lamentations which brought the defenseless people from their dwellings, and rendered them an easier prey to the spoilers. The worst passions of the human soul were let loose, and the universal cry was, Blood! blood! blood! Escape was next to impossible, from the patroles who traversed the streets in every direction, killing all they met with. Priests even ran about the city, each with a crucifix in one hand and a dagger in the other, encouraging the mob, in God's name, to spare neither relatives nor friends. Mingled cries of distress filled the air—with awful sounds of firearms—the red flare of lights momentarily illuminating the surrounding darkness; the Catholic citizens, soldiers, and nobles,

with linen bands on their hats, fastened cross-shaped, the symbol of safety, and brandishing the weapon of slaughter with the right hand, the other carrying a torch—and all pursuing the flying, innocent crowds of Huguenots of both sexes, presented a thrilling scene in that awful drama that no pen can describe. Amidst these piteable cries of murdered men, women, and children, and the furious zeal and imprecations of the murderers themselves, might be seen the stern and sanguinary Marshal Tavannes, crying, "Bleed! bleed! Bleeding is as healthy in August as in the month of May!" Not a single Huguenot did he wish to leave alive in Paris: to use his own words again, he wanted "a cleansed and purified sabbath." Guise, Montpensier, and Angouleme also rode through the streets, encouraging the murderers, the former telling them that it was necessary to kill the very last of the heretics, and crush the race of vipers. These cruel exhortations produced their effect. One Crucé, a goldsmith, boasted that he had killed, with his own hands, four hundred persons.

When the day dawned, the capital exhibited the most appalling spectacle of butchered citizens and their guests. The bodies of murdered men and women, of children and of infants, were thrown into the river, and its waters reddened with human blood. At five o'clock in the afternoon the carnage was stayed by the royal mandate. Over two thousand had already fallen, and the king, with his court and Catharine, promenaded in the night to view the mangled remains of his unfortunate subjects. Among the victims was La Rochefoucault, in whose gay society Charles professed to find great pleasure at all times.

Early on the following morning the populace renewed their butcheries, and continued them during the whole week. The popular phrensy was heightened by public announcement of a pretended and wonderful miracle. A white thorn was exhibited in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, which had put forth blossoms out of season; and this was pronounced as a certain evidence of the divine approbation. Drums were beaten for the people to come and behold the prodigy, which was said to be the symbol of the downfall of Protestantism, and the future glory of the kingdom.

On the 26th the king, with a numerous suite, early attended mass, and returned thanks to God for so happy an event, and its successful termination.

News of what was going on in the capital soon reached the provinces, where the mob, secretly instigated by royal couriers, committed similar excesses of spoilation and bloodshed. They were prosecuted with brutal fury at Meaux, Orleans, Rouen, Angers,

Bordeaux, and Bourges, but most inhumanly at Lyons, where the Guises had a strong party, and Mandelot was governor. Here, when the common executioner and the guard of the citadel nobly refused to slaughter the unresisting prisoners, the militia performed the foul work, putting to death eight hundred of their fellow-citizens;—altogether four thousand were killed on that day! De Thou, a Popish historian, calculates that thirty thousand perished in this terrible convulsion: another estimates one hundred thousand. In Paris alone they amounted to ten thousand; and among the number five hundred Huguenot lords, knights, military officers, with twelve thousand gentlemen!

The king, when he announced to the parliament that he had ordered the massacre, falsely said that the deed was perpetrated to prevent a conspiracy by Coligny and the Huguenots against himself and the royal family. His last ferocious act on the bloody occasion was a mock trial against the butchered admiral and his friends in the pretended conspiracy. Coligny was condemned as a traitor to perpetual infamy; his property confiscated; his name suppressed; and his armorial bearings were dragged at the tail of a horse through every town where they had been set up, and then broken in pieces by the common executioner. His residence at Châtillon was razed to the earth, no building ever again to be erected on the spot. The trees were to be cut down to half their natural growth; the glebe sown with salt, and a column erected with this severe decree engraven in brass upon it. His children were also proscribed, and declared incapable of giving testimony in the courts, or of holding any public office within the limits of France for ever.

This massacre, which was perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1572, a year most aptly designated as "infamous" by Lord Clarendon, may be pronounced the foulest and bloodiest of ancient or of modern times. The black deed has handed down the names of Catharine de Medicis and her son Charles IX. to the universal detestation of after ages.

All the princes of Europe except two, Philip II., king of Spain, and the pope, expressed their indignation upon the awful and revolting occasion. When the news of this inhuman sacrifice reached Rome, there was great joy at the Papal see, in opposition to those Romish writers who assert that their church had nothing to do with the massacre. Charles, by a public edict, proclaimed himself the author of it, pretending that he was forced to the measure by the admiral and his friends. High mass was also performed by the pope; salvoes of artillery thundered from the ramparts of St. An-

gelo; a *Te Deum* was sung to celebrate the atrocious event, and a medal was struck for the same purpose.

If every Protestant account of this terrible transaction must encounter suspicion, we ourselves will be satisfied with the testimony of this medal alone of Gregory XIII., at that time the pope;—evidence that scatters to the winds of heaven all the excuses and attempted apologies for those who perpetrated the St. Bartholomew massacre.

The medal has, as usual, on the obverse, a head of the pope, GREGORIUS XIII PONT: MAX AN. 1. The reverse exhibits a destroying angel, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, pursuing and slaying a flying and prostrate band of heretics. Strange work for an angel! The legend is UGONOTTORUM STAGES. 1572.

Bonanni, himself a Jesuit and an erudite commentator upon this medal, states, that the pontiff "gave orders for a painting, descriptive of the slaughter of the admiral and his companions, to be made in the hall of the Vatican, by Giorgio Vasari, as a monument of vindicated religion, and a trophy of exterminated heresy. But that the slaughter was not executed without the help of God and the divine counsel, Gregory inculcated in a medal struck on the occasion, in which an angel, armed with a sword and a cross, attacks the rebels, a representation by which he recalls to mind that the houses of the heretics were signed with a white cross, in order that the king's soldiers might know them from the rest, as likewise they themselves wore a white cross on their hats."

This is not one quarter of what the rather incautious Jesuit writes upon the subject; and to question his evidences, the apologists of the Vatican must subject him to the imputation of fabricating a falsehood, to the discredit of the holy, apostolic, Roman Catholic Church!

Of all the distinguished Protestant leaders, the prince of Navarre and the young duke of Conde were spared from destruction, and on condition of abjuring their faith. The "*mass, death or the Bastile,*" was the only alternative. By a feigned conversion they adopted the former, but abjured it afterward as compulsory, and lived to revenge the dreadful destruction of their friends. A fourth civil war soon became inevitable, and an army of eighteen thousand Protestants was mustered, who were enabled to keep possession of Rochelle, besides many smaller places, which had been attacked by the royal forces under the duke of Anjou, with a loss of twenty thousand of his men. (1573.) Navarre's men observed the forms of religion in the camp and on the fields of battle. Be-

fore the contest at Courtiss, in 1587, they all sung the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm, and knelt down with their minister, D'Amour, who offered prayers for divine help, the whole army at the same moment uniting in these solemn devotions. In less than one hour the brilliant forces of the Catholics, glittering in plume and gold, were entirely routed, with a loss of three thousand, and among them the duke of Joyeuse, their general, and a royal favorite. Not more than two hundred fell in the Huguenot ranks; and the splendor of the victory was increased by the clemency of the king of Navarre, who set at liberty his prisoners, and to some returned their arms and standards.

Soon after this engagement, the brave and generous prince of Conde died, under the strongest suspicion of having been poisoned in the bosom of his family. When the cardinal of Bourbon, however, told the reigning monarch of the event, he said, "For my part, I think his death is to be attributed to nothing but the thunderbolt of excommunication that has fallen upon him." Navarre and the prince had both been condemned by a bull of Sixtus V., as incorrigible heretics, and belonging to the detestable Bourbon race, who had forfeited all right to the crown of France. The insulted princes protested against the bull, appealing to the peers of France, and declared Sixtus, *soi-disant* pope, to be a liar and antichrist, which was publicly posted in the streets of Rome, the dwellings of the cardinals, and upon the very doors of the Vatican.

The war at this period has always been styled, "The war of the three Henrys." Henry of Valois headed the party which maintained the royal authority. Henry of Guise led the Catholics and the leaguers. Henry of Navarre commanded the Huguenots. This contest was the eighth which had originated from nonconformity in religious matters. In the mean time Charles IX. closed his mortal, wicked career, exhibiting a shocking spectacle of wretchedness and remorse, and a warning to monarchs who may incline to bigotry, oppression, and cruelty. "My God, pardon me! be merciful! where will this end! I am lost,—lost for ever!" were among his dying expressions.

Catharine, twelve years afterward, followed him to the grave. On her death-bed she is said to have impressed upon the mind of Henry, the reigning monarch, that he never could have peace unless he granted liberty of conscience to his subjects. Others declare that, like Tavannes, remorse never touched her soul, so wrapped up were both in the infallibility of the church on earth. It is a well-known historical fact, that the very Parisians, whose blood she had caused to flow in torrents, when they heard of her death,

declared, that if her body came there on its way to St. Denis, they would drag it through the streets, and throw it into the river, as they believed that she was concerned in the death of the duke and the cardinal of Guise.

Such was the end of the proud, persecuting daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis, the wife of Henry II., and mother of Francis II., of Charles IX., and Henry III., all monarchs of France, in whose reigns she bore so conspicuous a part. How humbled now! She had erected a splendid mausoleum for herself and family; but she was carried, by torch light, to a hastily-dug grave in the corner of the church at Blois.

Henry III. does not appear to have been quite good Catholic enough for the Jesuits, and he was assassinated in 1589 by Jaques Clement, a monk, who had prepared himself for the bloody deed by fasting, prayers, and the sacraments. The king, however, received extreme unction, and expired repeating the *Miserere*. The royal murderer, who possibly expected either a martyr's crown or a bishopric, was dispatched immediately in the presence of the dying monarch by some of his attendants.

Paris was now in the hands of the Leaguers, with Mayenne at their head; and Henry of Navarre laid siege to the capital, resolving to conquer it by famine. Thirteen thousand died from lingering agony; and such were the horrors of starvation, that charnel-houses were robbed of their dead to sustain the living. He finally yielded to compassion, and permitted his soldiers to sell food to the besieged; and it is thought, for want of means to carry it on, he gave up the siege. Henry was not only fighting for the reformed religion, but also for the crown in right of his succession.

He soon ascended the throne, and Henry IV. was the first of the house of Bourbon to receive the regal honor, in 1594. He was surnamed the Great. This excellent prince endeavored to promote the happiness and peace of his people, and passed the celebrated Edict of Nantes, in 1598, which gave to the Huguenots the most ample toleration. This important edict, so often referred to, contained the ninety-two articles, besides fifty secret ones, and gave them the free exercise of their faith, the quiet enjoyment of their estates, admission to all offices of profit and honor; but the public exercises of religion were limited to certain parts of the realm. France, under the reign of this monarch, exhibited a picture of splendor and happiness, and a third part of his subjects at least embraced the reformed religion.

The churches were supplied with able pastors from Geneva; a

new translation of the Bible, books, catechisms, and hymns; and their universities were adorned by learned and pious professors. The Calvinists, in the excess of their zeal, even endeavored to abolish the monasteries, and determined to force their inmates once more into the world. This inconsiderate step was resisted, and the nuns petitioned that their convents might remain undisturbed, and be converted into hospitals for the relief of the sick and the dying. Such a generous request was promptly granted; and, assuming the dress of *Sœues de la Charité*, their vast Ursuline convent was soon filled with objects for their commiseration and attention.

Great exertions were made to alienate the mind of the king, who had again embraced the Romish faith, from his Protestant subjects; but he, well knowing their worth and loyalty, continued to protect them during his reign. Hated still by the Popish clergy, but worthy to be immortalized, Henry IV. was assassinated in the streets of Paris by a fanatical monk, (Ravaillac,) in 1610. For two centuries the Jesuits have been suspected as the instigators of this foul act, which order, previously banished, the king had re-established in the kingdom. The incorruptible Sully, in the council, opposed their recall, but withdrew his opposition upon the pledge of the royal word, that no influence of the Jesuits should induce him to war against the Huguenots.

From this state of high prosperity, the kingdom sunk upon the death of Henry into weakness and disorder. Mary of Medici acted as regent in the minority of her son, Louis XIII. She was a weak woman, invaded the rights of the people, and revived the attacks against the reformers. Another civil war followed; and alienated by new oppressions, and now numbering over two millions, they endeavored to establish an independent state, of which Rochelle was to be the capital. The ambitious cardinal Richelieu, at this time prime minister, united with the Jesuits against the liberties enjoyed by the Protestants, while the Edict of Nantes was disregarded in many of its provisions. Rochelle, that strong-hold of the Calvinists, was attacked by the cardinal in person; and, after a siege of nearly fifteen months, it capitulated. The brave Rochellese manfully defended themselves amidst warfare and starvation. They were reduced from over twenty-seven thousand to five thousand; and out of a company of nearly six hundred English allies, only sixty-two survived! "Assure the Rochellese that I will not abandon them," was the message of Charles of England to the closely-besieged city; and just as Buckingham was taking command of the desired expedition, he was assassinated. This event

created further delay, and the expedition arrived too late to relieve the place. Its citizens bore their trials most manfully, and with a perseverance seldom equaled. The bearer of a letter was arrested, and compelled, by torture, to confess that he had swallowed it concealed in a silver almond; and he, with the silversmith who made the almond, were both hanged. Two illustrious ladies, the duchess of Rohan and her daughter, who were not named in the capitulation, are thus referred to by a writer of that day:—"Rigor without precedent, that a person of her quality, at the age of seventy, on quitting a siege in which she and her daughter had lived for three months on horse-flesh, and four or five ounces of bread per day, should be held captive, deprived of the exercises of religion." Protestants were no longer allowed to reside in this "city of refuge," unless they had been inhabitants before the arrival of Buckingham's expedition. The walls were prostrated, the fortifications razed, and a cross erected commemorating the surrender of the city. Thus perished a little Christian republic, which had defied the crown of France for seventy years, and with it most of the other Protestant places were reduced to bondage.

Richelieu died a few years after this event. As prime minister, three objects appear to have chiefly engaged his attention: to elevate the royal authority; to lessen the pride of Austria; and to terminate internal dissensions, by suppressing the few liberties still remaining to the Huguenots. Magnificent in his plans, he patronized, with a liberal hand, literature and the fine arts. In 1635 he founded the French Academy. He was an accomplished courtier, a generous friend, but an implacable enemy to the reformers. Sully preceded Richelieu in his path to the grave. In this distinguished man patriotism and loyalty harmonized with pure religious principles, which he maintained unchanged and firmly to the day of his death. His wife and daughter, the duchess of Rohan, were zealous Protestants, and washed with their own hands the linen of the communion table.

History does not afford an example of more malignant or desolating war than that which raged in France during the seventeenth century. Louis XIV., the easy dupe of Jesuits, confessors, and the designing Madame de Maintenon, and led on also by the cardinal Mazariné, determined to convert the reformers to the Roman faith. Not only force, but bribery was now employed: converts were to be purchased, and proselytism in every form resorted to. Wearied with increasing opposition, the Huguenots began to emigrate; and Louis, professing to convert, not to expel his subjects, forbade emigration under penalty of the galleys, and death to any

aiding their escape. Their ministers were now tormented on the wheel, their schools shut up, and their charitable funds confiscated. No less than seven hundred churches were destroyed, even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "*Dragooning*," as it was styled, was the last cruelty adopted. Instead of Popish missionaries, soldiers were quartered in Calvinistic districts and families, to force them into conversion. Each dragoon became a judge and executioner, while the only escape from this new invention of religious tyranny was the well-known remedy, "Come to mass, and you shall be exempted from dragoons."

In some instances the appearance of the dragoons would force an entire village to profess the Romish religion; and plunder always accompanied the system. The notorious Basville, intendant of Pictou, found, on his arrival in that province in 1682, thirty-four thousand conversions and abjurations had taken place; and within three years he had the gratification of announcing an addition of twelve thousand more, resulting from what an apologist styles, "measures replete with mildness." Many abjured to gain time to escape; and the sincerity of most of these conversions may well be questioned.

The persecution was general. "His majesty wished the most severe rigors to be inflicted on those who will not follow *his* religion; they who desire the stupid glory of being the last to convert, must be pressed to extremities,"—were the words of the royal mandate. Spies were even engaged to discover whether any French subjects were present at divine service in the chapels of the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch ambassadors. We find well-authenticated accounts of unfortunate victims who were suspended by the hair or feet, and almost suffocated from the smoke of damp straw, burned for this purpose in the places of their confinement. Foucault, one of the most cruel of the king's intendants, appears to have been engaged in planning torments that would be severe and painful, without proving mortal. Sometimes the prisoner, drenched with wine by means of a funnel, and thus intoxicated, was forced to a chapel, and his presence considered an act equal to abjuration. Others were kept from sleeping for whole days, by sentinels who constantly roused them; and Protestants, confined to beds of illness, were disturbed by the noise of drums stationed beneath their windows,—all diabolical plans to subdue their firmness. The duke de Noailles was commander in Languedoc, and in his missionary report, after relating the forced conversions of Nismes, Uzes, and other towns, he adds, "I am preparing to go through the Cevennes, and hope that by the end of this month not a Huguenot will remain."

At length the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked, October 18th, 1685, at Fontainbleau, without the least pretext or necessity, and this act gave a finishing stroke to the persecutions.

There are three motives which it is supposed induced Louis XIV. to adopt this unjust measure,—pride, devotion, and politics; and that he was urged to it by M. de Louvois, the minister of war, the Jesuits, and Madame de Maintenon. The destruction of Protestantism, they represented, would not only be an increase of his own power, but would also produce a uniformity in religion throughout the kingdom, and secure his own everlasting salvation. All this could be accomplished, he was assured, "without shedding a drop of blood." The king and the madame were both probably deceived by this assertion, for she wrote to D'Aubigné, her brother, then zealously engaged in converting the Calvinists, "Do not be cruel to the Huguenots: they are in an error, as was Henry IV., and in the same are still many distinguished princes. Jesus Christ gained men by gentleness and love. It is for preachers to convert heretics; soldiers have not the care of their souls."

Why the act should be termed the revocation I know not, for all its provisions had been long repealed by royal ordinances. The exercise of the reformed religion was forbidden under severe penalties; the clergy ordered to expatriate themselves; and, if caught at public worship, to be executed. Those who rejected the sacraments were thrown away after death, to be devoured by wolves and dogs. One historian asserts, that ten thousand died at the stake, or on the gibbet and the wheel. Le Tellier, the chancelor, in ten days after sealing the edict so fatal to France and disgraceful to his king, terminated his mortal career, and could sing the *Nunc dimittis*, and shout aloud, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." Bossuet, the eloquent Bossuet, with Fléchier, described him as a saint, and the former could shamefully declare the overthrow of heresy.

Madame de Maintenon thus writes on the same occasion: "The king is very well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing the heretics back to the church. Father La Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood." In the pulpits the pious zeal of Louis XIV. was eulogized, and the press of France abounded with publications, boldly denying the naked truth, to justify what had just passed. Notwithstanding the praises of the clergy, and the flattery of courtiers, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes will ever be considered a cruel and ignominious act of tyrannical authority and treachery. Hear the judgment of the duke de Saint Simon, whose opinion is valuable, from his know-

ledge of the causes that might justify the proceeding at that period. "The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was without the least pretext or necessity; and the various proscriptions, rather than proclamations which followed it, were the fruits of this dreadful plot which depopulated one-fourth of the kingdom; ruined trade in all its branches; placed it so long under the public avowed pillage of the dragoons, and authorized torments and executions, in which thousands of innocent persons of both sexes perished;" and such, he adds, "was the general abomination of flattery and cruelty."

Never was oppression more cruel than that endured by the unfortunate Huguenots at this moment—tormented and hunted down, if they remained in the kingdom; punished as malefactors when they attempted to escape. Still the efforts of tyranny were powerless, and the true faith was preserved in the ashes of the reformed churches, and the bones of their murdered ministers. The worship in the desert became general, and hundreds of thousands of faithful men still assembled to sing their psalms, and arose up as with one heart for the irresistible rights of conscience and freedom of mind.

When thus deprived of their churches and pastors, laymen could be found who were able to conduct religious services. The Bible, prayers, and a sermon were publicly read, and for this, on the deposition of a single witness, often obtained for the purpose, warrants were issued against them, and the grand provost, with his archers, dispatched for their arrest. These laymen, once discovered, were fastened to a horse's tail, a common practice, and dragged to the nearest town for trial, when the proposition generally was, Renounce the errors of Calvin, and there might be a solitary chance for deliverance from death or a prison.

Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, who was so decidedly attached to Popery, thus writes at the time to Cardinal Azolino:—"I am overwhelmed with grief, when I think of all the innocent blood which a blind fanaticism causes daily to flow. France exercises, without remorse or fear, the most barbarous persecution, upon the dearest and most industrious portions of her people . . . . . Every time I contemplate the atrocious torments which have been inflicted upon the Protestants, my heart throbs, and my eyes are filled with tears."

Severe enactments were also made to deter any preachers who might wish to return to France—death was the penalty, and five thousand five hundred livers the reward for the information that might arrest them. Many, notwithstanding, defied the haughty monarch's word, and came back clandestinely to their flocks.

Traveling in the garb of pilgrims, soldiers, or dealers in images, they often baffled the vigilance of the government, and joyfully preached to their brethren assembled in caverns and secret places. Frequently the Roman sacraments were forced upon the dying, and spurned by them, which caused an edict that the bodies of such should be drawn upon hurdles after death, and, thus degraded, presented to the gaze and derision of a barbarous populace. Although efforts had been made with the king to mitigate these cruelties, still they were unavailing, until Fenelon and other generous spirits convinced him of the dangerous policy of such bloody measures, and their severities were somewhat lessened. Marshal Vauban, also, with a true courage, that deserves a record, presented a memorial to the government, deploring the calamities which such ruinous proceedings had inflicted on France; and in the document uses this remarkable expression: "Compulsory conversions have inspired a general horror of the conduct of the ecclesiastics."—*Rulhière*, vol. i, p. 380.

Every day confirmed the universal apprehension of the Protestants, that a crisis in their affairs was at hand. The only permanent safety was now in flight; and in spite of armies by land and ships of war along the coasts, for their detention, fifty thousand families escaped to other countries. France lost above five hundred thousand of her most industrious and useful subjects, and the name of Louis XIV. was execrated over a great part of Europe. Every wise government received them as exiles and as brethren; for they were the oppressed, and carried with them religion, the arts, and skill in the manufactures of France. The king of Prussia built churches for them in his dominions. Banished Huguenots filled whole towns in the north of Germany. A suburb of London was crowded with French mechanics: there were as many as eleven English regiments composed entirely of refugees, and as brave as Cromwell's; and a colony even found their way to the Cape of Good Hope. So great were their numbers in Holland, that the country could entertain no more. There were no less than one hundred and fifty exiled ministers in London, and twenty-two Huguenot churches were supported by the government alone. Some of the nobility were naturalized and obtained high rank. Fifty thousand sought refuge in England, and parliament nobly voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling to be distributed among persons of quality, and those who, from age or infirmity, could not labor for a subsistence. King Charles issued a proclamation inviting the poor Protestants who had been persecuted in France for the cause of the gospel, to take refuge in his kingdom. There is

strong evidence of the extent of the emigration in their descendants, numerous at the present day in every Protestant region of the old and new world.

We must now speak of the *Camisard* wars at the commencement of the seventeenth century, in which numbers of the Huguenots were hanged or sent to the galleys, and their preachers broken on the wheel, or burnt alive, while contending with their old and sworn enemy. The term most probably is a corruption of *camisade*, a nocturnal attack, and originated from the violent death of the abbé Du Chaila at Pont-de-Montvert. He was *inspector of prisons*, and treated those prisoners who fell into his hands with cruelty almost beyond belief. When his tortures failed to effect abjuration, he confined his captives in narrow cells, called *ceps*, where the torment was terrible from the impossibility of moving. Severe and signal retribution followed this horrid obduracy.

In July, 1702, he arrested a party of fugitive Protestants on their way to Geneva, among whom were some young ladies, and placed the whole in *ceps*, to wait judgment. The Huguenots of the neighborhood, nearly fifty in number, assembled, and after prayer, armed with swords, old halberts, and scythes, they proceeded at night to the prison, chaunting a psalm on their march. Du Chaila was already there and gave orders to some soldiers to fire upon the party, but the doors were soon forced and the suffering captives freed. The abbé was then sought in his dwelling, and invited to surrender, but answered by a discharge of firearms. His house was next set on fire by the enraged assailants, and while attempting to escape from the flames, he fell, broke his leg, and was soon discovered concealed among the bushes of his garden. He was forthwith shot, and pierced with nearly fifty wounds.

This deed of great enormity, for such it was, however palliating the circumstance by which it was provoked, gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*. Its leaders were soon punished; one had his hand cut off, and was burnt alive; and others were broken on the wheel. A time of desolation succeeded these enormities. The Camisards, hunted like wild beasts, embraced every opportunity of retaliation. Were it desirable to crowd this essay with affecting or revolting scenes, this era would supply a volume. Jean Cavalier, a mere shepherd boy, only twenty-one years of age, but possessing great bravery and boldness, generally led the Camisards. He also preached with energy and force, and the Protestants compared him to Gideon and Maccabeus. The leads of churches and the pewter utensils of an abbé were melted into bullets for the use of his followers. Before they marched, it was

their custom to pray for divine guidance, and when they halted, to offer public thanksgivings. In all their towns they administered the Lord's supper, and celebrated marriages and baptisms.

Although it is not known what was the largest force the Camisards mustered, still they must have been numerous, for historians have described no less than thirty-four engagements in which they had the advantage. Their goods and provisions were in common, and they addressed their chief as *brother*. When his motives were demanded for taking arms, Cavalier replied, "that it was in self-defense, ... and that he and his friends preferred death to the relinquishment of a religion they considered good, or to attend mass and prostrate themselves before images of wood and stone, against the light of their conscience. They were ready to lay down their arms, and employ their lives and property for the king's service, whenever they had obtained liberty of conscience, the liberation of their brethren imprisoned for religion, and a cessation of cruel and ignominious punishments for the Protestants."

Still they were opposed: Pope Clement XI. issued a bull, which enjoined a crusade against the "accursed and miserable race," and granted pardon for every sin to those who might be killed in effecting their extermination. On one occasion the count de Broglie, the Catholic leader, seized sixteen persons for holding a religious meeting, and hung four at the church door, and sent twelve to the galleys. Marshal Montrevel was still more sanguinary; he ordered whole towns and parishes inhabited by Protestants to be pillaged and burnt, and the number thus marked out for destruction was four hundred and sixty-six. Montrevel commenced his inhuman expedition in the month of September, 1703. This horrible act was approved of by the bishop of Nismes, who wrote to the marshal—"The project you are executing is severe, and will doubtless be useful. It cuts at the very root of the evil; it destroys the asylums of the seditious!!" But it is time to quit this period of cruelty and vengeance.

Upon the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, his successor being a mere child, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, successively, became regents. The former maintained all the edicts against Protestant worship, and, immediately after the deceased monarch's burial, threw open the doors of the Bastile to the unfortunate victims of the revenge of father Tellier, who had succeeded La Chaise as confessor, and with the office inherited his odious, proud, and vindictive character. When the duke of Bourbon undertook the direction of the government, he vainly imagined that he could immortalize his administration by the oppression and severities of

Louis XIV. Children torn from their parents were educated in the Romish faith, confiscation decreed against relapsed converts, and death to their pastors.

The Huguenots by thousands again sought refuge in the forests and desert places; and when the benediction of their ministers could not be obtained, aged heads of families pronounced it. M. Desubas, a young preacher, was arrested at Vernoux in 1745, and crowds hastened there to intercede for their pastor's life. They were fired upon, and thirty-six killed, and two hundred wounded. He suffered death at Montpellier in presence of an immense assemblage, with great Christian calmness, which even excited the admiration of the Catholics themselves. Three brothers, named Grenier, the eldest not twenty-two, were beheaded at Toulouse, (1762,) and close by the gibbet on which Francis Rochette, their faithful pastor, was hanged, and whom they had endeavored to release from captivity. Four priests beset them to recant, with the promise of life, until the fatal moment. When the crucifix was presented to them, the eldest replied, "Speak to us of Him who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and we are ready to listen; but do not introduce your superstitions." Two having suffered, the executioner besought the youngest to live by abjuring, but, with a martyr's fortitude, he answered, "Do thy duty," and submitted to the fatal axe.

The philosophic party which arose toward the end of the seventeenth century in France did much, in its well-known hatred of the clergy, to mitigate the severities of the code which oppressed the Huguenots. Even Voltaire's writings aided the cause of toleration, and especially his letter to Marshal Richelieu on the subject. Religious assemblies were no longer the objects of such vigilant pursuit as they had been, and Protestant worship was continued more by sufferance than by permission.

A new era dawned upon the Huguenots with the decrees of the National Assembly, when non-Catholics were declared eligible to all public offices in 1789; and to use the language of the illustrious Lafayette, "Protestants were permitted to become husbands and wives." Hence the revolution was hailed with enthusiastic joy by those who, from their cradles, had been the objects of the severest trials. Nearly a million of people came forward to profess their reformed faith, and to register their baptisms and marriages before the local authorities, a privilege long denied to them. In subsequent elections, however, the Catholic and Protestant interests were as usual placed in hostility to each other; the clergy of the former in some instances circulating inflammatory pamphlets, and

urging the destruction of the latter. Such an outrage was attempted at Nismes in 1790, where Protestant blood was once more shed, but the violence was quickly arrested by the National Guards. Many of the conspirators against the religious rights of the people were killed on the spot, and the convent of the Capuchins, a place notorious for the conspiracy, was forced and taken, with the loss of five Capuchins and three laymen.

The restoration of the Bourbon princes and the regular government were events truly cheering to the hopes of the French Protestants; for the rights of conscience and liberty of worship were legally admitted upon the downfall of anarchy. The charter of June 4, 1814, granted by Louis XVIII., contains these articles:—

"5th. Every one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and obtain for his mode of worship equal protection.

"6th. In the mean time, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, is the religion of the state.

"7th. The ministers of the Catholic religion, and those of other Christian denominations, can receive payment from the public treasury *alone*."

When Louis Philippe assumed the government, on the 9th of August, 1830, the sixth was suppressed. The evangelical party manifested their loyalty in the religious services which celebrated the restoration; this, however, was questioned by their old foe, who persisted in representing the reformers as Jacobins. There were instances of Protestants who were elected mayors, but it was not uncommon for such to resign their office on account of the insults from bigoted factions. The "men of 1790" continued active in their nefarious designs—"The charter will not last a month"—"The St. Bartholomew is not far off"—"They would wash their hands in Protestant blood," were expressions shouted by the lower orders in the cabarets and market-places of Paris, as late as the year 1814. In some towns addresses were adopted, declaring that France should have *only one* religion—One God, one king, one faith, was the motto inscribed over the gates of Lyons. The Catholic clergy recommended their penitents to say a certain number of *paters* and *aves* for the throne, and the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which order had been suppressed by the revolution.

When Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, the spirits of the Catholics were greatly revived, and an undisciplined army, ready to enlist in the ranks of the stronger party, collected at Beaucaire, were permitted to enter Nismes, where a false report had been circulated that Protestant insurgents were murdering the Catholics. In vain did General Maulmont, the commander of the place, pro-

test against the threatened violence, exhorting the mob to await the arrival of the king's representative to quell the popular fury. He was forced to retire into the barracks and to capitulate, his soldiers disarming themselves under the promised protection of the gens d'armes. Scarcely, however, had fifty marched from their quarters when the royalists fired upon them, and killed and wounded the greater part. Maulmont was among the slain, and those inside were soon massacred. Animated by such a tragic scene, and confident of impunity, this sanguinary body for several months committed frightful excesses of devastation and death in the department of Gard. The strong arm of the law became paralyzed, and its public tribunals powerless, from some secret fatal influence.

As St. Bartholomew's day approached, (1815,) a day so fatal in the annals of Protestantism, a general massacre was apprehended and even threatened, which caused an extensive emigration. On the evening of that memorable and awful drama M. Perier, the Protestant ex-mayor of Cevennes, was shot dead in the public village, while persuading his fellow-townsmen to disperse quietly, who were assembling together from the fear of a persecuting faction that had represented the place as in a state of insurrection. Three other of its inhabitants were ordered to be shot without the least investigation, or even the semblance of a trial, and were thus inhumanly sacrificed. Upon the same day, six of the National Guards were seized and carried from St. Maurice, a Protestant commune, to Uzes, and shot on the esplanade, and twenty-two children were thus rendered fatherless by this murder and brutality. Graffan, the ringleader in this outrage, was arrested; but protected by powerful individuals, he was tried and honorably acquitted! Great outrages were also committed throughout Languedoc and Vancluse.

In the month of October, 1815, a plan was formed in Nismes for a general destruction of the Protestants, by eight hundred armed men, divided into bands, who were to scour the Faubourgs; the magistrates adopted no measures to quell the faction, and the place would have rivaled the St. Bartholomew at Paris, if General Lagarde had not providentially discovered the conspiracy on the very night it was to be perpetrated. By a peculiar energy of character and bravery, he arrested the chief insurgents, and saved the town from destruction. The worship at the Protestant temple could only be continued with the presence of armed troops, who kept in awe the surrounding mob, and on one occasion they even entered the church, shouting, "*Vive Le Roi.* Death to the Pro-

testants! kill! kill!" The disturbers were expelled by the gens d'armes, but it was impossible to proceed with the services.

The elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne was universally regarded as the harbinger of entire religious liberties; the change of dynasty, however, did not pass into other hands, without an attempt to excite troubles. Martial law was proclaimed at Nismes, and notwithstanding this strong measure, a conflict took place there in which six Protestants were killed, and twenty-eight wounded. Brilliant as were the hopes of the "three days" in 1830, it cannot be concealed that attempts were made to restrict the freedom of worship. While the law to prevent associations was under discussion, an amendment was offered to except meetings for religious services, but opposed by the keeper of the seals. In the year 1834, M. Oster opened a Lutheran chapel at Metz, having conformed to all the provisions of the law, and for several weeks regularly performed divine service. The mayor, however, interfered with his clerical duties, and M. Oster was sentenced by the police court for an infraction of the municipal laws. John Baptist Doine, a preacher of the *Société Evangélique*, and a schoolmaster, were charged before a similar tribunal with illegal religious meetings, and a trifling fine was imposed upon them. The royal court of Orleans annulled the judgment, which important decision created very great joy among the Protestants, who had come a long distance to the trial, as religious liberty was so deeply involved in the question. Against this favorable decree the procureur-général of Orleans appealed to the court of cassation, where it was elaborately argued, and the opinion of the lower court confirmed by that body. To celebrate this modern triumph of justice, a day was set apart for especial religious observances by the Protestant party of France.

Having thus traced the history of the French Protestants through the last three centuries, it is not our purpose to speak of their present condition; a far brighter and glorious era now dawns upon them than we have seen in those awful periods of persecution and death which we have endeavored to describe. The Church of Rome admits the authority of the sacred Scriptures; and the present diffusion of that holy book in France will produce perfect freedom upon the subject of religion, and a love for the pure and simple worship of the Almighty. Genuine Protestantism desires nothing more nor less than that truth contained in the word of God, and which is the best calculated to promote the happiness, elevation, and advancement of every people and nation under the heavens.

In the American colonies the Huguenots were welcomed every-

where. Did any arrive poor, having barely escaped with their lives, New-England contributed to their support, and provided them with lands. Soon they became identified with our useful and honorable citizens. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, where the voice of independence was early heard in our struggle for liberty, was the gift of the son of a Huguenot: the honored edifice retains his name, and its walls are adorned with his full-length portrait.

In 1662 John Touton, a French doctor of Rochelle, applied to the court of Massachusetts that he and other Protestants, who had been expelled from their homes on account of their religion, might come to New-England. This application was readily granted, but its advantages were not enjoyed until twenty years afterward, when the edict of Nantes was revoked. Soon after this event, the general court granted a tract of land, eight miles square, to Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and Major Robert Thompson. This region was then called by the Indians the Nipmug country, and eleven or twelve thousand acres were set apart for a village to be called Oxford, at that time literally a howling wilderness, but now near the well-known and peaceful town of Worcester. Gabriel Bernon is named as "undertaker for the plantation," and the Huguenots purchased some portions of it at low prices. They sailed from France in 1684 or 1685, and so secret was the notice for their departure, that one family (Germaine) relates, *they left the pot boiling over the fire.* Upon their arrival at Boston they went to Fort Hill, and were kindly entertained until they removed to Oxford.

One of the first acts of the refugees was to settle a French Protestant minister, giving him forty pounds, and increasing his salary afterward. Surrounded by the savages on every side, they erected a fort, the traces of which can still be seen, overgrown with roses, currant bushes, and other shrubbery. Mrs. Sigourney's beautiful lines,

> "Say, did thy germ e'er drink the fostering dew
> Of beauteous Languedoc? Didst thou unfold?" &c.,

were written on a visit to this venerable spot. But the fortification did not render their abode safe from the murderous assaults of their enemy. A Mr. Johnson, and his three children, were massacred by the Indians. His wife was a sister of Andrew Sigourney, one of the earlist Huguenots who emigrated. Hearing the report of guns, he ran to the house, seized his sister, and escaped with her through a back door. After this murder, the French deserted their forest home and repaired to Boston in the year 1696, where vestiges of their industry and agricultural taste long remained. Many

of the years retain their French names to this day. At Boston they built a church, and Mr. Daillé was their pastor: a Mr. Lawrie is also mentioned as one of their ministers. This very church was afterward used by the French Catholics, who escaped to this country from the horrors of the French Revolution, and subsequently a Universalist church was erected on the site. What a striking comment upon the tolerant principles of our free and happy country! After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Huguenots fled to the Netherlands by thousands, and soon became identified with the Dutch, who were a great commercial nation at this period. Trading expeditions, early in the seventeenth century, were dispatched to this continent; and New-Amsterdam, now New-York, was settled by the Dutch West India Company. In the year 1625 the first child was born in New-York. She was a daughter of George Rapaeligo, a descendant of Huguenot ancestors. New-York was always an asylum for the persecuted of every clime. When the Protestant churches of Rochelle, in 1685, were destroyed, the Calvinists of that city were admitted into this colony; they came in such numbers that our public documents were sometimes printed in French, Dutch, and English. Records at Albany state that crowds of orphans were shipped for the new world, and a free passage offered to mechanics.

To the encouragement of Gov. Stuyvesant is to be attributed the first emigration of the French Huguenots to this region, whose descendants for generations have been among our most respectable and intelligent citizens. On the 24th of January, 1664, N. Van Beck, a merchant in New-Amsterdam, received letters from Rochelle, stating the wish of some Protestants to settle in New-Netherland, as their religious rights had been invaded, and their churches burned; the governor and council resolved to receive them kindly, and to grant them land gratuitously. In 1710, three thousand Palatines, who had fled to England from the rage of persecution in Germany, emigrated to New-York under the guidance of Gen. Rob. Hunter. Some settled in the city, others on Livingston Manor; some journeyed to Pennsylvania, where their descendants still remain. Many Protestants came over after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and established the town of New-Rochelle, which they named after their own brave native city—others located at New-Paltz, in Ulster county, and one of their descendants has recently presented to the library of the American Bible Society a French Bible, which was carried by persecuted Protestants first to Holland, and then brought by them to this country.

New-Rochelle is situated near the shores of Long Island Sound,

and the emigrants purchased of John Pell six thousand one hundred acres of land. It is related that one old man would daily go to the shore, and directing his eyes toward the direction where he supposed France was situated, would sing one of Marot's hymns, and send to heaven his morning devotions. Others joined him in these pious remembrances of their God, and of their beloved native climes, from which they had been driven by the merciless fires of persecution. A small wooden church was first occupied; the second was built of stone, and so anxious were all to contribute something toward its completion, that even females carried mortar in their aprons, to complete the sacred work. Queen Anne gave them plate for the church. The Rev. Mr. Boudet was their first minister. Nothing remains of this former sanctuary but its burial-place. Before the erection of the New-Rochelle church, men frequently walked to New-York, a distance of twenty-three miles, to attend the sabbath services of the old church du St. Esprit. Among the families at New-Rochelle, need we mention the illustrious John Jay, the grandson of a Huguenot, who made the celebrated treaty of Paris for the independence of our country, and exerted a powerful influence in extending the limits of the United States to the Mississippi! The emigrants not only introduced valuable mechanic arts, but the blessings of agriculture. Our white, red, and cornelian roses, with gilly flowers, tulips, white lilies, marygolds, and violets, were brought from Holland, and the quince-tree from the Danube, by the Palatines.

On Marketfield-street, near the Battery, in our own city, they early erected an humble chapel, and hither on every Lord's day, assembling from the city, and by wagons, in which they would lodge all night, from Long Island, New-Rochelle, and Staten Island, might they be seen worshiping God without the fear of royal, bloody, or persecuting edicts. In 1704, L'Eglise du St. Esprit and cemetery occupied a spot directly opposite the Custom House on Pine-street—a plain stone edifice nearly square. Its bell was the gift of Sir Henry Ashurst of London, and on the front of the edifice was inscribed,—

ÆDES SACRA
GALLOR. PROT.
REFORM
FVNDA. 1704
PENITVS
REPAR 1741.

Their successors finally erected the present splendid marble edifice in Leonard-street, where the doctrines of the blessed Reformation still continue to be preached in the same language in which they were so eloquently declared by Claude and Saurin more than a century ago.

Staten Island, that enchanting spot in our beautiful bay, which should be called the Huguenot Island, was another favorite asylum for the French Protestants. They went there in considerable numbers, as far as we can ascertain, about the year 1675, with a pastor, and erected a church near Richmond. We have visited the place, and the only remains that mark the venerable ground are one or two broken, dilapidated grave-stones. The edifice was probably destroyed by fire. It is worthy of notice that most of the leading members of the numerous Christian churches on the island are lineal branches of the French Huguenots. The venerable Bishop Moore, for a long time the pastor of the Episcopal congregations there, numbered many of them among his vestrymen; and his son, the Rev. Dr. Moore, who succeeded him in the ministerial office, still retains such among his flock. That eloquent and eminent divine, the late Rev. Dr. Bedell of Philadelphia, was of the same origin on the maternal side, and a Staten Islander by birth. Elias Boudinot, LL. D., whose memory is precious to the lovers of the Bible, traced his origin to the Huguenots. He was chosen president of congress in 1782—appointed by Gen. Washington director of the national mint—a distinguished benefactor to the college in New-Jersey, and is considered as the father of the American Bible Society. It is worthy of notice that John Jay and himself were both presidents of this noble national institution. A number of the French Protestants went to the Narragansett country, and called their settlement Frenchtown, a name which it still retains. They planted an orchard, of which remains can yet be found on a farm at East Greenwich, and is now known by the name of the French orchard. Moses Le Moine first built a hut on the spot; after him the Ayraults, in the year 1685.

But the warmer climates of the south were more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and multitudes flocked to Virginia. From a single family, John Fontaine, himself a Calvinistic clergyman first, to his refugee brethren in England and Ireland, (1688,) and then from his son, a settled minister and emigrant to King William county, and his son-in-law, the Rev. James Maury—from this stock alone have descended hundreds of the best inhabitants of that ancient commonwealth, embracing ministers, members of the bar, legislators, and public officers.

In 1690 King William sent to Virginia a large portion of the Huguenot refugees who had taken shelter in England, and lands were allotted to them on James' River. They were also naturalized by a special act, and in 1699 six hundred more came over, conducted by their pastor, Philip de Richebourg, and located themselves about twenty miles above Richmond, on lands formerly occupied by a powerful tribe of the Monacan Indians. The assembly of Virginia exempted them from the payment of taxes in 1700, and fully protected their rights. Their little dwellings, covered with grape-vines and the wild honeysuckle, might be seen scattered along the river, quite down to the vicinity of Richmond. One writer says, "Most of the French who lived at that town (Monacan) on James' River, removed to Trent River, in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in August, 1708." We find no other account of their having settled in North Carolina. We have recently discovered a Huguenot relic in Petersburg, Va., "a register containing the baptisms made within the church of the French refugees in the Manikin town, within the parish of King William, in the year of our Lord 1721, the 25th of March. Done by Jacques Soblet, clerk." The manuscript contains about twenty-five pages of foolscap paper, written in French, and should be preserved in the collections of some historical society. South Carolina, however, with its congenial climate, became the chief resort of the Huguenots. Fugitives from Rochelle and Bordeaux, the provinces on the bay of Biscay, from the beautiful valley of Tour, men with the virtues of the English Puritans, but without their bigotry, came to these regions, unsuccessfully explored by their forefathers a century before, but now rendered a welcome refuge to the oppressed of every creed, by the tolerant benevolence of Lord Shaftsbury. Driven in wanton bigotry by their king from their country, here they found a land where the blazing fires of religious persecution were never to be kindled. Some established themselves on the banks of the Santee, where they laid out a town and called it "Jamestown," a region since celebrated for affluence, refined taste, and hospitality. Another settlement went to Berkley county, which they called the "Orange Quarter," and subsequently the Parish of St. Dennis; and some families settled at St. Johns, Berkley. Four French congregations, it is thought, were organized in this colony—at Jamestown, Orange Quarter, St. Johns, and Charleston, all of which professed the faith and forms of the church of Geneva. In 1706, however, the assembly passed the "Church Act," by which the Church of England assumed a legal

religious establishment in the colony, when three of these congregations became Episcopalian. The Rev. Mr. St. Pierre was the pastor of St. Dennis, which church was built about the year 1708, and the Rev. Philip de Richbourg was the first rector of St. John's. He died in 1717. The Huguenot church in Charleston alone maintained its distinctive character. It was founded by the Rev. Elias Prioleau, himself a descendant of the Prioli family, which gave a doge to Venice in 1618. This sacred edifice was erected about 1693, and was a plain, neat, square stone building, and stands in good order to this hour. We have seen the time-honored spot, strolled about its ancient heaped-up graves, many of which still remain, and indulged in the hallowing associations of such a place and such an hour. The living long since have ceased to occupy its humble oaken seats, and their successors have mingled with the pious of other denominations; but in the times of which we are discoursing, this tabernacle was filled with the prayers and melodies of these early Christians. They regulated the hour of worship by the tide. Here, on every Lord's day, from their plantations on the Cooper River, might parents with their children be seen embarking in their light skiffs, and pushing their way to the house of God without fear of molestation from any quarter. In the beautiful imagery of Scripture, emphatically did they recline "under their vine and fig-tree." Exiles in strange lands, and unaccustomed to the habits and the language of the people, still they established themselves successfully in New-England, New-York, Virginia, and South Carolina. They were thrown upon their own energies, and, trusting in their Maker, proved, that when true to God, and true to themselves, men need never despair.

No emigrants were more useful to the infant colony of South Carolina than the French Protestants. In many of the arts, and especially that of agriculture, they were far before the English. Their original appellation of Huguenots has almost been entirely lost; but many illustrious names might be mentioned among their descendants in that brave state. Gabriel Manigault has often been referred to, and his memory and virtues deserve the remembrance. From his great prosperity, he was able to loan the state two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, which he did cheerfully at a time when the struggle for our national independence was dark, arduous, and doubtful. Henry Laurens, a president of the "Old Congress"—General Francis Marion—the Huger family, one of whom cheerfully aided Lafayette in his escape from Olmutz—Legare, the late lamented attorney-general, were all the sons of South Carolina Huguenots.

Thus have we followed, from the best sources of information within our reach, rapid as the sketch must necessarily be in an essay like this, the Huguenots of Europe and America. To write their history correctly is a difficult task, and a succinct account of their sufferings and trials, before the French Revolution of 1789, would have been considered as libelous in France. Hence the almost general silence of French authors on the subject. But little is even known of those violent persecutions at Nismes in 1815, which then desolated the south of France. Their American history, also, is a work which yet remains fully to be written, and we gladly have contributed our mite to the general stock at a period when increased attention is directed to historical subjects.

There are circumstances in the condition of the present French Protestant Church which afford animating prospects of its rapid growth and improvement; but we cannot dwell upon them here. To do justice to that subject would require more time and space than are embraced in our present plan.

In their escape to this country the Huguenots resemble the escape of Moses from Egyptian bondage to the wilderness, where God might give them the tabernacle of religious freedom, and the rights of conscience. Certainly we cannot desire to see perpetuated among us the foreign notions of hereditary excellence; still, as claiming origin from this noble race ourselves, with their descendants we may look back with pride to our Huguenot forefathers. Does such a one read these pages? Remember that the blood of martyrs runs in your veins! and that your ancestors and their associates were such men as Calvin, Beza, Claude, and Saurin, with the brave, the wise, and incorruptible Sully, names worthy of enduring remembrance in the world's history. Well may we all boast of our own happy inheritance. The emigration of our forefathers was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century. Priestcraft did not emigrate, but religion; not the idolatry of form, but sincere, simple worship of the Almighty, came as a companion with them to the forests of America. Our fathers were not only Christians, but they were Protestants. The Puritans of Winthrop's fleet—the adventurous companions of Smith—the Quaker outlaws—the expatriated Huguenots, all professed faith in God and in the soul of man. They were believers in Bible Christianity—the system inculcating equality among men, and exactly adapted in its practical operations to the wants and happiness of civil society—the system which cradled our liberties and brought them up to manhood.

The people, thus free from ancient prejudices, and independent

of previous political elements, laid the corner-stones of this great republic. Exultingly then may each of us exclaim, "I am an American citizen." Search the world, and where is there a land presenting such a sublime spectacle as our own? Here the oppressed of all regions and the martyrs of every creed find a safe refuge! Land of freedom—hallowed asylum of the persecuted—land of benedictions!

"There is no other land like thee,
No dearer shore;
Thou art the shelter of the free,
The home, the port of liberty,
Thou hast been and shalt ever be,
Till time is o'er.
Ere I forget to think upon
My land, shall mother curse the son
She bore."—*Percival.*

New-York, February, 1844.

Note.—In this Essay we have, among many others, consulted Browning's History of the Huguenots, Hakluyt's Voyages, Ramsay's South Carolina, D'Aubigne, the Histories of France, Bancroft, Beverly, and Henning's Virginia, Wilk's Persecutions endured by the Protestants of the South of France, Works of Court, Rulhière, Flechier, Rohan, *Mem.*, *Merc. Franc.*, &c., &c.

Art. V.—*The Articles of the Synod of Dort, translated from the Latin, with Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas Scott, D. D. To which is added an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1841.

We are not about to dissect the book, the title-page of which we have given above; but, after a general view of it, to give the counter part of the great controversy which agitated the churches of the Low countries during the seventeenth century. Most of the matters this book contains have been in controversy in the churches for centuries, and it is to be feared that much evil has been the result of the manner in which they have been handled. The articles established by the Synod of Dort are a perspicuous statement of the sublapsarian theory of predestination, election, and perseverance: these, together with the articles "rejected," constitute the principal part of the present volume. Over and above what

appears in the title-page, the book contains one hundred and eighty-two pages of historical matter, composed of a preface and introduction, by Dr. Scott, and a "History of Preceding Events," from the writings of the contra-Remonstrants. All this matter is perfectly one sided in relation to the great controversy which arose in the Belgic churches upon predestination. The statements are made upon the authority of the contra-Remonstrants, who were interested parties. We are sorry that these severe caricatures have been sanctioned and sent out in a popular form by our Presbyterian brethren in this country. The bitterness of that great controversy ought not to be perpetuated. In these days we should be prepared to look calmly and soberly over the whole ground in dispute, and to avoid the prejudices which were generated by the heat of the controversy. No man can understand that controversy, or form a proper estimate of the character of the prominent men who figured in it, without reading both sides, and attending to the version which each gives of his own case.

In the "History of Preceding Events" Arminius is sadly misrepresented, and the true positions which he occupied at the different stages of the controversy are never presented according to his own explanations, but are based upon the unproved, and, as we believe in most cases, the groundless assertions of his immediate opponents and his personal enemies. Hence the conduct attributed to him cannot fail to characterize him as a vain ambitious aspirant, a base hypocrite, an arch heretic, and a promoter of sedition. He is represented as propagating doctrines in secret which he denied in public, as undermining the creed of the Belgic churches by secret and indirect means, as refusing to give candid explanations on proper occasions, and evading discussion. And we are sorry to say that Dr. Miller's "Introductory Essay" is still more replete with these allegations than the matter brought by Dr. Scott from the times of the controversy. We deeply regret the necessity of making this statement. The venerable doctor had the means of better information; and, in justice to an injured orthodox and deeply-pious Protestant divine, he ought at least to have qualified his statements. If the feelings of those Christians who hold Arminius in high veneration, and maintain his leading views in theology, were entitled to no respect, historical candor should have restrained him in his severe and withering accusations.

We need not apprise Dr. Miller that every one of his specifications in support of the charges of unfairness, evasion, and tergiversation;—and of heresy, or error in fundamentals;—and of a factious spirit, were promptly denied at the time, and have been disproved

by the clearest documentary evidence a thousand times. Let any man read the defense of Arminius before the states of Holland, and Brandt's voluminous documentary history of the controversy in the Belgic churches between the Remonstrants and the contra-Remonstrants, and then say if he can believe that learned Dutch divine to be a Socinian, a bringer in of novelties, a disturber of the public tranquillity—a great theological, ecclesiastical, and political incendiary, who deserved death, or at least bonds.

The doctor joins with Dr. Murdock, in opposition to Professor Stuart, in maintaining that Arminius was heretical in doctrine, and that he really dissented from the received faith in more points than those immediately connected with the article of predestination. We must declare our astonishment that Dr. Murdock should, upon the grounds he alledges, even if he has not mistaken them—a matter which, for the present, we shall not examine—endeavor to draw the general orthodoxy of Arminius into question; and are equally surprised that Dr. Miller should have adopted his views. Let all the existing records be consulted, and we fear not the result. We must honestly say, we fear these highly-respected Christian gentlemen have come to a hasty induction. They have credited partial statements and interested authorities. But we must not enlarge.

We have said quite sufficient as an introduction to what follows. We here present a "Historical Relation concerning the Origin and Progress of the Controversies in the Belgic League, upon Predestination and its connected Heads, translated from the Latin of Philip a Limborch." This may be safely taken as the counter statement of the matter, and should be read by all who read Dr. Miller's "Introductory Essay," and the "History of Preceding Events," as found in the volume, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. The narrative, brief as it is, will be found to contain authorities which fully bear out the author in his main positions. *Limborch*, it will be recollected, was son-in-law of the celebrated *Simon Episcopius*, the Demosthenes of the Remonstrants. He consequently writes of his own times, and of matters which he had the best opportunities well to understand. His learning and candor we believe have not been called in question. But we must not longer detain the reader from his story.—Ed.

It is so plain, and so fully and clearly established by various authors in the testimony they have brought forward, that the earliest Christian teachers, down to the time of Augustine, were entirely ignorant of absolute predestination, and that they, one and

all, taught a conditional predestination, that if I should attempt elaborately to prove the same, I would be endeavoring to add light to the sun, and only be performing that which has already been accomplished. The single testimony of Gerard John Vossius will be sufficient: (Histor. Pelag., lib. vi, th. viii:) "All the Grecian fathers, and those of the Latin fathers who lived before Augustine, were accustomed to say that those were predestinated to life whom God foresaw would live piously and rightly, or, as others said, whom he foresaw would believe and persevere, *τοὺς μέλλοντας πιστεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, as in 1 Tim. i; which they so interpreted that predestination to glory might be said to be brought about according to his foreknowledge of faith and perseverance." Augustine himself, before the controversy with Pelagius arose, thought nothing different from former teachers; but either being carried too far against the contrary opinion, by the ardor of disputation and *ἀμετρίᾳ ἀνθολκῆς*, or not sufficiently free from the Manichæan error—to which he sometimes acknowledges he has been devoted—first brought into the Christian church, and resolutely defended, the idea of absolute predestination.

On account of his great authority in the church he always had many zealous advocates of his opinion, but on the other hand no less vigorous opposers, and therefore the dispute concerning divine predestination frequently revived, and many, through reverence for Augustine, gave him their support; while others contended strenuously against his doctrine, as being opposed to the sacred Scriptures and to reason.

This disputation revived again in the time of the Reformation. Luther, an Augustine monk, also followed Augustine's opinion of predestination: but going even further, he not only, by this step, destroyed the freedom of the will—which cannot possibly exist while the belief of absolute predestination remains—but also, in a book published against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, removed even the name of freedom; while others, defenders of absolute predestination, less candid in this matter than Luther, carefully retained the shadow of freedom, lest they should seem entirely to deny its substance. Philip Melancthon, in the former edition of his *Loci Communes*, having followed the sentiment of Luther, changed his views in subsequent editions, and from that time the Lutherans, abandoning the doctrine of an absolute, taught a conditional, predestination.

Calvin and those who were of his belief were most resolute defenders of absolute predestination; and although Calvin shielded himself mostly under the authority of Augustine, yet he went fur-

ther than Augustine, and added this new article to his opinion—that true faith cannot be entirely lost; and moreover, that the faithful are even fully and absolutely sure of their own salvation. The Genevese were his followers in Switzerland; Zanchius, Ursinus, Piscator, Paræus, and others in Germany; and a considerable number in Helvetia and elsewhere.

In the Netherlands, at the beginning of the Reformation, there was no serious dispute concerning this question: it seemed sufficient to attack the grosser errors and superstitions of the pontifical church; but as to the remainder, there was no contention so long as they were not connected with those rites which were so exceedingly superstitious. But when, after this, disciples of the divines of Geneva, the Palatinate, and Nassau, all of whom were most rigid defenders of absolute predestination, had everywhere sprung up, and were superior in number in the Belgic churches, they wished then to introduce the tenets of their own teachers, and to prescribe, as it were, a rule of faith to others, from which it would be right for no one to dissent.

Nevertheless, there were always advocates of conditional predestination, who taught publicly in the Belgic churches, and sometimes made known their sentiments in published writings: in Gelderland, Anastasius Veluanus, or Velausus; in Holland, Holmannus, professor at Leyden; at Gouda, Hermannus Herberti; at Horn, Clemens Martini, and Cornelius Meinardi, also Cornelius Wiggeri; at Medenblik, Taco Sibrandi; at Leyden, Gaspar Coolhasius; at Utrecht, Hubertus Duifhusius, pastor of St. James' church; and in Frisia, Gellius Snecanus. Against these persons the synods wished to institute some ecclesiastical proceeding, and to compel them either to recant or abdicate their offices; but to this was opposed the authority of the magistrates. Cornelius Wiggeri, who alone wished to separate the congregations, together with Coolhasius, was excommunicated.

After this a certain conflict began to arise between the magistrates and ecclesiastics concerning the authority for forming ecclesiastical laws: also the ecclesiastical discipline—which the ministers inclined to the Genevan form were endeavoring to introduce into the Belgic churches—began to be very odious to the magistrates. But concerning this question we will treat more extensively hereafter.

In like manner, when those who held to conditional predestination were oppressed by the authority of the Belgic Confession and Palatine Catechism, a dispute was commenced with reference to their validity. The Belgic Confession was first written by

Guido de Bres, and communicated to certain other ministers whom he was able to consult in those most difficult times; yet not with the design that it should be received as a canon of faith, but simply as a declaration of the opinion which they held, and its support from the Scriptures. It consists of thirty-seven articles. It had been examined in no synod, read in no consistories and classes, and had not been weighed maturely to see whether it was in all points conformable to sacred Scripture; yet this confession was approved in certain synods by a few who had assembled for this purpose, as though they were the common deputies of the Belgic churches; and thus, imperceptibly, it crept into the church. But that this confession was not examined in the synods anterior to its being approved is sufficiently evident from the fact, that no mention of its examination is made in the synodal acts: and moreover, that when there was a movement in the synods concerning receiving the thirty-seven articles,—for of so many does the Belgic Confession consist,—some of the ministers were so ignorant of this confession, that when mention was made of the thirty-seven articles, they inquired what those articles were; and from this circumstance a dispute arose, whether the confession and catechism ought not to be revised and examined.

Things being in this condition, James Arminius was called to the church at Amsterdam. Arminius was a foster pupil of the state of Amsterdam, and was sent to Geneva for the prosecution of his studies. He kindled up great jealousy against himself, by teaching the logic of Ramus, and by defending it a little too warmly. Thence he hastened to Basil, and there contracted a friendship with Grynæus. He very modestly refused the title of doctor, which was offered him; and afterward, returning to Geneva, so far gained the favor of Beza on account of his zeal, industry, and genius, that he furnished him with this very honorable testimony to Martin Lydius, then pastor at Amsterdam:* "That you may know all in

* "In 1582 he was sent to Geneva, at the expense of the magistrates of Amsterdam, to perfect his studies in the colleges there, where he chiefly followed the lectures of Theodore Beza, who at that time expounded the Epistle to the Romans. He had the misfortune to displease some of the principal members of the academy, by publicly maintaining the philosophy of Ramus, and that with much heat, and even teaching it in private. For this he was obliged to retire, and went to Basil, where he was received with applause. He read public lectures there, and acquired such credit, that the faculty of divinity would have given him the degree of doctor without any expense. He modestly declined the offer, and returned to Geneva, where, finding the adversaries of the Ramists somewhat cooled, he moderated his own heat likewise."—*Bayles' Historical and Critical Dictionary.* This extract, from a writer

a few words; from the time in which Arminius returned to us from Basil, both his erudition and life have been so commendable among us, that should he continue on in the same course—which we think he will do by the blessing of God—we may hope everything that is best from him. For God has conferred upon him, among other things, a felicitous genius for perceiving and discriminating, to which if his piety—of which he shows himself zealous—be regulated accordingly, it cannot be but that this power of genius, confirmed as well by age as by experience, shall produce the richest fruits." Not much after this Arminius went to Rome; but the Mæcenases took this sadly to heart, and many sinister reports were scattered abroad concerning him, from which he fully vindicated himself upon his return home;* and afterward he was called to be the regular pastor of the church at Amsterdam.

A dispute then chanced to come up between Coornhertius, Arnoldus Cornelius, and Reyner Donteklok, ministers, concerning

who was far from sympathizing with the theological views of Arminius, will enable the reader to appreciate the unjust censures of Dr. Miller upon his conduct while at Geneva, which is easily attributable to the ardor of youth, and the violent opposition which he met with from the advocates of Aristotle's system.—*Tr.*

* "He had a great desire to see Italy, and particularly that he might hear the philosophical lectures of the famous James Zabarella, at Padua. He satisfied this curiosity, and passed six or seven months in his travels; after which he returned to Geneva, and from thence to Amsterdam, where he found he had been sufficiently censured in relation to his journey into Italy, which had a little cooled the affection of the magistrates, his patrons, and Mæcenases. He easily justified himself with persons of understanding; but there were some weak and suspicious spirits, who could not get over this stumbling-block till he had made the whole church sensible of his fine talent at preaching; by the means of which he gained the love and esteem of all the world."—*Bayle.*

The reports circulated concerning Arminius were, "that he had kissed the pope's slipper—although he had never seen the sovereign pontiff except once, when he with a multitude of other spectators saw him at a distance;"—"that he had frequented the company and the assemblies of the Jesuits, men whom he had never heard; that he had formed an acquaintance with Cardinal Bellarmine, whose face he had never beheld; and that he had abjured the true and orthodox religion, for which he was prepared manfully to contend, and even to shed his blood in its defense."—*Vide the Funeral Oration in Nichols' Works of Arminius.*

It is a little curious that the learned author of the Essay on the Synod of Dort, or, as I should rather say, of *the splendid invective against Arminius and the Remonstrants*, did not seize upon this calumny also, from which he certainly could have forged one or two more thunderbolts to launch at the head of *the poor Leyden professor.*—*Tr.*

divine predestination. Arminius was requested by the presbytery of Amsterdam to refute the tract of Coornhertius; the same undertaking was recommended to him by Martin Lydius. But upon an examination of this tract, many difficulties with regard to predestination arose in the way of Arminius, from which he was not able to extricate himself; therefore he relinquished the refutation for a time, and applied himself wholly to a more careful inspection of that dogma.

He was in the habit of explaining, in his lectures, the Epistle to the Romans: when he came to the seventh chapter he interpreted the whole—but especially the latter part—from the fourteenth verse to the end—as referring to an unregenerate man, whose misery the apostle describes under his own person. A strife was raised from this explanation, led on more particularly by Peter Plancius, and it was objected to Arminius, that, by his explanation, he opposed himself to the received doctrine of the church, and patronized the Pelagian opinion. But this contention was allayed by the prudence of the magistracy: Arminius also drew up a written article concerning the sense of the seventh of Romans, in which he showed his opinion consentaneous with the Holy Scriptures, and with the doctrine of all the fathers before Augustine, and even of some of the reformed teachers.

When Arminius passed to the explanation of the ninth chapter, he did not interpret it as having reference to absolute predestination, but maintained that the apostle, in this, refuted the objections of the Jews, brought against his own opinion concerning justification, as it was set forth in the preceding heads. Here, though Arminius did not refute the expositions of other teachers, but merely proposed and set forth his own, he was still not able to escape the indignation of many. In proof of heterodoxy, among other things it was objected to Arminius, that the Lutherans, Mennonites, and others, in great numbers crowded to hear his discourses, which was urged as arguing some agreement in doctrine. Very often an action was brought against him in the council concerning the sense of the ninth chapter of Romans. He contended that he had held forth nothing contrary to sacred Scripture and the confession of the churches, and challenged his adversaries to come forth openly. When Arminius had done this on several occasions, and because no one raised an objection against him, at length Kuchlinus says, Where now is Plancius? let him now come forward and prove his accusations against Arminius. Plancius, thus called upon, came forth, and objected a few things to Arminius, which, when he had easily swept away, the dispute was set-

tled. From that time Arminius for many years lived quietly in that church.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics, who had decreed to celebrate a national synod in Holland at the end of every three years,—which now for many years the states had not permitted to assemble,—demanded from the states the convocation of such a synod. The states of Holland consented to this request, but with the condition, that in this assembly a revision of the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism should be instituted. This condition was displeasing to the ecclesiastics, and therefore they did not further urge the convocation of a synod.

In the mean time Arminius was straitened in his mind by various scruples with regard to divine predestination, which he desired to be removed. Therefore nothing was more in accordance with his wishes than to confer with some learned man concerning predestination, by whose aid all those doubts which tortured his mind might be taken away. Here, while he was looking around for some bosom into which he could pour forth his own reflections, a favorable opportunity was afforded him of conversing kindly and confidentially with Francis Junius, a most learned professor of sacred theology in the University of Leyden, at the nuptials of Kuchlinus, to which both Junius and Arminius had been invited. Junius had published, in the year 1595, a book concerning the first sin of Adam, and the nature of the cause by which he was induced to sin. Therefore occasion being taken from this, he held several conversations with Junius concerning the cause of the fall of Adam, its manner, and also concerning contingency and freedom. At length Arminius made known that he hesitated in various points with regard to the doctrine of predestination, and that he hoped to be able to extricate himself by the aid of Junius. Junius most cordially offered his aid if Arminius would disclose his considerations by letter, which Arminius engaged to do. And hence, by means of epistles, a conference arose with Junius which was brought to light after the death of each. Not long after Arminius, that he might investigate more deeply the doctrine of predestination, wrote for his own special benefit an Examination of the book of Perkins concerning the mode and degree of predestination.

In the year 1600 the Synod of Southern Holland imposed upon Arminius the responsibility of overthrowing and refuting all the errors of the Anabaptists. Arminius entered upon this charge with a ready mind: but when afterward he perceived that the burden was imposed upon him, not so much that a substantial refutation of those errors was expected, as that they might draw out from that

refutation his opinion concerning some dogmas,—and especially with regard to predestination and free will,—and so obtain a more palpable occasion of criminating him; he considered it his duty to proceed but slowly in that undertaking. He had gone so far in the work that new difficulties immediately arose, from which he was not able fully to free himself; therefore he thought best to relinquish it entirely.

The same year the Harlemese, in settling the troubles to be considered by the synod, maintained that the subscription of the confession and catechism ought to be annually repeated by all the ministers of the church; but Arminius thought this injurious to the ministers and prejudicial to their liberty.

About the end of the year 1602, first by the death of Luke Trelcatius, and afterward of Francis Junius, the theological professorship in the University of Leyden was vacant. Here the curators turned their eyes toward Arminius, whose erudition could no longer pass unnoticed. Thysius had often praised him, and called him "a light of the Netherlands, and one born for the universities." Therefore, not rashly, nor without reason, did the curators believe that Arminius was destined to the profession of theology. Some of the ministers of Amsterdam, especially, sharply opposed appointing Arminius; and besides these, Gomarus, professor of theology, and Kuchlinus, regent of the theological college. The objections of Kuchlinus were easily dissipated. Gomarus went to the curators, and wished, with many others, to deter them from the appointment of Arminius. The curators, with mature deliberation, and after a conference had taken place by their order between Arminius and Uitenbogardus, allotted to him the theological professorship. The deputies of the churches endeavored to throw some hinderance in the way; but the curators, in order that every obstacle might be removed, appointed certain deputies of Amsterdam to offer Arminius his professorship, and to influence the Council of Amsterdam to part with him. But the council answered the deputies that they could not be deprived of Arminius on any consideration, because of the excellent services he afforded to their own church.* When it was urged, that if they

* The following note from Nichols explains more fully the relation existing between Arminius and the magistrates of Amsterdam. After speaking of their taking upon themselves the responsibility of completing his education, he says,—"On his part, Arminius, by a bond in his own hand-writing, which he sealed and delivered into the hands of the magistrates, promised to consider himself engaged, during the rest of his life, exclusively in the service of that city; and to devote himself, after being admitted into holy orders, to no other

had detected any impurity in the doctrine of Arminius, and if the deputies would corroborate it, and he could be convicted of the same, the curators did not wish to urge his appointment to that station, it was answered by the council, that this was by no means the case, but that there were other reasons which stood opposed to their giving him up. When the deputies pressed the matter, at length the council consented to his removal, but added two conditions, the first of which was, that Gomarus might be the first professor of theology, for the sake of avoiding emulation; the second, that a friendly conference should be instituted between Gomarus and Arminius, in order that by this step better satisfaction might be given to him and others.

This conference between Gomarus and Arminius was held in the presence of the curators and two senators. Although some were invited from the presbytery of Amsterdam, none were present; nor were any of the deputies of the synod there, except Arnold, Cornelius, and Werner Helmichius. The conference commenced with the exposition of the seventh chapter of Romans, and certain points which occur in the reply of Arminius to Junius, which had been shown to no one by Arminius, but had been found by Gomarus among the papers of Junius after his decease. Certain persons from Amsterdam had reported various things to Gomarus concerning the exposition of Arminius upon the seventh chapter of Romans; but since none of them agreed, he saw that he could prove nothing against him; for those things which were objected by Gomarus, Arminius did not acknowledge as his sentiments, and moreover, denied that what he himself held forth was contrary to the confession and catechism. Therefore Arminius was requested to make known his opinions, which he excused by saying, that since certain ones seemed to have instigated Gomarus to accuse him of impurity in doctrine, such therefore ought to be present that they might prove their own accusation, and not that he should be compelled to make an accusation against himself with his own mouth. When Gomarus and the deputies of the synod declared that they had nothing against him or his doctrine, Arminius then unfolded copiously and elegantly his opinion concerning the seventh chapter of Romans, in which all acquiesced. After this Arminius placed his exposition of that chapter upon the table, and wished Gomarus or some one of the deputies to examine it; but when no one touched it, Arminius took it again, and this being done, they gave him the right hand of fellowship. Not long

church in any city or town whatever, unless by the special consent of those who for the time being might execute the office of burgomasters."—*Tr.*

after Arminius obtained the degree of doctor in theology, through the instrumentality of Gomarus, and was sent to Leyden honored with the most ample testimony from the Council of Amsterdam.

In the performance of his official duties he explained especially certain books of the Old Testament, commencing at Jonah; yet in such a manner that when occasion was given he explained some place of the New Testament. This Gomarus bore indignantly; and when he met Arminius, said to him rather angrily, "You have encroached upon my profession." Arminius responded with mild words, and disproved the accusation. After that, when a series of disputes, which began to take place between Gomarus and himself, required that he should hold a public discussion concerning predestination, Arminius gave his opinion, that divine predestination was a decree in which God determined to justify and save the faithful in Christ, and those persevering in the faith, but to condemn the unfaithful. But Gomarus opposed him with a disputation, which was out of place; and mounting the professor's chair with an agitated mind, explained the causes which had impelled him to hold this unseasonable discussion;* where he said not a few things in which evidently Arminius was openly censured, who, though present, silently endured all. But he wrote an examination of that disputation, which at length, many years after his death, was brought to light by Stephen Curcellæus. Then a rumor began to be spread abroad concerning the discussions between the professors of the university, and the deeds and words of Arminius were distorted into an evil aspect. In the first place Festus Hommius began to calumniate the reputation of Arminius secretly, and to speak many things against him in his absence; whom, nevertheless, Arminius so confuted face to face before certain ministers of the gospel, that he was struck dumb. Certain ones also began to institute severer examinations of his pupils, when they became worthy to be promoted to public assemblies; and if they did not

* "In treating of and defending his positions, he [Arminius] is reported to have behaved himself very decently, without once naming or meddling with others of a different opinion, that he might avoid offense. But Gomarus, his colleague, a man of great learning, whom we have had occasion to mention frequently, looked upon these matters with a different eye. About eight months after [the time when the theses of Arminius appeared] he advanced, though out of his turn, and contrary to the method that had been before agreed upon, several theses about predestination, diametrically opposed to those of Arminius, disputing on them partly out of zeal, and in defense of his own opinions, and partly, as it is thought, at the instigation of others."—*Brandt*, vol. ii, book xviii, p. 31.

answer in all things according to their notions, or answered in other words than they were accustomed to employ, they immediately proposed new questions, in order that they might be able to elicit something which they could possibly blame; and whatsoever was answered less according to their own taste, they cast upon Arminius.

At length the deputies of the Synods of Northern and Southern Holland were sent for the purpose of instituting a conference with Arminius himself, and thus finding out the purport of his doctrine. This manner of proceeding Arminius judged to be unfair; because if any one of his disciples answered contrary to the confession, and would say that he had this from him, he declared that he was prepared to correct his own doctrine. Nevertheless, if they were willing to lay aside their dignity as deputies, and permit the same liberty to others which they claimed for themselves, that is, of explaining their own opinion and refuting the contrary, he showed himself prepared for a conference: nevertheless, this was subjoined as a condition, that no relation of that conference should be made unless in a national synod. When this condition was rejected, he proposed another—that they should offer the same conference in their respective colleges, for he had not given a greater occasion for such a controversy than they themselves. Thus they separated. Arminius thought his adversaries wished to create disturbances, that they might blame him as the author of them, and so compel him to come forth openly. But he judged such a step to be unseasonable; and by how much they sought for causes of criminating him, by so much he was reserved, that he might not on any account be thought the author of tumults. Hence also the conference which, not long after, the assembly of Leyden sought by several deputies, he modestly declined.

In the year 1605 the Classis of Dort exhibited the following memorial, to be considered in the next synod:—"Since rumors are abroad that certain controversies have arisen in the church and University of Leyden concerning the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, the classis has thought it necessary that the synod should deliberate concerning the means by which these controversies may be most conveniently and quickly determined, in order that it may occur seasonably for all schismatics and offenders that may arise from thence; and that the union of the Reformed Churches may be preserved against the calumnies of their adversaries." In this memorial Arminius and his followers were full openly censured. The curators of the college having called before them the professors of theology, and having brought forward the aforesaid memo-

rial into the midst, asked whether there was an agreement among them with regard to controversies of this kind. They having besought space to deliberate, and having considered the memorial apart, responded unanimously, that they would have wished that the classis had acted more considerately; that they were of opinion that among the students there might perhaps be more disputes than were pleasing to themselves; but that among the professors of theology, as far as they were concerned, there was no difference in the essentials of doctrine. To this response Kuchlinus, regent of the college, also subscribed.

The Synod of Southern Holland, assembled that year at Rotterdam, decreed that the controversies which had arisen in the university should be most diligently inquired into by means of delegates. The deputies presented nine questions to the curators, in order that they should constrain the professors to declare their opinion concerning them. But this the curators refused to do, and determined to reject those questions at the national synod, for some hope of having one was now beginning to dawn. Besides, the curators were not willing that even the deputies themselves should place the questions before the professors. All these things were transacted by the deputies unknown to Arminius; so much so that their coming into the city was concealed from him for several days. After this Arminius, by the aid of his friends, having obtained a copy of those questions, wrote an answer to them for the benefit of his followers.

Arminius being everywhere sought after, conducted himself mildly and cautiously in his official relation. He was in favor with the students, both on account of his uncommon erudition, and also of his remarkable affability and benevolence; hence he attracted to himself a great number equally in private circles as in public assemblies. This kindled up against him no small envy in the breast of Gomarus, his colleague, which Gomarus was not able to dissemble; for he was heard to say, with some irritation of mind, to Arminius, going from his auditorium, "They say that you are more learned than Junius." Also Plancius at Amsterdam often inveighed full sharply against him and his followers in public assemblies, and traduced them with the names of Coornhertians, New Pelagians, and other odious appellations. Some spread it among the crowd in the most hateful terms, that the doctrine of the Belgic Confession, sealed with the blood of so many martyrs, was called in question; others that a kind of libertinism was being introduced.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics demanded from the confederate

states the convocation of a national synod. This was granted, but under the same condition with which the states of Holland had granted one eight years before—that without fail in that synod a revision of the confession and catechism should be instituted. This condition was not pleasing to many of the ecclesiastics.

The Synod of Gorkum required of their deputies—who were to report what was done by them toward promoting a synod among the states, and also to announce the decree of the states concerning a synod—that they should see not only that the wishes of the states were met as far as possible, but also that nothing was done prejudicial to the churches: and that those who should be summoned to the preparatory convention should be admonished to request, in the name of the churches, that the clause concerning the revision of the confession and catechism should be taken away, and that a milder one, and liable to less exception, should be substituted. The synod moreover commanded all the pastors, and also the professors of theology, to weigh and investigate the confession and catechism diligently; and that the ministers should exhibit their considerations to the classes, but the professors were to present theirs to the deputies of the synods, by whom, after that, they were to be exhibited in the national synod. Many thought this decree prejudicial to themselves and to their liberty; that their considerations could be offered more properly to the national synod itself; that this decree provided that those should be detected who hesitated with regard to anything in the confession, and desired to recall some point in it to an examination. They thought too this decree was made in order that their considerations should be circulated in the classes, and that judgment should be pronounced concerning them; and that if there were those who did not acquiesce in this judgment, the case might then be brought by appeal to the national synod, and they would be called as it were to tell the cause of the affair, and so be condemned without any previous conference being instituted concerning their considerations, which fear was by no means groundless, as the event too plainly showed in the Synod of Dort.

In this year a dispute was conducted under Arminius concerning the Trinity: the question had arisen from the occasion of a certain objection, whether the Son was rightly called *αυτοθεος*? Arminius assumed the negative; hence a rumor was spread abroad that he lightly esteemed the Godhead of the Son.* In the year

* The word *ἀυτόθεος* may be used with two different significations; it may mean *one who is truly God*, or *one who is God from himself*. A pupil of Arminius, at a disputation held in the university, where *the divinity of the Son*

1599, Arminius, in an epistle to Uitenbogardus, had already declared his opinion as to this question extensively and perspicuously.

All things now tended to the convocation of a national synod: therefore the power of holding a preparatory convention was sought from the states of Holland by the deputies of the Synod of Northern and Southern Holland. Several from the different confederate states convened in assembly at the Hague on the 22d day of May: the states proposed eight questions concerning the mode and form of holding a synod. All easily agreed among themselves with regard to the place and time, and whatever concerned the mode.

But there was especially a difference concerning the three following heads:—1. Concerning the judge in the negotiation of doctrinal controversies. Gomarus and those who sided with him thought it was the part of the ministers delegated from the churches to the synod to define the controversies concerning doctrine with a peremptory judgment. But Arminius and his followers urged, that not only those delegated under the name of synod, but also the delegating, should be acquainted with the proceedings; and moreover, that it was the duty of the delegates to instruct those who had delegated them in the entire controversy, to listen to their suffrages, and not to determine any point against their will.

Another controversy was concerning the rule according to which they should be judged. Arminius and his party thought the divine word was to be regarded as the only rule to which they might apply; and moreover, that the judges evidently ought to be free from every other obligation by which they had bound themselves in their subscription to the confession, though the judicial act should still remain. Gomarus, with his party, wished the judges to be indeed governed by the divine word; nevertheless, in such a way that it would be right for them to refer to the Confession of the Belgic churches.

The third controversy was concerning the revision of the confession and catechism. Gomarus and his followers thought the clause

of God was the subject of discussion, objected that the Son was *αυτοθεος* in the latter sense, that is, *God from himself*, who had in reality an essence in common with the Father, but not communicated by the Father. While Arminius admitted that the word *αυτοθεος* was applicable to the Son in the former sense, to the latter and truly dangerous interpretation he assumed a decided negative. The following double ternary, expressed in his own words, will perhaps better exhibit his views on this subject:—"He is God; *he has the divine essence:* He is the Father; *he has it from no one:* He is the Son; *he has it from the Father.*"—*Vide Nichols' Works of Arminius*, vol. ii, art. xxi.—*Tr.*

concerning a revision ought to be omitted in the letters for the convocation of the synod, and another substituted in its place; while Arminius and his followers thought the existing clause should be retained. From this occasion a question began to be agitated concerning the necessity of a revision, in which dispute Gomarus said, among other things, that "he indeed considered the word of God as the primary rule, but the confession and catechism as the secondary rule." Bogerman added, that "the sacred writings should be interpreted according to the confession and catechism," which the rest approved. Arminius thought sentiments of this kind savored of Popery. Nevertheless, in order that he might consult with his brethren for the peace of the churches, he consented that the short clause concerning a revision should be omitted in the letters of convocation, provided this omission was made without any prejudgment of the revision itself. These results were exhibited to the states-general.

On account of this discrepancy of suffrages with reference to holding a synod, Arminius and those of his sentiments were censured in the remarks of many, not otherwise than if they had desired to occasion a delay of the synod's convocation. The Synod of Northern Holland, convened not long after at Amsterdam on account of these things, sharply censured Arminius and Uitenbogardus. But again Sibrandus Lubbertus, in his letters written to Melvinus, Paræus, and others, where he related the proceeding, not in accordance with truth, endeavored to render Arminius and Uitenbogardus everywhere hated, who, when they had obtained a transcript of the communications written to Melvinus by letters sufficiently explanatory, swept away the calumnies of Sibrandus.

The Synod of Southern Holland requested from Uitenbogart the reason of his course in the preparatory convention. But he contended that the reason was to be given to the states themselves, by whom he, with the rest, was called to bear suffrages freely, and by whose mandate in that assembly he had never been directed. From this occasion a dispute arose in the synod concerning the right of the magistracy with regard to sacred things.

Then the synod began to act concerning the revision of the confession and catechism; and when the deputies of some of the classes remarked, that no observations had been brought forward, Uitenbogart and others answered, that they were about to turn themselves seriously to the examination of those writings, and they would hand over their observations, if they had any, in proper time. The synod was not satisfied with that response, but inquired

whether he had any considerations. He answered, that all things necessary to salvation were contained in those books, and that he approved of all that concerned the essentials of doctrine. The president further inquired whether he believed all the words and phrases contained in those writings to be agreeable in substance with the Scriptures. But he responded, that such a declaration could not be made extempore, but there would be need of a suitable space of time to consider this business. At length the synod commanded all to consider the writings attentively, not only with regard to the substance of the doctrine, but also with reference to the words and phrases. But going further, it decreed to ask from the states a provincial assembly, gathered together from the two Synods of Northern and Southern Holland, to which as many doctors of theology and ministers should be called as was pleasing to the synod, who should be compelled to a friendly conference upon all the heads of the Christian faith, in order that the church might give its judgment as to the merits of the controversies, and apply a remedy for the purpose of allaying dissensions, and preserving, as far as possible, purity of doctrine. But since by this decree they were thought to wish to introduce this synod instead of a national one, and to infringe upon the decree of the states concerning the revision of the confession and catechism, and to violate their right of convoking a synod, the states were far from giving it their sanction. But Arminius and Uitenbogardus, since they had as yet been everywhere traduced on account of their suffrages in the preparatory convention, handed in to the states the reasons of their suffrages, embraced in writing.

The same year a small book was issued at Gouda, for the purpose of instigating youth to piety, which afterward became celebrated under the title of the Gouda Catechism. It was written lucidly and short, and was pleasing to many, because, having omitted controversial dogmas, it breathed forth a Christian simplicity, and contained, in a few words, and those the very ones employed by the Scriptures themselves, all that was necessary to be believed. Others condemned this book as either omitting or taking away the primary heads of faith; and they contended that the simplicity which was suited to the primitive church, when evils as yet unknown required no remedies, was not adapted to the church existing in their own time; and moreover, that this book was a lurking place of errors. But also Reyner Donteklokkius, minister at Delft, published a pungent pamphlet against it; and thus, by a public writing, became the first author of strife and discord in the Belgic churches. In this year the very same Don-

teklokkius produced a refutation of a certain book of Castellio upon predestination.

It was not sufficient to traduce Arminius and Uitenbogardus on account of their suffrages,—calumny proceeded still further. A rumor was spread abroad that the Roman pontiff had committed the protection of the Romish Church to Arminius and Uitenbogardus by means of the most benignant letters, and the promise of great reward. Others added, that Arminius was accustomed to recommend to his disciples the writings of Castellio and Coornhert; also of Suarez and other Jesuits; but that he spoke contemptuously concerning the writings of Calvin, Beza, Martyr, Zanchius, Ursinus, and other distinguished doctors of the Reformed Church. But these calumnies Arminius received with a generous mind, and refuted in an excellent epistle to Sebastian Egberts, consul of Amsterdam.

About this time thirty-one articles were scattered abroad, in which proof was attempted of the heterodoxy of Arminius on various heads of the Christian religion. But when Arminius had obtained them, he wrote an apologetical answer, in which he unfolded clearly and openly his own opinion. Whence it appears that these were got up calumniously, or at least expressed in too extravagant terms.

Hippolytus a Collibus, the legate of the count Palatine, when Arminius was now also slandered at the palatinate, sought an interview with him. Arminius candidly and openly laid before him his opinion concerning the Godhead of the Son, providence, divine predestination, grace, and free will, and finally concerning justification; and afterward, by request of this individual, he comprehended his opinion in writing in a learned epistle sent to the same, which is now extant in his works.

But when Arminius and Uitenbogardus saw that sinister rumors concerning themselves multiplied every day, they complained of their injuries in a supplicating pamphlet, written to the states of Holland, and entreated the convocation of a national synod. In the mean time Arminius privately brought out a supplicating pamphlet, in which he endeavored to persuade the states not to hesitate to investigate lawfully his own cause, and either by means of a conference, or an ecclesiastical convention to be held under their own supervision, to find out some mode by which a way would be opened to the refutation of so many calumnies. Therefore a conference was decreed by the states of Holland between Arminius and Gomarus, in presence of the supreme judiciary senate. To this decree the deputies of the churches were opposed, urging the

synod that judgment in an ecclesiastical cause belonged wholly to ecclesiastical functionaries. The states responded, that they had not committed the judgment, but only the examination of the cause, to the supreme senate; but the judgment itself was to be given up to a synod, either provincial or national. When both were face to face in the synod, Gomarus began to weave delays, by asking questions with regard to the reason of the dissension between himself and Arminius, and to urge an exception to the assembly. At length, after various speeches, he handed over his opinion, embraced in writing, concerning the various articles. Arminius did the same, and also manifested his willingness to draw up and deliver over in writing considerations upon the confession and catechism when it should seem fit to the states. The deputies of the senate reported to the states of Holland that there was no difference between the professors upon any fundamental article of faith. Gomarus, having requested the liberty to speak, said he would not dare to stand before the bar of God with the opinion of his colleague, and greatly exaggerated the dissension,* to which Arminius replied with moderation.

The states then suspended the ordinary synods for a time, but afterward permitted them to assemble, under the condition that they would not decide the controversies between the professors, or constrain the pastors to make known their considerations upon the confession and catechism. The Synod of Southern Holland decreed directly contrary. But the states sadly endured this, and commanded all those who had any considerations, to deliver them over to the deputies of the states sealed and inclosed with a signet, to be preserved until a provincial synod should be held: they also prohibited each synod from taking any step against those ministers who had exhibited their suffrages in the preparatory assembly at the Hague before the states-general.

Not much after Arminius was called into a convention of the states-general, that he might give them his sentiments by word of mouth, which he did sufficiently full and prolix, and also handed in the declaration of his opinion, comprehended in writing. Gomarus, also, sought to be heard personally by the states-general. He made various accusations against Arminius, and boiled over so immoderately, that he compared Arminius to Arius, Uitenbogardus to Eusebius, a courtier who had misled the emperor Constantine.

* "Some were of opinion that the stiffness of *Gomarus* was the cause that the council could not make up these differences; insomuch that one said, 'that he had rather appear before the tribunal of God with the faith of Arminius, than with the charity of Gomarus.'"—*Brandt*, vol. ii, p. 48.

At length, in conclusion, he entreated the states to convoke a provincial synod, and commit to him the examination of the controversies.

Arminius, in the year 1604, had already, as we have just narrated, drawn up *theses* on predestination, subsequent to the series of disputes which had before taken place between Gomarus and himself. Gomarus, either from his own inclination, or instigated by others, opposed them with a contrary disputation, which was not in order, in which he declared his opinion concerning the predestination of man before his fall as a considerate being, and stated the object of predestination to be, "a creature rational, damnable, capable of being created, and repaired." These two disputations, translated into the Belgic tongue, were brought to light in the year 1609. Reyner Donteklokkius, minister of Delft, now an old man, published a dialogue, in which he contended that the sentiments of Arminius were in direct opposition to the received opinion of the Reformed Churches, which obtained in those regions, and were intolerable in a professor of theology; and though Gomarus ascended somewhat higher than the received opinion, yet his sentiments, notwithstanding, accorded with it much the best. Against this dialogue Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus published a *Christian-like and serious admonition to peace*, in which he contended that the sentiments, not of Arminius, but of Gomarus, receded most from the opinion of the churches, since the Belgic churches had never recognized for their own the more rigid opinion which goes before and beyond the fall. Donteklok opposed him with a response, in which he criminates the admonisher of meditating a change in religion, which slander Corvinus dissipated in a published declaration sufficiently prolix. These things the professors did not agitate among themselves; yet a dispute which was now beginning to break out they did exceedingly increase. Wherefore the states, in the month of July, summoned Arminius and Gomarus to the Hague, in order that in their hearing they might institute a conference concerning the controversies which had arisen, if possibly some means might be devised by which peace could be preserved in the church: but they met with poor success. Gomarus magnified the controversies much; and not long after it became necessary for the conference to be broken off on account of the infirm health of Arminius. For some time Arminius had languished in body, and this conference had scarcely ended when he fell into an afflicting disease, of which he died on the 19th of October. Arminius was a pious man, and one who feared God: he was prudent and independent, while at the same time he had a mild and gentle

disposition, and was exceedingly zealous for the peace of the church. But he lived in stormy times, and came in collision with Gomarus, a man subject to anger, and of very ungovernable temper. But that no one may accuse me of writing from prejudice, I will refer to the judgment of persons who will be the least suspected by those who think differently from Arminius. John Hornbeck, who, in an oration concerning the communion of the churches, does not fear to call Arminius "the violator of the league, by whom the devil excited the public commotion of the country and of the churches," gives him nevertheless, in another place, "a more gentle spirit." Matthias Martinius, not long after the death of Arminius, in an epistle to Conrad Vorstius, gave him this eulogy:—"The sainted Arminius has certainly departed. I spake with him especially concerning the articles which were everywhere reported to be scattered abroad, and exhibited to the states, and which he complained had been calumniously manufactured against him. Even then he was sick, and that beyond his control; wherefore I inferred that he ought to be annoyed as little as possible, and that my conversations with him should not be too frequent and extended. He appeared to me a man who truly feared God, possessed great erudition, and was well acquainted with theological controversies; powerful in the Scriptures; truly cautious and *ακριβης* in applying philosophical distinctions to theology. With regard to his errors, what they are, how great, and how many, I have not yet been able to find out. God knows the truth of the matter." The author who has written the biography of Antonius Walæus, which is found in *Vitæ Selectorum Aliquot Virorum*, although he everywhere violently inveighs against the Remonstrants, nevertheless says, concerning Arminius, "He was of a discriminating genius, solid in erudition, approved in morals."*

* That Arminius never meditated a division in the Reformed Church must be apparent from the steadfast integrity of his life and character, which appeared so beautiful, even in the eyes of his enemies, as to gain their admiration and respect. But the true causes which led him, or I should perhaps say impelled him, to adopt the course he did, are very happily set forth in the following little allegory, taken from Brandt, and extracted by him from a small Latin work entitled, Mythologia Christiana, or Christian Fables:—"Jacobus Arminius, being weary of a city life, built himself a little cottage in the land of Divine Philanthropy, whither his friends repaired to him, in order to pass their time agreeably. Envy squinting at it, and suspecting that he kept there, I know not what sort of a conventicle, or unlawful assembly, prevailed so far upon Importunity, (or Indiscreet Zeal,) that the inhabitants were forbidden to resort thither. But this excited them to go more frequently, and in greater numbers, and at last, by joining their houses to the country seat of Arminius,

But the same author describes Gomarus very differently: "Francis Gomarus, a man of much erudition, with a zeal fervid and vehement." And again: "A man giving too free scope to his own passions." And finally: "Gomarus was not morose or malignant, but passionate, and in a sudden emergency not easily his own master." But Walter Balcanqual, sent by the king of Great Britain, in the name of the Scottish churches, to the Synod of Dort, who, while the synod was in session, had a fair opportunity of finding out more particularly the natural disposition of Gomarus, describes him more fully and expressly in a letter to Carleton, the legate of the king. After he had narrated the sharp invectives of Lubbertus and Gomarus against the divines of Bremen, in which Gomarus grew so warm that he became out of breath, and from this cause was obliged to break off his speech, at length he thus concludes: "There are two men in the synod, Sibrandus, and especially Gomarus, who are destined to disturb all things in the synod, and keep alive dissensions, unless restrained by timely remedies." And in another epistle: "It seems to me there had been much less disturbance in the synod if two men had been absent, for when they are present the synod has no lack of disturbances—I mean Sibrandus and Gomarus, who have their alternate changes of raging and storming. The last storm before to-day thundered forth on the side of Gomarus; to-day Sibrandus inveighed against our brotherhood with so great wrath and extravagance, and with such a bitterness of words, that revenge can be taken upon him in no way better than by the bare relation of the words which he uttered; and which each president, the political as well as ecclesiastical, interrupted while he was endeavoring to go on." And a little after: "As far as regards Sibrandus and Gomarus, I cannot blame them on account of their fury, any more than the stone which falls downward; for so they were created by nature."

Immediately after the death of Arminius a new controversy,

to form no small town. This example was immediately followed by many others, and it became a great city before people were aware of it; which, for their own security, they found themselves obliged to fortify with walls and ditches. Arminius stood amazed at his new city, and spake thus:—I protest before God, that I never intended any such thing, but Importunity is to be thanked for it, who, as she stirred up Reuchlinus, Erasmus, and Luther, and other heroes, and raised them up to the summit of affairs, so has she also necessitated us, by the unseasonable and blind zeal of some, to this building of a new city, where we can now hear more moderate things with respect to God's will toward us, and such as are more conformable to the Holy Scriptures."—*Tr.*

which had long since begun to burn, concerning the authority of the Christian magistrate in sacred things, revived. The ministers who came from Geneva and the palatinate into our country, that they might here also hold forth the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, deeply imbued with the tenets of their own magistrates, ascribed to them an authority and power with regard to the external government of the church which belongs to no man, but directly to the Lord Jesus Christ himself; that is, of founding ecclesiastical laws, and directing all things conformably to them, and of suspending those who are found to transgress, either from the use of the *holy* supper for a certain time, or of excommunicating and delivering them up to Satan, according as the weight of the offense might require. To this end they formed consistories, which should be ecclesiastical tribunals, in which the ministers, with their presbyters, were to pronounce sentence concerning the case, whatsoever it might be, according to ecclesiastical laws. And this power they called the key, delivered to them directly from the Lord Jesus himself, which, moreover, could not possibly be subjected to the power of a magistrate. In the beginning of the war with the king of Spain, when the country was disturbed with military tumults and various cruelties, which were everywhere noised abroad, and the magistrates, wholly occupied with the direction of the state, found no leisure to consult concerning ecclesiastical affairs, the ministers convoked some synods by their own authority, and in these founded ecclesiastical laws according to their own will; some of which the magistrates, when they had reduced their political affairs to a better condition, and commenced their designs of deliberating upon ecclesiastical interests, judged to bring no small prejudice to their own power: such among others was the law concerning excluding Anabaptists from the state, with this pretext, that they hesitated to take oath under a certain religion.* Philip de

* The gospel dispensation, which was ushered into the world by the voice of angels, proclaiming "peace on earth and good will to man," has been too often disgraced by persecution and the shedding of innocent blood. The rigorous proceedings of some of the Reformed Churches against the Anabaptists were often carried to such an extent that the civil power was obliged to interfere. The consistories frequently prohibited all meetings of this sect for religious worship within the bounds of their jurisdiction, and also, when possible, enlisted the civil power on their side, in order to bring to their own terms those whom they considered schismatics and heretics. But we must not expect the character of the reformers will appear spotless when seen in the mirror of the present, upon which is concentrated all the borrowed light of past ages. The imperfect views which then prevailed as to the relations between church and state, fully account for the error of the Remon-

Marnix describes this more fully in an epistle to Gaspar Heidanus: that the prince "pretended this could not be brought about without a new convulsion of the churches, on which account the states would not suffer a law of this kind to pass, which they judged was evidently not according to the policy of the state. Besides," he would confidently assert that "this was the only cause why the consistories had come so far into disrepute among the states-general, that it lacked very little of their being entirely destroyed by a decree of the senate." The same wrote Adrian Saravia, then professor in the University of Leyden, to Werner Helmichius,—"I see our oversight of the churches is everywhere suspected by the magistrates, as if under it lay concealed some tyranny, which at length, in process of time, gaining strength, would subject to itself the power of the magistrates. It is remarkable how impatient is the human mind of illegal command, for it hates all who wish to vindicate to themselves some power." From that time this question was often renewed between the magistrates and ministers, until, after various deliberations and remedies fruitlessly applied, at length the states of Holland, in order that they might put an end to this contention, and that no prejudice might be created against either party, chose eight political and eight ecclesiastical deputies, who should form ecclesiastical laws, which the states, after mature examination, should confirm with their own authority. But it was disapproved by most of the ministers, that political men should be deputized to form ecclesiastical laws, when the ecclesiastics claimed this to themselves alone; and especially that in that formation of laws some greater power was ascribed to the magistrate than they wished. On the other hand, the deputies of certain states pretended that too much authority was given to the ecclesiastics against them: therefore they had never held the strength of the law. In the mean time the ecclesiastics, if any controversies arose concerning certain dogmas, decided all things according to the great extent of their own power: they desired that those who were condemned by their sentence should be exauctorated, and coerced by the magistracy with civil punishments: and besides, that those differing in no way from the public church should be tolerated as citizens; so that they themselves might be the sole judges in ecclesiastical affairs, but the magistrates the executors of ecclesiastical judgments. This

strants on the one hand, who conceded too much to the state, and of the contra-Remonstrants on the other, who employed the civil power for the punishment of those who were so unfortunate as to differ from them in their religious opinions.—*Tr.*

contest revived when the dispute commenced concerning the revision of the confession and catechism, and concerning the convocation of a synod to decide the controversies which had arisen upon divine predestination. The ecclesiastics wished that the considerations, if any were to be offered, should be exhibited to themselves, and that a synod should be enrolled, in which they might pronounce peremptory sentence concerning those considerations, and all the controversies which had arisen: and this they urged with such a warm temper, and with so great vehemence of disposition, that they manifestly wished that they could gain such an advantage as to exauctorate and deprive of their offices all such as should not submit with prompt obedience to their decision. But the states, not only as the common parents of all the citizens, and the vindicators of common and civil freedom, but also as the protectors and judges of liberty of conscience, commanded considerations upon the confession and catechism to be exhibited, not to ecclesiastical or provincial synods, but to themselves; and because they anticipated nothing from a synod but a ruinous overthrow of church and state, while the minds of the parties were so exasperated and inflamed by the heat of disputation, and breathing forth nothing but the condemnation of those dissenting in opinion, they judged it not advisable to call a synod, but to defer its convocation for awhile, until the minds of men being more united, the convention of the synod would be attended with better success, and the controversies which had sprung up in the church be considered cordially and amicably. The ecclesiastics thence grew more and more enraged; the churches violated the laws of the magistrates, and would not leave them the free exercise of that power which they had received directly from Christ: the magistrates, on the other hand, pleaded that the ecclesiastics wished to arrogate to themselves what belonged to the magistrate, and to prescribe for the magistracy: that the magistracy could act on its own authority after the judgment of the ecclesiastics had been given. When these things were agitated one way and the other, John Uitenbogart being called into the assembly of the states, in a prolix oration, in which he defended himself and James Arminius, in the presence of the states, against the various criminations of others, after explaining more extendedly his own opinion concerning the manner of allaying the controversies which had arisen, said, among other things, that in his judgment these contentions sprang from the conflict of two collateral powers; therefore, in order that the contentions might be put to rest, the collateralness—of the essentially two powers, civil and ecclesiastical—ought to be abrogated.

This saying was far from pleasing the ecclesiastics. Gomarus, in a small publication, inveighs most bitterly against Uitenbogart as a courtly flatterer, and contends that this collateralness was nothing but a calumny cast upon the Reformed Churches; that it held a station in the pontifical church, and was a sign of antichrist. To this pamphlet of Gomarus, Uitenbogart, in the month of February, of the year 1610, opposed a learned and elaborate treatise "de authoritate Christiani Magistratus in rebus ecclesiasticis," in which he explains clearly and perspicuously the controversy which Gomarus had very intricately set forth; and shows that the pontiffs do not urge a collateralness of the two powers, but, if I may so speak, hold to a superiority; for surely the ecclesiastical power predominates over the civil, and the civil power is subjected to the ecclesiastical. But Gomarus and those who are of his opinion maintain, on their part, collateral powers, neither of which shall be in any manner dependent upon the other; and that each may decide its own interests with supreme authority, which, since it is not consistent with the peace of the state, is subversive of all good order, whence Uitenbogart infers, that also in ecclesiastical affairs the highest authority under our Lord Jesus Christ belongs to the Christian magistrate, and indeed especially in the following respects:—That it should be in his power to establish the exercise of true religion; to erect temples in which that exercise should be carried on, and to direct all things which are necessary to order in the temples, and to the due preservation and extension of worship; to appoint ministers to celebrate that worship, and to see that they are correctly instructed in religion, in order by this means to secure preachers worthy of the office: it was also to be in his power to exercise law concerning the time, place, and other circumstances of worship, and to direct all things which belong to the external government and *ενταξιαν* of the church, and prevent the exercise of divine worship from being in any manner disturbed: that he might punish delinquent ministers according to the weight of the offense, and exauctorate those not performing, in a straight-forward manner, the duties of their office, or those guilty of committing more atrocious crimes: he might also substitute others more suitable and attentive to their duty in their place, and attend to those things similar to these, in which consists the external government of the church. This treatise was received with a ready mind among all who for many years had regarded with suspicion the oppression of ecclesiastical domination, and also among those who presaged, that by means of the consistories a new tyranny had been invented, not much different from the *Papal*, which charge the prince of Orange

had brought against Philip de Marnix. Adrian Saravia, who had been professor of theology in the University of Leyden, and was then residing in England, was not able to contain himself, but congratulated Uitenbogart upon the publication of his treatise in a long letter, which commences thus:—"Your tract concerning the authority of the highest power in ecclesiastic affairs has come to my hands: from this I have received as much joy as I did before of sorrow on account of the altercations at Leyden. I thank God, who has given this mind and spirit to you, that you should dare, by a public writing, to restrain your countrymen from so pernicious an error." Johannes Meursius, who has published so many works, and obtained an imperishable name among the learned, has given this judgment upon it:—"You arrange, examine, and sift all things so distinctly, methodically, and, I may add, ornately, which is your natural genius, that I should deny anything in that line could be done more perfectly. Everywhere may be seen a correct judgment, and extensive observation and knowledge of things. I confidently affirm, that posterity will hold you in esteem even for this one writing, which is worthy to be translated into many tongues." I need not now mention others. But the ecclesiastics arose contentiously against him, not otherwise than if he had declared war against the whole ecclesiastical order, and betrayed the rights of the church to the magistracy; but besides, certain ones did not fear to traduce him with reproaches and satires. And as many as wrote against him changed the ground of controversy, or set it forth obscurely and intricately; while nevertheless, as Episcopius well observes in an epistle to Corvinus, Uitenbogardus "placed the ground of controversy upon an eminence far otherwise than Gomarus is believed to have done, and without even the least reproach of any one, flowing forth in a rivulet of sweet words, gliding within the banks of humanity and prudence." The chief one among those who drew the sword against this tract of Uitenbogardus was Antonius Walæus, who, in the month of November of the year 1615, almost six years after the treatise of Uitenbogardus was published, opposed to that a greater work. This Uitenbogardus began immediately to answer, but was compelled for some time to relinquish the undertaking through reason of numerous engagements, by which he was almost overwhelmed in the tide of ecclesiastical contentions. After this, having been put out of his office, in the year 1618, he was sent into exile, from whence he returned secretly to his country, though not till after eight years, where, being concealed in the houses of his friends, and oppressed with various

labors for the Remonstrant Churches, he did not finish his former response. At length, about the end of his life, he opposed an article to Voetius, and inserted in that writing whatsoever he had already produced against Walæus. This at length came to light after his death. In this posthumous work Uitenbogardus complains that the ground of the controversy is evidently perverted by Walæus; for while the controversy only concerns the external government of the church, Walæus represents it far differently, "whether the institution and direction of religion without appeal, in the highest sense, may be demanded by the supreme magistrate; so that, just as in Popery, men are driven according to the faith of the church, we must be directed according to the will and commands of the magistrates, must be determined by us in such a way as to satisfy our consciences in the sight of God."

When from this writing of Walæus and others, opposed to Uitenbogardus, it appeared evident the ground of controversy was not sincerely set forth, and was much obscured, Episcopius, in a disputation published in the year 1618, concerning the right of the magistrate in sacred things, removed all those ambiguities and obscurities, having applied the distinction between public and private temples. For although Uitenbogardus, in his entire work, had spoken of none but public temples, and this appeared clearly from a perusal of the book; nevertheless, because his words were wrested to another sense, in order that those perversions might be obviated, it was necessary to apply a clear and open distinction between public and private temples. Thus indeed the Remonstrants conclude that the public temples come under the supervision of the magistrate; and moreover, he may determine what shall be taught in public churches. Not that he may have the authority of deciding articles of faith, and of enjoining the belief of those articles upon the ministers and members of the churches, but only of saying what shall be taught in the public temples: still the conscience of no one is bound to the articles, unless he is convinced of their truth from the word of God. But he who desires to be either a minister or member of the public church, ought to agree to that doctrine which is held forth by the authority of the magistrate in the same place; and in those temples all things which concern the ευταξιαν of the church are subject to the authority of the magistrate. If there are those who cannot acquiesce in the religion received in the public temples by the magistrate, the exercise of their own religion ought to be free to them in private temples and edifices, nor can the magistrate impede those placed under him from that private exercise of their religion, or compel them, unwilling, to the

profession of a religion which they believe false, and so bring violence to the consciences of those placed under him, and invade the rights of God.* This was and also now is the invariable and fixed opinion of the Remonstrants concerning the authority of the magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore whatsoever Voetius says (Polit. Eccles., part i, lib. i, tract ii, cap. ii, p. 125 and seq.) under this head concerning the inconstancy of the Remonstrants is purely false, and indeed mere calumny, as appears clearer than the noonday sun from all the books of the Remonstrants, and even from those very ones—what any one would wonder at—to which Voetius refers his reader. But the contra-Remonstrants arrogate judgment in matters of faith to the church, that is, to the ministers; but they give the sword to the magistrate, in order that he may draw it for the ministers against all dissenters; for, according to themselves, not the magistrates but the churches are the ones to judge concerning heresy; but the magistrates are to punish those adjudged as heretics by the church. Likewise they say all ecclesiastical government belongs to the church; and whatsoever the Remonstrants give to the magistrates, they arrogate to the ministers and consistories.†

* This is as liberal a view of the rights of conscience as is at all consistent with the admission of a national or a government church. If the state erect and endow churches, it is but reasonable that the civil power should exercise a general supervision over such churches and their affairs. And if in countries where there are such churches no man is compelled to attach himself to them, or is disfranchised of his rights as a citizen on account of dissent, which was what the Remonstrants contended for, the rights of conscience are not violated. The Remonstrants could not then see what we now see, that religion needs no help from government, but simple protection, and that national or government churches are, by the admixture of civil and ecclesiastical power, adulterated and degraded; and instead of being pure New-Testament churches, are merely politico-ecclesiastical institutions. This much, however, we must say for the Remonstrants, that of all the Christians of the age in which they lived, they entertained the most consistent views of the rights of conscience.—*Ed.*

† The Remonstrants, not without reason, called this *Romanism.* So far as the contra-Remonstrants separated the civil and ecclesiastical power, so far they were right. But when they made use of the civil power to inflict civil penalties upon those they judged heretics, they were essentially, in this particular, *Romanists.* Dr. Miller in vain attempts to extenuate the conduct of the reformed in using the civil power as an instrument of inflicting the punishment upon the Remonstrants adjudged by the Synod of Dort, on the ground of "the disingenuous, provoking, unworthy course by which they had divided and agitated the Belgic churches for a number of years." This is neither generous nor just. For we maintain, first, that the schism in the Belgic churches was the legitimate result of the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the reformed; and, secondly, that civil pains and penalties should never be em-

But as it concerns private temples, with reference to them the Remonstrants thus think: that as the magistrate has no care of religions different from his own, but attends to the administration of them in their particular churches, or sometimes enforces them, it is the part of the church to choose for itself the ones to whom it may commit those things which concern its own ενταξιαν. In this opinion the Remonstrants were always firm; nor can it ever be found that they have vascillated. Those things which Voetius objects to them are evidently out of place; nor do they regard the Remonstrant ministers, but the political magistrates. For the question then was, with whom resided the highest power of political government in the various provinces of the Belgic League; concerning which the Apologeticus of Hugo Grotius may be referred to. But the Remonstrants always contended that the highest power in the external government of the church belonged to the magistrate, whoever he might be. But Voetius and his advocates were very unstable upon this point, and accommodated themselves to the time. I prefer to prove this by the words in the epistle of Adrian Saravia himself, to Uitenbogart, rather than by my own:—"Consider the dishonesty of the judgment of these men. Oppressed by the tyranny of the Roman pontiff, we appealed to the protection and authority of the civil magistrate, such as it was, and demanded to be heard in a cause purely ecclesiastical, and we then gave the whole power to the civil magistrate, whosoever he might be. The epistle to the king of Spain and the states of the Belgic provinces, which was formerly prefixed to the confession of faith of the churches, is a proof of this fact; and consider with yourself of what religion they were, yet nevertheless how much we were giving them in matters of faith." And moreover, he objects to them, that "they confer upon their own aristocracy the authority in ecclesiastical affairs which the pope gave to his monarchy." These things can in no wise be reconciled with themselves, and they show the great instability of these men.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics did not cease to press the authority, which they had thus far exercised, to the end that they

ployed for the correction or punishment of ecclesiastical offenses. This is ground that the good doctor, as a Presbyterian, takes in all similar cases. And why should he make the poor Remonstrants exceptions? Doubtless because they were *Arminians!* It was gross wickedness for the prelatical party so to treat the covenanters of the Scotch Kirk and the dissenters of Great Britain, for they were pure Calvinists: but when he comes to speak of Arminians, the case is entirely changed!—*Ed.*

might expel from the churches all holding with Arminius upon predestination; and still further, that none should be admitted to ecclesiastical orders. In various classes, even against the mandates of the states, decrees to this effect were established. To wit, in Alcmaer that one by one they should witness, by the subscription of the hand, that "the Confession and Heidelberg Catechism agreed in all things with the word of God and with the ground-work of salvation, and that they would promise to preserve this doctrine, and to reject whatsoever was repugnant to the same, and to oppose themselves to it according to their ability." Four ministers, who showed themselves prepared to subscribe the confession, but refused this subscription to the catechism as a new step, and contrary to the decree of the states concerning the revision of those writings, were suspended from the functions of their office. Many contentions also arose from thence in the church of Alcmaer. The classis of Buren decreed the same subscription, "and that they never had, and never would be given to the innovations of Arminius and his followers; and if by chance any doubt should arise to those persons, they should conceal it, and disclose it to the classis alone; and if the classis was not able to remove it, they might be immediately suspended from the ministry until the controversies which had arisen should be decided." But Mary, countess of Buren, and Hohenlo, daughter of the late prince William, of Orange, annulled this decree as a despotic yoke upon the conscience. A similar decree was established by an assembly of ministers at Veere, in Zealand. Therefore several ministers, following the opinion of Arminius, presented to the states of Holland a supplicating tract, under the title of a remonstrance, from which they were afterward called Remonstrants. In this they complained concerning the rough proceedings of the churches against those who hesitated to admit the opinion of absolute predestination, and comprehended, in five articles, the opinion which they believed true and consentaneous with the word of God, of which this is the substance:—

I. That God decreed, before the foundations of the world were laid, to save those believing in Christ and persevering in faith; but to condemn the unbelieving and disobedient.

II. That Jesus Christ tasted death and obtained remission of sins for every man; nevertheless, in such a manner that none but those believing can be made partakers by his death of this remission.

III. That man does not have salvable faith of himself, nor from the strength of his own will, but it is necessary for him to be rege-

nerated by God in Christ, through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit.

IV. This grace of God is the beginning, progress, and completion of all good; but as regards the modus operandi of this grace, it is not irresistible.

V. The faithful, by the aid of this grace, are abundantly furnished with the strength of the Holy Spirit, by which they are able to persevere in the faith; but whether they can again fall away, should be examined more accurately from sacred Scripture before they would be able to teach this with full assurance of mind to others. Moreover, they besought the states to procure, that they should be heard in a legitimate synod, assembled under the authority of the states, in order that in this their controversial dogmas might be considered. If this could not be done, that they might tolerate each other, and finally be protected by the authority of the magistrates against all the censures of the ecclesiastics, which certain ones wished to bring upon them on account of this remonstrance. Finally, they declared that they offered this remonstrance, not to make a separation, or to foment strife, but only to defend themselves against the criminations of others, and to show that they were prepared either to impart instruction that would be beneficial to others, or to receive better instruction from them. If they were able to obtain neither, and could no longer perform their public ministrations with a good conscience, they showed themselves prepared, at the command of the states, to abdicate their public offices, and to satisfy, in any other manner, their churches and their own conscience. This remonstrance some endured most sadly, and traduced the Remonstrants, because, having repudiated a lawful tribunal, that is, ecclesiastical, they had fled to another in reality political. The states of Holland having read the remonstrance, decreed that the classes should be commanded to maintain peace; and until it was otherwise determined, no one, either now exercising the functions of his office, or hereafter to be admitted to the ministry, should be further questioned or troubled, as was stated in the remonstrance, either with regard to the article upon predestination, or its connected heads.

The classes of Leyden and Woerden resisted this decree of the states, who sent several deputies to them, in order to restrain the classes by their authority from undertaking any contrary measure. In the class at Woerden, Swanius, who thought the same as the Remonstrants, was examined; yet the classis was prevented from imposing upon him the subscription of the confession and catechism, by the authority of the deputies. Some persons in

the classis of Rotterdam opposed, with all their power, the appointment of Simon Episcopius, who they knew held the same opinion with Arminius, to the office of minister in the Bleiswick church; but when they found themselves inferior in numbers, five withdrew from the class, refused to be present at the examination of Episcopius, and soon after, having sent an epistle, interposed their protest.

In the mean time Conrad Vorstius was called by the curators of the University of Leyden to be the successor of Arminius. The ministers who thought contrary to Arminius upon predestination everywhere opposed this appointment, taking their pretext from his book De Deo and the divine attributes. They also implored the authority of the king of England, who endeavored to impede the appointment of Vorstius, both by means of his legate, and by letters given to the states. Very many everywhere arose on all sides against him; and articles were sent from England, culled from his book De Deo. He published various apologies, in which he explained his expressions, and also showed that some things had been misconstrued. But it was all to no purpose. After some debate, he delivered an apologetic oration at a sitting of the states-general of Holland. But the power of his adversaries availed so much, that he never obtained the actual functions of his office.

This dispute concerning the appointment of Vorstius continuing, the states of Holland summoned to the Hague six ministers of each party, for the purpose of instituting a conference, in presence of the states, concerning the controverted articles. The joint speakers from one party were Ruardus Acronius, Peter Plancius, Johannes Becius, Libertus Fraxinus, Johannes Bogardus, and Festus Hommius. From the other, John Uitenbogart, Adrian Borrius, Edward Poppius, Nicolaus Grevinkhovius, Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus, and Simon Episcopius. Before the conference commenced, the six chiefs who were of the first party presented to the states a contra-remonstrance, in opposition to the remonstrance, whence also they were called contra-Remonstrants. In this they declared their opinion in several articles, of which the following is the substance:—

I. "That from the human family, corrupted in Adam, God has liberated a certain number of men, whom, in his own eternal and immutable counsel, he chose, out of pure compassion, according to the good pleasure of his will, in order that he might save them through Jesus Christ,—the rest being passed by in his own just counsel, and left in their sins."

II. "The sons of the church are to be considered also the elect of God, as long as they do not really show the contrary of this."

III. "God, in this his election, has had no respect to the faith or conversion of his elect, as the causes of their election, but has determined to give faith and perseverance in piety to those whom he has chosen, from the good pleasure of his will, and to save them in this manner."

IV. "God delivered up his Son Jesus Christ to death, for the purpose of saving his elect; so much so, that though the death of Christ was a sufficient satisfaction for the sins of all men, yet nevertheless it possesses its power for reconciliation in the elect alone."

V. "God so efficaciously operates, both externally by the preaching of his gospel, and also internally upon the hearts of his elect, that they are not only able to convert themselves and believe, but also are converted and truly believe of their own accord."

VI. "Though the truly faithful and regenerate may fall, through weakness of the flesh, into grievous sins, nevertheless, by the same virtue of the Holy Spirit, with which they were regenerated, they are so preserved and sustained, that they cannot lose the faith either totally or finally."

In this same contra-remonstrance they deny that the Remonstrants can be tolerated in their opinion, as ministers of the Reformed Church, and contend that they ought to be subjected to ecclesiastical censure.

Presently the conference commenced, and all the five articles of the Remonstrants were sifted abundantly, equally in speech as in writing; also the documents of each party were afterward brought to light, under the title of the Conference of Hague, of which frequent mention is made in the writings of our adversaries, and finally in the Synod of Dort itself. The conference being ended, the states resolved to determine nothing upon one side or the other; to admonish the ministers of either party to exercise mutual tolerance; to influence each other amicably; to direct all things peaceably, and speak moderately and soberly concerning the controverted articles, in such a way as would most conduce to the peace and edification of the church. The contra-Remonstrants pressed the questions which it should decide. The Remonstrants urged mutual tolerance. The states-general decreed, as they never approved, that the opinion of the Remonstrants should be prescribed to any one; so on the other hand no one should be vexed on account of his sentiments, and mutual toleration should be exercised. The states of Utrecht formed ecclesiastical laws, and established in

them mutual toleration. These laws were drawn up by John Uitenbogart, at the command of the states. Not long after the conference was held at the Hague, Gomarus resigned his professorship to the curators of the college, and John Polyander was called to occupy his place. A testimonial was given to Gomarus the same as to Arminius, deceased, except that where it reads in the testimonial of the latter, "for we do not judge concerning controversies," the same thing is expressed in that of the former, with the words slightly changed, "controversies indeed we leave to others." In the following year, 1612, since Vorstius was not admitted to the exercise of his professorship, Simon Episcopius was given as a colleague to Polyander.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

ART. VI.—*Observations in Europe, principally in France and Great Britain.* By JOHN P. DURBIN, D. D., President of Dickinson College. 2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

ANOTHER book of travels! Yes—and right glad are we to see it, if it only be a good one. No reading, except biography, is more useful or attractive. "Travel," says Lord Bacon, "is, in the younger sort, a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." And what travel is for those who can go abroad, reading books of travel is for those who must stay at home. The education of the young, as well as the experience of the old, must be incomplete without large store of this kind of reading.

But what constitutes a *good* book of travels? The answer must depend a good deal upon the country of which the book treats. Perhaps some stray Englishman has wandered away from the Chinese expedition, through the heart of the Celestial Empire—has lingered on the banks of the Hoang-Ho, or traced the Yang-tse-Kiang to its source—has penetrated even through Shensee and Khan-suh, and made friends of the Calmucks beyond the great wall. Should any such lucky wight be permitted to return, and give us, within a reasonable time, an account of the ways of the odd people that live in those unknown regions—let us know the full truth about the chopsticks, small tea-cups, and smaller feet, grave mandarins, fantastic dresses, and solemn absurdities, about which we have laughed so much on bare report—we should take

his book without question for a good one, and care little about his philosophy or his style of writing. So, again, if some adventurous Yankee should penetrate those dreary wastes of central Africa over which the cloud of darkness has hung for centuries, and throw some little light for us upon the black people that dwell under the shade of the Mountains of the Moon, his would be a good book of travels, though the writer might be anything but a Solomon. In such a case we should take what we could get and be thankful. It would ill become us to look the gift-horse in the mouth.

This was the state of the case, a few years ago, with reference to Palestine and the East generally. A man that wrote about the Holy Land, no matter how lamely and inaccurately, was sure to find readers. But all that is changed now. Since Stephens delighted us with that most attractive of his books, the "Incidents of Travel in Arabia Petrea," &c.; since Robinson has given us his ponderous octavos, affording the minutest details of information in regard to the sacred ground; since Olin has published his admirable narrative, containing the best account of Egypt and the most useful view of Palestine for general readers that is known in the language, we have become more fastidious in these matters. The next book on the East must present some new views, or it will be apt to lie on the bookseller's shelves. We know, or think we know, (which is much the same thing,) all that need be said about Pompey's Pillar and Mohammed Ali, about the slave-market at Alexandria and the water-pots of Cairo, about the Bedouins, Alouins, and Old Tuweileb, about the palm-trees at Akabah and the convent of St. Katharine's, about St. Stephen's Gate and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The next writer upon the East must give us new facts, or at least new theories, must settle, or attempt to settle, some of the vexed questions that former travelers have left undecided, or we shall not welcome him, as we have his predecessors.

But a book of travels in old and civilized countries, the geography, topography, and statistics of which are known to all the world, must possess merits of an altogether different stamp from those which satisfy us in the writer who tells of "lands unknown before." It must give us something more than details of distances, post-houses, public buildings, and fine shows; for these the guide-books are better than any passing traveler can be. It must tell us something else than the population, the trade, and the manufactures of countries and cities; the Geography, the Encyclopedia, and the newspaper can furnish us with all these. It must give us, what other books cannot, the fleeting manners of the

time, the social and moral characteristics of the people; must show us the working of their political institutions, or, at least, the effect of those institutions upon the manners, the habits, and the general well-being of the people. If it does not attempt that most difficult of problems, an analysis of national character, it should gather some of the elements necessary for its solution. It should represent to us the forms of the national religion, and tell us what hold they have upon the affections of the people; and further, what real faith they have, and how it develops itself in their lives. Or, if it attempt few or none of these great ends, and pretend merely to give the impressions made upon a passing traveler by the novel scenes and events that crowd upon his notice in a strange land, we can still listen to the narrator with pleasure if he tell his story well; we can take delight in his pages if he is master enough of the trick of painting with words to make us see what he saw—or rather, if he has imagination enough to body forth for us these "shapes of things unknown," and give them truly "a local habitation and a name."

How far the work before us comes up to these requirements will be seen, to some extent, as we proceed. It certainly does not come under the last-mentioned category, of books abounding in pleasant pictures and poetic fancies only, but mingles a clear and generally graphic narration of personal incidents, with well-considered and frequently elaborate discussions of political, social, and religious questions. The writer's style is unequal, and the book, in many places, gives evident signs of hasty preparation: but, on the whole, it is well-written and exceedingly readable. This last, after all, is the great test of books of this class. Whatever merits they may possess in other respects, dullness inevitably damns them.

Dr. Durbin left America on the 27th of April, 1842, and reached Havre on the 19th of May. After spending some time in Paris, he passed through France and Switzerland, down the Rhine into Holland and Belgium, and thence to England, where he remained several months. It is an account of observations made in this tour that is given in the volumes before us.

Our author gives a rapid but pleasant sketch of the passage on the Seine from Havre to Rouen, in his first chapter. Most travelers cross from Dover to Calais, and proceed directly to Paris, thus losing the sight of the most interesting part of France out of the capital. Rouen alone would reward the tourist for all the time lost by taking the Seine route. Dr. Durbin's account of that

city, and especially of its magnificent cathedral, is clear and graphic. The following description of the interior of the cathedral, and of the Catholic worship, is a favorable specimen of his style:—

"Let us enter the gloomy Gothic pile. Our sensations are indescribable. It is not admiration—it is not the religious sentiment, but a strange astonishment, not unmingled with awe, yet certainly not akin to reverence. The long ranges of lofty pillars; the countless sharp Gothic arches; the numerous chapels on either side, adorned with pictures and statuary, frequently with candles burning before the image of the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, all seen in a flood of light poured into the church through more than a hundred windows, whose glass is stained with every shade of color, from fiery red to the soft tints fading into white, until nave, and choir, and aisles seem magically illuminated; the silence that reigns in the vast space, broken only by the occasional footfall of a priest in his long black robe, flitting along the nave, or entering one of the numerous confessionals, followed by a penitent; with here and there the form of an aged and decrepit female kneeling in superstitious reverence before some favorite image; all taken together, overpower the eye and the mind of the Protestant traveler, unaccustomed to such scenes, with strange impressions and oppressive feelings, and he retires from his first visit confused and astonished. Such, at least, were my own emotions.

"I visited the cathedral several times—twice on occasions of worship. No provision is made for the accommodation of worshipers, as with us, by fixed seats or pews; the floor, with the exception of the choir, being an unbroken pavement of broad flag-stones, neither smooth nor well joined. In different parts of the building are large stacks of rude chairs, such as we see in our western cabins, which on Sundays and holydays are ranged in rows or groups for such as choose to occupy them. A woman comes round at some time during the service, and receives your *sous* for the use of the chair. A plate is shortly after carried round, for general contributions, by an official in surplice and black gown, accompanied by an officer in uniform, with sword and cocked hat, and carrying a long silver-headed staff.

"We had the fortune to have the church to ourselves on Saturday, when the priests were performing service, assisted by a company of little boys, and accompanied by the organ. The service was performed in the nave of the church, which is inclosed by a strong, high iron railing. The fine voices of the priests and boys, with the loud peals of the organ, reverberated from the thousand arches of the splendid temple with grand effect. On Sunday we attended high mass, when the service was more imposing in itself, and was heightened in effect by the presence of a multitude of worshipers. Thousands were standing and sitting in the church, until, at the tinkling of a little bell, the vast multitude bowed down simultaneously, with a subdued and heavy sound, some humbly upon their knees, on the cold stone pavement, while others leaned their rude wooden chairs forward, and, standing at the backs, knelt upon the lower rounds, resting their heads

upon the tops. The greater number arose, and stood or sat during the progress of the service; but here and there one, more earnest than the rest, continued kneeling. A very decent woman near us remained so long upon her knees, and seemed so much excited, as to draw from one of our company the remark, that she looked much like a mourner at the altar of a Methodist church."—Vol. i, pp. 27, 28.

Dr. Durbin's account of Paris gives, in a very short space, a good view of the principal objects of interest in that most attractive of European capitals. The fifth chapter, narrating the events of a walk from the Louvre to the Arch of Triumph, and describing the magnificent series of palaces, squares, and gardens that adorn that aristocratic quarter of Paris, is especially distinct and graphic. But the most novel feature of this part of the book is the account of the Catacombs, those vast subterranean receptacles of the dead that lie under the southern side of the city. For a number of years past it has been difficult to obtain permission to enter them; but by the politeness of General Cass, then our minister to France, Dr. Durbin obtained a passport for himself and party to make the *voyage souterrain*, as the French phrase it. We extract part of his account:—

"A little building is erected outside the Barrière d'Enfer, in which is the opening of the principal shaft. We descended by ninety steps, and found ourselves alone in the caverns. Following our guide about twenty minutes, we came to a strong door, each side of which was ornamented with pillars of Tuscan architecture. Over the door is the inscription, *Has ultra metas requiescunt beatam spem spectantes.* Our guide opened the heavy door, and, as it grated on its hinges, I felt an involuntary shudder, which was not quieted when we passed the threshold and found ourselves surrounded by walls of human bones, which the glare of our tapers showed to be regularly piled up from the floors to the roof of the quarries. The bones of the legs and arms are laid closely in order, with their ends outward, and at regular intervals skulls are interspersed in three horizontal ranges, disposed so as to present alternate rows of the back and front parts of the head; and sometimes a single perpendicular range is seen, still further varying the general outline. Passing along what seemed to be interminable ranges of these piles of human remains, we came to several apartments arranged like chapels, with varied dispositions of the piles of legs, arms, and grinning skulls. Here, too, were vases and altars; some formed of bones entirely, and others surrounded with them. On many of these were inscriptions, generally of a religious bearing. How new, how strange were the associations of the place! Over our heads was rolling the vast tide of life in the gay and wicked city; its millions of inhabitants were jostling each other on the high roads of business and pleasure; while here were the remains of four times their

number lying in silent, motionless piles, in the depths below! And we, the living of to-day, were standing among the dead of a thousand years, in the quiet bosom of our mother earth. Religion, too, had thrown her rays of light into this empire of death; and we read, in an inscription before us, the sure word declaring that even this universal empire shall be broken: '*They that dwell in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*' On a stone pillar near by is the admonition so generally unheeded, but here irresistible, enforced as it is by the mute, but eloquent evidences around: '*Remember that thou art dust.*' The inscriptions, '*Tombeau de la Revolution,*' '*Tombeau des Victimes,*' over two chapels, built up with bones, tell of the days of strife and blood between 1789 and 1793; and here are the remains of those who perished in their frightful massacres. Altogether, the effect of the place, and its associations, was oppressive in the extreme."—Vol. i, pp. 96, 97.

After an instructive chapter on the moral state of the metropolis, Dr. Durbin presents, in a somewhat elaborate article, a view of the condition and prospects of religion in France. His opinions seem to have been carefully formed, and are cautiously, but not ambiguously, expressed; and, although we cannot coincide with him in all respects, his views are, in the main, well-founded. The prominent fact stated is one which certainly ought to be matter of rejoicing to every good man, namely, that religious feeling is reviving in France to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. The increased attendance on public worship both in Catholic and Protestant churches, the number of new Catholic churches erected, and the great zeal of evangelical Protestants, are adduced to prove the fact of this revival. According to our author, the tendency of this new state of feeling, as well as of the policy of the French government, is to strengthen the Catholic Church; and this, too, under the administration of M. Guizot, the *Protestant* leader of the government party, the great principle of whose policy seems to be, that "Protestantism shall not advance by encroachments on Catholicism." At the close of the chapter he remarks,—

"From what has been said, the reader may infer my opinion that the day is far distant when the Roman Catholic religion, by name and in form, will be uprooted from the soil of France. Its dangers, at all events, are from within more than from without. It is now committing one error, which may lead to others, and cripple its energies more than any other cause, namely, allying itself, as closely as possible under the laws of France, with the Papal power. The people of France will never submit to this connection in its full character, as it was in the

palmy days of the Papacy.* But the Papacy itself is too wise to carry this point too far. Should the Catholic clergy of France commit no great error; should they continue to improve in moral character and in attention to the spiritual wants of the people as they have done; above all, should they so conduct their movements as to avoid making any *political* question between themselves and the government or people of France, they have a fair field before them, and, to all human appearance, they will remain masters of it."—Vol. i, pp. 136, 137.

Dr. Durbin alludes, in a note, to the recent attack made by the clergy upon the universities. Our readers have already seen, from the newspapers, that the war has been continued, with great violence, during the past year, and that the clergy, under the direction of the Jesuits, have already made this a "political question between themselves and the government of France." The government will not yield; and we have no reason to suppose that the priests will give way. They are cutting their own throats.

We commend to the earnest consideration of our readers Dr. Durbin's suggestions in regard to the duty of American Methodists toward France:—

"Even if the way were entirely clear for our British brethren, and they could work in France to the best possible advantage, there is more to be done than they *can* do. Is it not the duty of American Methodists to aid them? Ought we not to seize the opportunity, now so favorable, of making a strong impression upon the mind of France, ready, in its present formless condition, to take almost any impression? To rekindle the flame of the Reformation in France and to regenerate the Catholic Church—are not these worthy and glorious objects? But this is not all. France is the centre of European civilization, her language is universally diffused in Europe, and her movements in morals and politics are felt throughout the continent. Any impression made upon France would be made upon Europe.

"May I not, therefore, renew the earnest suggestion of Dr. Fisk, that an American Methodist mission should be established in France? Let it be commenced in Paris, with the erection or purchase of a suitable building for a church. Let the mission be intrusted to an able and judicious superintendent, to preach in the church in Paris to the residents and strangers of American or English origin. Let him have an assistant, who shall preach in French, and superintend also a school for the religious instruction of such children as could be collected. It would be essential also to establish a school for the train-

* "Since 1830 the Jesuits have been gradually creeping into France, and employing their old devices to gain influence and power. The Roman Catholic clergy can follow no more suicidal policy than to foster them: their very name is enough to rouse the people of France into rebellion against Church, king, and government."

ing of young men on the spot for the native ministry. Such young men are now to be found in France, in Switzerland, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, where Methodism has long been established. Their education in science and literature could be obtained, without cost, at the universities and public institutions of the capital, while they could be instructed in theology by the missionary and his assistant, of whose families they might form a part. These might be the beginnings. The *end*, who could tell? I may be too sanguine, but I cannot help believing that the results of such an enterprise would transcend anything that we have yet accomplished in the way of missionary effort. Let us emulate the British Methodists, who have been so long in the field, and our brethren of the Foreign Evangelical Society, who, though they have but lately entered it, have reaped an abundant harvest of reward for their zealous labors, and are looking forward, full of heart and hope, for greater things to come."—Vol. i, pp, 139, 140.

Perhaps no part of these volumes will attract more attention than the chapter on the government of Louis Philippe. It presents views that will be new to many persons in this country; but they are none the worse for that. It is time that the truth were more generally known. The systematic opposition of the king of the French to the spread of liberal principles, his incessant warfare against the liberty of the press, his abandonment of his early republican friends, and his close alliance, as far as his own efforts could secure such a connection, with the aristocratic and absolute governments of Europe, have taken away from him and his party all right to the sympathy of American republicans. Had he, like a true man, remained faithful to the great trust reposed in him in 1830, the political aspect of Europe would be very different from what it is at this day. Dr. Durbin gives a clear historical sketch of the revolution, exhibits the grounds on which the liberal party gave in their adhesion to the duke of Orleans, and, finally, shows what obligations he incurred on accepting the crown, and how completely he has forgotten them. The means by which he has maintained himself upon the throne—his skillful management of foreign politics, and his prudent concessions, on minor points, to popular feeling at home—are well set forth. The account given of the fortifications of Paris, which have caused so much sensation in France, will be new and full of interest to most American readers. An admirable plan of the fortifications, in lithograph, is given, by which the author's description is clearly illustrated. On the whole, Dr. Durbin displays an accurate acquaintance with the modern history and politics of France, and deserves our thanks for the clear views which his volumes present on the subject.

Our author's narrative of his tour through France and Switzer-

land is easy and agreeable. His movements were too rapid to allow of any close examination of society and manners, but he evidently kept his eyes open, and saw more than most men could have seen in the same time. Indeed, the whole book evinces unusual quickness of observation. One of the most pleasing passages in the account of Switzerland is that narrating the visit of our traveler to the Hespice of the Great St. Bernard. What we admire particularly in this and many other parts of the book is the kindly feeling with which the Roman Catholics are spoken of, and the generous frankness with which all evidences of good among them are mentioned. Truly does our author say,—"A man must be blinded indeed by prejudice or bigotry, that cannot see the monuments of Catholic virtue and the evidences of Catholic piety in every country in Europe; and worse than blind must he be that will not acknowledge and honor them when he does see them." Dr. Durbin seems to have carried with him in all his journeyings the spirit of the beautiful passage which he quotes from Wordsworth:—

> "Where'er we roam—along the brink
> Of Rhine, or by the sweeping Po,
> Through Alpine vale or champaign wide—
> Whate'er we look on, at our side
> Be charity! to bid us think
> And feel, if we would know."

And so it should be. We have long lamented the anti-Catholic *furor* of many sound and excellent men among us:—not that we do not unite fully with them in their opposition to Romanism, but that we are sure, as good old Archbishop Leighton said, "the cause of truth is not to be served by passion, but rather is disserved thereby." Persecution, whether by sword, pen, or tongue, is a weapon that inevitably cuts the hand that wields it. Let us acknowledge freely all the good there is in Romanism, or rather in Romanists; let us love them, as Christ loved those who strove against him; and we shall succeed far better, warring thus with truly Christian feelings, than we ever can by imitating the Romanists themselves in the use of anathemas, denunciations, and slanders.

Our author gives a very pleasant narration of his steam-voyage down the Rhine, and of his stay in the land of "dikes and Dutchmen." We are puzzled by one remark in his account of Holland:—

"I believe commentators have assigned the Garden of Eden to almost every country in the world, but were I called upon to locate it,

I would place it among the cool groves between Utrecht and Amsterdam, and rely upon the good taste of the traveler who may pass amid these refreshing shades on a beautiful afternoon in July to confirm the wisdom of my choice."—Vol. i, p. 264.

Now this idea of a Dutch Eden may do very well for a joke—and perhaps our author intends it as such. We should hardly think Milton obtained, by a visit to the fields of Guelderland, banked up by mud dikes, and intersected by sluggish canals bordered by sleepy oziers, his conception of the "pleasant soil" in which

> "His far more pleasant garden God ordained."

Surely the lazy aqueduct that watered the Dutch pleasure ground of which our author was so enamored must have been a very different affair from the "sapphire fount" from whose unfailing sources

> "the crisped brooks
> Rolling on orient pearls and sands of gold
> With mazy error under pendent shades
> Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
> Flowers, worthy of paradise, which not nice art
> In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
> Poured forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain."

The Garden of Eden between Utrecht and Amsterdam, indeed!

Our author devotes a chapter to the field of Waterloo—giving a brief account of the battle, and presenting, at some length, an investigation of the "principles and series of events which led to the conflict, and the disastrous results which have followed it." The account of the battle is distinct. It differs, in some important particulars, from the statements generally given by English writers, and could not but differ from them if it told the truth. We have no doubt whatever that if the Prussians had not come upon the field as they did, the victory would have remained with the French emperor. The accounts of the Prussians themselves, apart from all French statements, are abundantly sufficient to confirm this opinion, in spite of all the extravagant assertions that are made by the English on the other side.

"On the return of the Bourbons to France in 1814, a gentleman called on Robert Hall, in the expectation that he would express himself in terms of the utmost delight on account of that signal event. Mr. Hall said,—'I am sorry for it. The cause of religion, science, freedom, and pure religion on the continent will be thrown back half a century; the intrigues of the Jesuits will be revived, and Popery will be resumed in France, with all its mum-

mery, but with no power, except the power of persecution.' And again, speaking of the battle of Waterloo, the same distinguished man remarked, 'That battle, and its results, seemed to me to put back the clock of the world six degrees.'" The following passage from our author will show that he coincides in opinion with the great Baptist:—

"This, then, was the battle fought at Waterloo. The *people* on both sides thought themselves fighting for liberty: the French, to retain it under the ruler of their own choice; the aggregated masses of the allies, to dethrone the man whom they considered the only barrier to constitutional freedom in Europe. But how unfortunate the position held by England on that day! The *freemen* of England fought to maintain the despotisms of the continent—to deprive a brave people of the free choice of their rulers—to restore the representative of a worn-out dynasty to a throne for which he was unfit, and from which he had fled before the man of the people! The *Protestants* of England fought to recover the powers of the pope, to bring back the sway of the Jesuits, and to prolong the existence of a corrupt church! But if the masses were deceived, the leaders were not. The allied sovereigns and the aristocracy of England knew for what *they* were fighting. They hoped that the war of principles would end with the second overthrow of Napoleon. They conquered."

"The Bourbon was again placed upon the throne, in spite of the wishes of the French people. The allies knew this, and provided for the safety of the dynasty in whose behalf they had deluged Europe with blood for twenty-five years, by a military occupation of France for five years more. The emperor was imprisoned on the island of St. Helena, where the barbarous treatment of which he was subsequently the victim shortened his days. The treaty of Vienna of June 9th, 1815, was confirmed, and became the nominal public law of Europe. Such were the immediate results of the battle of Waterloo. Its ultimate effects, supposing it to have been the turning point in the great question, have been seen in the degradation of France from 1815 to 1830, in the public distress and embarrassments of England, in the steady advance of Russia on the way to a despotism far more stringent and dangerous than Napoleon's, in the persevering efforts of the German powers to uproot the principles of liberalism from the minds of their people, in the renewal of the intrigues and machinations of the Jesuits, and in the increased power of Popery throughout Europe. It would carry me too far to indicate the course of all these results. I shall add only a word or two in reference to those which have accrued, especially to Great Britain and Germany."

"Finally, if any Protestant asks for the result, in a religious point of view, of the success of the allied arms against Napoleon in 1814–15, let him compare the power of Popery in 1814 with the power of Popery in 1842, and his question is answered."—Vol. i, pp. 296–298, 302.

We trust this chapter will lead many persons to juster views of the nature of the combat between Napoleon and the allies

than can be gained from such books as Alison's History of Europe.

Dr. Durbin's second volume is taken up with a record of observations in England and Ireland. He appears to have judged kindly, yet closely, of all that he saw in Great Britain; and he speaks freely, though with sufficient modesty. The most important part of the volume, for the readers of this journal at least, is the account of English Methodism, by far the clearest and best that we have yet had on this side of the water. It is divided into two chapters, the first of which contains a statement of what Dr. Durbin calls the *facts* of English Methodism. The organization of the British Conference, its mode of doing business, and the peculiar mode of stationing the preachers in use among our transatlantic brethren, are clearly set forth. Our traveler has indulged in some comments upon the English mode of preaching, and drawn some comparisons between English and American Methodism, which are calculated to be useful: but there is one passage which we are inclined to think will be misinterpreted, on both sides of the water:—

"My general impression of the Wesleyan preachers was very favorable. They clearly comprehend their great work, which involves the spiritual interests of a multitude of people; to the tasks which it imposes they devote their energies, and aspire to nothing more. In looking over the body of preachers assembled in conference, I could see the stamp of genius, according to the great world's idea of it, upon hardly a single face or form; but everywhere the expression of good sense and of regular habits of subordination to authority. They are generally men of fine physical health. Trained for action rather than speculation, they are better adapted to promote the ascertained interests of religion and common life than to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, and to advance society to its highest forms of liberty and cultivation. Though not distinguished, as a body, for great abilities or acquirements, they are richly endowed with the wisdom of experience, with a ready perception of the best means to attain valuable ends, with great benevolence of heart, with perfect willingness to work, and that steadfastly, and with an unshaken confidence in their cause. They have not the enthusiasm of young apostles, commencing the conversion of the world; but they exhibit the regular activity of men laboring according to the surest rules, with undoubting anticipations of success. To such a body of men are the interests of English Methodism intrusted. Thus far they have nobly fulfilled their high vocation."—Vol. ii, pp. 53, 54.

Perhaps we may account for the remark in the second sentence of this paragraph by supposing that Dr. Durbin sat upon the platform, and looked down upon "the body of preachers" in the seats below, thus excluding from his range of vision most

of the great leaders of the connection, the Buntings, the Newtons, the Hannahs, the Dixons, &c.; and perhaps, too, at so great a distance he could not distinguish the "stamp of genius" upon many a face that bore it. But, after all, this "stamp of genius" is rather a doubtful matter;—certainly our author does not stint his praise of the Wesleyan ministers in other and far higher respects. The whole tone of his book is that of good feeling toward them; and we are sure that he cherishes none but the kindest and best sentiments, both in regard to individual ministers in England and to the connection generally.

We recommend Dr. Durbin's statement of the financial system of the Wesleyans to the close attention of our preachers and people. We certainly ought to learn a lesson in these matters from our English brethren. Their missionary system seems to be almost perfect; and they have recently taken hold of the work of education with great energy. It is greatly to be desired that the present session of our General Conference will not pass without the adoption of some efficient measures to secure the same results, or as nearly the same as our different circumstances will allow, among us.

President Durbin's second chapter on Methodism investigates the present relation of the Wesleyan body to the Church of England. After showing how the society grew up into an organized form, almost spontaneously, certainly without any previous design on the part of its founder to bring about such a result, our author states the circumstances which led the Wesleyan preachers to assume their proper right, as ministers of Christ, to administer the sacraments.

"At Mr. Wesley's death, the Methodist ministers were in the regular exercise of all the functions of a perfect Christian ministry except the administration of the sacraments. It was soon found that they could not avoid taking this last step. Their people longed to partake of the 'communion of the body and blood of Christ,' administered by their own faithful pastors; and, though constantly urged to do so, could rarely be induced to commune constantly in the parish churches, especially where the clergy were men of ungodly lives. The imperative necessity of the measure pressed upon the minds of the preachers; they did not doubt their authority to take it; and at last their filial reverence for Mr. Wesley's advice yielded to their sense of duty, and to their assurance that he would have approved their conduct had he been alive to judge of it. The conference accordingly authorized those ministers who had been, or should be, regularly called and set apart to the work of the ministry, by peculiar religious exercises in the congregation, even without the imposition of hands, to administer the sacraments. This completed their organization as a *church*. It was

not deemed expedient, however, to change their name from that of 'the People called Methodists,' as declared in the Deed, to that of the 'Wesleyan Methodist Church,' which is the designation which occasionally appears in the public prints, and will finally prevail."—Vol. ii, pp. 83, 84.

Although thus organized, the Wesleyan connection has never formally assumed the name of a church. Her ministers have always, until within a few years past, supported the Establishment. The Wesleyans, as a body, have stood aloof from Dissenters. But recent events have produced, as our author remarks, if not "a real change of *position*, certainly a great alteration of the general tone of feeling in the Methodist Church, and in the language of her people, her journals, and her official sermons, with regard to that position." The Wesleyans have fought *against* the Church and the government on the Factory Education question, and fought successfully. Their Pastoral Address of 1842 speaks of "our common Methodist Church." Dr. Dixon asserts that the position of the Wesleyans is taken "firmly and unalterably, as a branch of the one true church of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The president of the conference, in the official sermon of 1843, declares that the "Wesleyan body are a true and proper church, wanting only the name; and why they should not have this is not to me sufficiently apparent." The Pastoral Address of 1843 asserts that the "title of the Church of England to be styled the bulwark of Protestantism has of late been grievously shaken." Pamphlets are constantly issued, showing the spread of high-Church principles in the Establishment, and the necessity of vigorous resistance among Wesleyans. Surely all these demonstrations are not without meaning. Dr. Durbin argues from them, and, we think, rightly, that Methodism is now tending strongly toward the ground, on which, as we believe, she ought long since to have planted herself, of a separate church organization, in name, as well as in fact. There is abundant reason for the opinion that the spirit of dissent is spreading rapidly among the Wesleyans, both ministers and people; and we cannot but rejoice in the belief that it is so. We ardently hope that our brethren on the other side of the water will not be induced, by any antipathy to dissent, or any fear of republicanism, to uphold much longer the tottering fabric of the Established Church of England; and that the day is not far distant when the Establishment will find the whole noble army of English Methodists in array against her.

A gloomy view of the condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain is presented in our author's thirteenth chapter. Drawn

entirely from authentic sources, it presents details of the poverty, the wretchedness, and the moral degradation of the miserable working people of England, which are heart-sickening. The whole system of society in that country is false. The selfish oligarchy that holds the sovereign power seems determined to care for nothing but itself. Of all forms of government, indeed, an oligarchy is the worst, so far as the well-being of the mass of the people is concerned. It cannot be that the English millions are to endure all the evils of such a government for ever.

During his tour in Ireland Dr. Durbin made the acquaintance of father Mathew, the great apostle of temperance in that country. He appears to have been charmed by the attractive manners of the good priest, as are all who come within the reach of their influence. After giving a statement of the results already accomplished by the temperance reform in Ireland, our author asks,—

"But will the effects remain when the novelty is over? Will men adhere to their temperance pledge when father Mathew's voice can no longer animate them; when the bustle of mass meetings, the din of temperance trumpets, the pomp of processions, the novelty of medals shall all have subsided? This is, indeed, a grave and difficult question, and I can only answer it hypothetically. Should there be no improvement in the political and economical condition of Ireland; should she continue oppressed and degraded as she has been under British misrule; should the high hopes of national, or, at least, provincial independence, which now swell the hearts of the people, be doomed to disappointment, then, indeed, will it be impossible for any social reform to live in Irish soil. If the people *must* be miserable, it will be impossible to keep them from the vice that was at once the cause and the solace of many of their ills. But if, on the other hand, there shall be a political regeneration of the Irish people, I believe it will be found that the majestic self-control which they have manifested in bursting at once the chains of an indulgence which seemed incorporated with the national character, is but a feeble indication of the moral elevation to which they may be raised. Hitherto they have been an anomaly among men. Brave to a fault, they have bowed their necks to an oppressive yoke for ages; generous beyond example, they have been their own worst enemies; kind and affectionate to a proverb, they have cherished enmities and feuds among themselves that have caused continual strife and bloodshed; energetic and enterprising, they have sunk to the very depths of poverty and degradation. But many of these inconsistencies may find their solution in the bondage which they have endured—not patiently, but with a constant remembrance of past wrongs, and a constant yearning for the day of vengeance. Men cannot develop a moral character in slavery; and, least of all, in a slavery like that of the Irish, which gives them the semblance of freedom, and allows them to cherish the hope of its reality.

"On the other hand, if the moral regeneration of the Irish depends

upon their physical and political condition, it is also true that the latter may be much accelerated by the beginning that has been made in the former. The prevalence of temperate habits, even for one generation, will make the mass of the Irish nation a different race. Hitherto they have been degraded even beneath British contempt: to *fear* the efforts of such a people never entered the mind of a British legislator. It has been safe to deny the rights of a wild, quarrelsome, and brutal people. But should these people cast out the devils that have possessed them, and stand up before the world, if not 'clothed,' yet 'in their right minds;' should these men of strife learn, by subduing one propensity, the master-secret of controlling their own passions, England, which has so long refused justice to Ireland degraded, will not dare to refuse it to Ireland regenerated."—Vol. ii, pp. 242–244.

Dr. Durbin takes a liberal view of the Irish question. Many may be disposed to think that he would grant too much to the Roman Catholics. But he would grant them nothing but *justice;* and justice they ought to have. Protestant persecution of Catholics is just as offensive as Catholic persecution of Protestants.

"Whatever may be thought of the Roman Catholic religion in itself, it seems to me that no honest Protestant can vindicate the oppressive ecclesiastical system by which England binds a Roman Catholic people to the support of Protestantism. The Episcopalians of Ireland form, perhaps, *one-tenth* of the population; and yet to them are given the fruits of the Catholic Church endowments of former ages; to them belong the cathedrals, the churches, the Episcopal palaces, the parsonages, and the glebes; it is for them that the tithe, that most iniquitous of existing ecclesiastical abominations, is levied; while the religion of the vast majority of the people obtains nothing, or next to nothing, in the way of support from the state. It is impossible that permanent tranquillity should be realized in Ireland while this enormous outrage upon the feelings, the interests, and the rights of the Roman Catholic majority remains. It is not in human nature to endure such oppression, hypocritically sanctified though it be under the guise of religion and Protestantism; and it *ought* not to be endured. Were I an Irishman, as I am an American and a Protestant, I should cease my efforts for the overthrow of the ecclesiastical system only with my life. Bad as is the effect of the Establishment in England, it is infinitely worse in Ireland. In the former country, a large portion of the population revere the Establishment itself, and all, it may be said, profess the Protestant religion which the Church represents; yet, notwithstanding this, so great are the grievances, so multiplied are the evils resulting from the union of church and state, that the system appears to be tending to destruction. But the grievances of English Protestant Dissenters are absolutely nothing in comparison with those of Irish Catholics. They are the poorest part of the population, and yet must support not merely their own religious worship, which, from its very character, must be far more expensive than the Protestant

system,* but also support the Protestant system itself, which they abhor as antichristian. The ecclesiastical system of Ireland has been an effectual barrier, if there were no other, against the spread of Protestantism in that country. The kingdom of Christ never has been and never will be advanced by the use of carnal weapons; it 'is not of this world.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 250, 251.

The Protestant ascendency, as it is called, has been maintained in Ireland at the expense of every principle of justice; and, as a natural consequence, the spirit of Romanism in that devoted country is more vigorous than ever. We thank Dr. Durbin for the freedom with which he has spoken on this subject; and trust that his manly views may find general acceptance.

The author devotes a chapter to the present condition of the Church of England. The political character of the Establishment and the abuses that flow from it are clearly set forth; and some useful facts are stated in regard to the distribution of the vast revenues of the Church. This last is a matter which has been much mystified. As Dr. Durbin remarks,—

"The revenues of the Church, and their distribution, are attracting much attention; yet it is remarkable that the truth cannot be ascertained with respect to either of these points. Some estimates make the revenue about four millions sterling, others six, other eight, and the Westminster Review, nine millions sterling, or about forty millions of dollars. Of this sum, two millions sterling are lay tithes, that is, private property, having become such by some abuse in the administration. It has been computed that the ecclesiastical revenue of the United Kingdom is greater than the sum required to maintain the whole Christian ministry of the world besides. This may not be exactly true, but it is very near the truth. The expense of public worship in France, charged upon the treasury, for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, in 1842, was only £1,480,000, which supports double the number of clergy that some five millions sterling is required to support in England. The difference is still more striking between the United States and England."—Vol. ii, pp. 266, 267.

"* I find the following estimate of the revenues of the Irish Catholic Church quoted in the Ecclesiastica, from the Congregational Calendar for 1844:—

	Fees.	Aggr. Am'nt.
	s. d. *s.*	
Confessions	1 0 to 5	£300,000
Christenings	2 6 to 5	33,333
Unctions and burials		60,000
Marriages	20 to 40	360,000
Purgatorial prayers	5 to 15	100,000
Collections at chapels		541,632
Curates' collection		22,500
Government grant to Maynooth College		9,000
		£1,426,465

Notwithstanding the vast wealth of the Church, she has by no means afforded full religious instruction to the people of England; nay, she has been far outstripped, in point of zeal and usefulness, by Dissenters and Methodists. Under the powerful influence of the voluntary principle, the independent denominations of England have "procured greater results, in everything for which a church ought to exist, than the Establishment, with all its wealth and state." God grant that Christianity in England may soon be freed from the incubus of state patronage and state control!

Dr. Durbin closes a valuable chapter on Roman Catholicism with the following remarks, which contain a view of the duty of the American churches, and especially of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in regard to the education of the people, that cannot be too frequently or too earnestly presented:—

"Next to this unity in heart and action among Protestants, the most important measure is, the sound religious education of the whole Protestant population. The peculiar doctrines and ceremonies of Roman Catholicism give it dominion over the conscience and the imagination; by its admirable and energetic system of education in close connection with the church, it is seeking dominion over the mind. If it succeed, it will have taken possession of the fortress of Protestantism, which dares not bind the conscience or captivate the imagination, but rests solely on the conviction of the understanding, and the faith founded therein. If we do not retain possession of the education of the youth of our country, we shall be compelled to strike our colors at a day much less distant than the most apprehensive have imagined. The whole battle of the Reformation is to be fought over again; not with force of arms, but with moral power. Protestantism has depended too much upon its internal spiritual power. This is great; but to this must be added all other moral means, and foremost among these is the thorough religious education of the youth, in conjunction with their literary, scientific, and common education. Religious instruction must be a prominent feature in the university, the college, the academy, and the common school. To the religious community to which I have the privilege of belonging, I am bound to say, the number of our people, the uniformity of our faith and government, and our diffusion throughout the land, call upon the whole church, through her General Conference, to devise a complete system of education, under her patronage and inspection, which shall meet, not only the wants of her own people, but the great exigency of the renewed conflict between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, which is to put in requisition the energies of Europe and America for the next half century."—Vol. ii, pp. 292, 293.

But we must bring our desultory remarks to a close. The work before us will certainly attract much attention. Few books of the kind have been published, of late years, in which so many valuable

truths have been set forth in so attractive a form; indeed, the work contains a mass of information on a great variety of topics, which renders it, on the whole, worthy of high commendation. Especially is it worthy of praise for its entire freedom from bigotry, and for the general liberality of feeling which it displays. To this last remark even the strong *American* sympathies of the author make no exception. A man may love his own country without hating others. Dr. Durbin's eyes are obviously open to see the faults of America, and he has treated them with unsparing severity when they have fallen in his way; but he has not learned, with some of our tourists, to admire everything European, simply because it is European; and he is too good a patriot to despise everything American, simply because it is American.

We shall look with interest for the author's promised volumes on the East. From the specimens of his capacity for observation afforded in the volumes before us, we shall expect to learn much from him, especially in regard to Asia Minor, which is a field comparatively untrodden. Z.

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. Charles Elliott, D. D. 12mo., pp. 408. Cincinnati: Wright & Swormstedt. New-York: Lane & Sandford. 1844.

We are sorry that we are under the necessity of noticing this work with only a mere glance over a few of its pages. Though the character of the author is ample security for an interesting and instructive narrative, and everything relating to the experience and labors of Bishop Roberts can but be appreciated by both preachers and people, and, of course, we can hazard nothing in recommending the work; yet we should be much better satisfied were we able to set forth its peculiar excellences in all their strength. But this we are, from the necessity of the case, unable to do. An effort to wrest from oblivion the history of the lives and labors of our venerated fathers, and to hand down to posterity their godly examples, is a work which cannot fail to be rewarded with the gratitude of the church. Additional interest is imparted to this volume from the circumstance that the subject of it was one of the early pioneers in the west. He labored and suffered, both in the great enterprise of reducing the wilds of the west to a state of cultivation, and in the still more difficult task of cultivating the

manners and hearts of the people. We hope this work may be extensively circulated among the Methodist families of this country, and doubt not but wherever it goes it will do good.

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2. *Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.* By the late JOHN DICK, D. D., Professor of Theology of the United Secession Church, Glasgow; author of "Lectures on Theology," &c. First American, from the second Glasgow edition. 8vo., pp. 407. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THIS is a work of no ordinary merit. Its style is pure, perspicuous, and nervous; and the arguments clear, and generally conclusive. The character of the work may be gathered from the following statement of its design by the author himself. He says,—

"I propose to deliver a course of lectures on some passages of this book, selecting such as relate to the more remarkable events in the history of the primitive church. Of those passages it is not my intention to give a minute explanation, but to illustrate the principal topics, and to deduce such instructions as they seem to suggest."

This plan our learned author carries out most successfully, and leaves little more to be desired of the same kind of theological and practical illustration of this very important and interesting portion of the Holy Bible. We most earnestly recommend this work to our readers.

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3. *Expository Notes, with Practical Observations on the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; wherein the Sacred Text is at large recited, the Sense explained, and the Instructive Example of the blessed Jesus, and his Holy Apostles, to our Imitation recommended. The whole designed to encourage the reading of the Scriptures in private Families, and to render the daily Perusal of them profitable and delightful.* By WILLIAM BURKITT, M. A., late Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham, in Essex. In two vols., 8vo. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

WE are happy to announce the republication of this truly excellent work. Though not critical or profound, Burkitt is orthodox and evangelical. He gives us the plainest and easiest sense of the sacred text, and this is most frequently the true sense. The notes are designed for family and ordinary use—to assist plain minds to a better understanding of the meaning of Holy Scripture, and are admirably adapted to such a purpose. The edition is well got up, and the Christian public will be much indebted to the industrious and enterprising publishers for this effort, and we hope will reward them with a liberal patronage.

4. *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: with Extracts from the Exegetical Works of the Fathers and Reformers. Translated from the original German of Dr. Frederick Augustus Gottreau Tholuck, Professor in Theology in the Royal University of Halle, and Corresponding Member of the Asiatic Society of London.* By the Rev. ROBERT MENZIES. First American, from the second revised and corrected Edinburgh edition. 8vo., pp. 432. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

THIS truly learned and critical exposition of the Epistle to the Romans will be most eagerly sought by all thorough Biblical students. The author is one of the most learned and gifted divines of the evangelical school of Germany. He goes thoroughly into the scope of the apostle's argument, and with giant strength brings out of the inexhaustible treasure a rich supply of whatever is suited to the refined appetite. We most cordially recommend this work to the preachers of our connection.

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5. *Sermons preached upon Several Occasions.* By ROBERT SOUTH, D. D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. A new edition, in four volumes, including the Posthumous Discourses. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

THESE Sermons have long been admired as fine specimens of the theology and literature of a former age. Bating somewhat on the score of the author's views of justification by faith, his abhorrence of dissent, and his fondness for the *Stuarts*, Dr. South is an author of great merit. Upon a multitude of topics the Sermons before us are full of interest and instruction; and we tender to the publishers our cordial thanks for giving them to the American public in such elegant style and so cheap a form.

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6. *A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. In two vols., 8vo. In which the Articles relating to the United States will be rewritten, and greatly multiplied and extended, and adapted to the present Condition of the Country, and to the Wants of its Citizens. By DANIEL HASKEL, A. M., late President of the University of Vermont. With seven Maps on steel. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

M'CULLOCH'S Universal Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary has received much commendation in Great Britain, and, with his other kindred works, has given the author the first rank in this species of literature. It is a work of great research; comprehensive in its plan, and minute in its details. Its principal articles are like treatises; and

often, as will be seen by a reference to the authorities, imbody the substance of the best voyages and travels. To him who wishes to take a wide survey of the world and its inhabitants, it will be found to be without a rival. The original work is given without additions or alterations with respect to all parts of the world besides the United States, excepting a few notes and an alteration of the population, to conform to the census of 1841; the original work having given the census of Great Britain for 1831. The most material parts of the new census of Great Britain have been obtained and inserted. It was impossible, within the prescribed limits, to make the account of the United States correspond, in its fullness, to the European and other parts of the original work; but on an examination it will be found, that few, but unimportant, places have been omitted, while the descriptions of the principal places have a fullness and particularity such as have never hitherto been attempted in a general Gazetteer. The articles on this subject are vastly more numerous, and much more minute, than those which are to be found in the original work, and have been the result of great research, aided by an extensive correspondence with intelligent gentlemen in different parts of the country. Changes are taking place in the United States with an unexampled rapidity, and the most that can be done is, to give as nearly as possible the present condition of the places described. Even this is difficult; but a near approach to it is highly valuable, and cannot fail to be interesting to the general inquirer. The value of the original work to an American reader is greatly enhanced by the numerous and extensive additions of the American editor; and it will be found to imbody a great amount of information which can be derived from no other similar source. It may be added, that it contains an extensive abstract of the census and statistics of the United States for 1840, which, though exceedingly valuable, would never be generally consulted in the unwieldy and inconvenient volumes in which they are contained. The work is to be completed in twenty numbers—twelve of which are now published.

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7. *The Land of Israel—according to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.* By Alexander Keith, D. D. 12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

By appointment of the Missionary Society of the Scottish Church, Dr. Keith, the author of the valuable argument and illustrations on the Scriptural predictions, whose work on prophecy should be universally studied, visited the ancient land of Judea in reference to the promotion of the missionary efforts in that heaven-consecrated country. The prominent result of his tour and scrutiny is unfolded in the compendious

volume entitled, "The Land of Israel." It comprises a geographical delineation of the whole territory originally bestowed upon Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and their posterity; with the past history, statistics, and topography, the present state, and future prophetical prospects of the "dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the earth." It is embellished with many pictorial representations, which are highly illustrative and ornamental. The volume is admirably adapted to enlarge the minds of all philanthropists in reference to the future events prior to the millennium, and to excite the highest longing for that glorious time when the Saviour will "restore again the kingdom to Israel."

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8. *Evidences of Christianity—in their External, or Historical Division, exhibited in a Course of Lectures.* By CHARLES PETTIT M'ILVAINE, D. D. Sixth edition. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

BISHOP M'ILVAINE rightly judged that it was his duty to see that his instructive volume on the Evidences of Christianity "no longer should be allowed to be out of print." We rejoice that a book so convincing and impressive is now forthcomiug, at a price which will enable Sunday school libraries, district schools, and the "common people" to study his efficient antidote to skepticism. The series comprises thirteen lectures. The first is introductory, and the value of the others can be estimated by the subjects, as discussed by the author:—

"Authenticity and integrity of the New Testament—Credibility of the gospel history—Miracles—Prophecy—Propagation of Christianity—Fruits of Christianity—Refutation of objections—The inspiration of the Scriptures."

We hail the appearance of this volume, "revised and improved;" and trust that the benefits which already have resulted from it in a more restricted circulation will be multiplied to the author's utmost desire in the conviction and conversion of the infidel scorner, in the extirpation of doubts from the perplexed inquirer, and in the building up of believers "in their holy faith."

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9. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, comprising a Description of a Tour through Texas, &c.* By GEORGE WILKINS KENDALL. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

IT has seldom fallen to our lot to read a narrative of so interesting and touching incidents of travel as abound in these volumes. The author—the editor of the Picayune, at New-Orleans—has become well known throughout our country as a graphic and humorous writer, in which capacity he has contributed to the gratification of a multitude of readers, so frequently are his editorials copied into the newspapers of the day. Still, however, we were not prepared to find in these volumes reading so very attractive, nor could we form any idea that such a narrative of toils and sufferings as are here detailed by the suf-

ferer himself would present so many points of instruction to the general reader.

At this time especially, when the projected annexation of Texas, and the relations of our government to that country and to Mexico, occupy so much of the public attention, the information here incidentally furnished is valuable. The long and tedious journeyings of the expedition, the disasters and tragic events related by an eye-witness during the tour, the cruelties of the Mexican soldiers, and the wrongs of our citizens during their imprisonment, are detailed by the author in a style which possesses all the interest of a romance. And one merit of the work which deserves remark is, the uniform good taste which characterizes it in every part, and many of the moral reflections in which the author indulges must be regarded as honorable to his head and heart. His criticisms upon the Roman Catholic religion, as actually existing in Mexico, are candid, and confirm the testimony upon that subject derived from other sources.

Several well-executed engravings, and a map of the country, are added, which serve to illustrate the text. The work is neatly got up, in the best style of the enterprising publishers, and we learn has already obtained an extended circulation. It is well worthy of being read, and we regret that our limits forbid a more extended notice.

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10. *The Old and New Testament connected; in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations; from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ.* By HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

WE always regret to hear Christian professors, and much more, Christian teachers, avow their non-acquaintance with the standard books in theological literature. There are some works, especially, without the knowledge of which the Scriptures cannot be profoundly or accurately comprehended, and Prideaux's is one of them. This edition is illustrated with maps and plates, with two minute chronological tables, and a most copious index. We know not how to express our opinion of the value of Prideaux's "Connection of the Old and New Testament," especially for ministers, students, and sabbath school instructors.

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11. *Sermons.* By JAMES SAURIN. Translated from the French, by ROBERT ROBINSON; HENRY HUNTER; JOSEPH SUTCLIFFE. Edited by SAMUEL BURDER. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THESE Sermons were translated and published in eight successive volumes, and now number one hundred discourses. To them is prefixed a very interesting narrative of the Reformation in France, by Robinson. This series of addresses comprise some of the most valuable, and splendid, and edifying expositions of divine truth within the compass of Christian theology. They include a view of the divine perfections—of the essential didactic truths of the gospel—of the experimental application of sacred instructions—of the duties enjoined by

the divine Lawgiver—and of the punishments and rewards which attend the acts and course of man during his earthly pilgrimage—exhibited in "thrilling eloquence and pathos." To this handsome edition, which is sold at a very low price, Bishop Henshaw has contributed a preface, in which he justly remarks: Here divine "truth appears arrayed in the most attractive robes which genius and learning can throw around her;" and "their chief excellence is their fidelity to the great principles" of the gospel. "Some sermons charm the most uninstructed minds by their beautiful simplicity; and others dazzle and awe the most cultivated by their splendor and sublimity." Well, therefore, may his question be applied to all preachers and students of divinity, and Christians—What sermons can "more safely and profitably be studied?" They concentrate all the excellence of pulpit oratory.

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12. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Edited by Rev. H. H. Milman. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This edition of this truly wonderful history, issued in numbers by the Harpers, claims a decided advantage in having been subjected to the editorial revision of Mr. Milman, who has endeavored, so far as possible, in the notes, to furnish an antidote to the poison of infidelity which lurks throughout the text. He has brought to the task much learning, and has done much to remove this black stain from one of the most brilliant productions of merely human intellect.

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13. *Sacred History of the World—attempted to be Philosophically considered.* By Sharon Turner. In three vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

We have often been surprised that Mr. Turner's "Sacred History" is so little known, especially by preachers of the gospel and candidates for the ministry. The cheap price at which it is sold, we believe, has induced many persons to undervalue and disregard the work. It should, therefore, be recollected that Mr. Turner is one of the most erudite archæologists in Britain, and that his philosophical survey, according to the costly style of printing in England, cannot be imported for less than seven times the price of the copy issued by the Harpers. Part I contains twenty-two letters, illustrative of the work of creation. Part II comprises twenty-seven letters, on "divine philosophy—paradise—the deluge—the original separation and divisions of mankind." Part III includes forty-two letters, devoted to the character and relations of man and woman individually, and in domestic and social life, with the supernatural history of the world, contrasting the ancient paganism with the Jewish polity, and elucidating the nature and evolutions of prophecy. The whole History is a noble specimen of the unspeakable benefits flowing from the consecration of genius and learning to the service of the sanctuary. The work is unique in its character and design; and should constitute a part of every library which would combine in one focus, scientific researches, general history, and divinely-revealed truth.

W^M WINANS D.D.

Of the Mississippi Conference

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D.D.

ART. I.—*History of the Church of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption in* 1843. By Rev. W. M. HETHERINGTON, A. M., Torphichen. Author of the "Minister's Family," "History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines," &c. First American, from the third Edinburgh Edition. New-York: Robert Carter. Pittsburg: Thomas Carter. 1844.

THE first introduction of Christianity into Scotland is so distorted by legendary tales, that it is impossible to arrive at the particulars of its history. It seems probable, however, that during the early persecutions, Christians in considerable numbers fled to those remote and nearly inaccessible parts of the British Isles, that they might enjoy the privilege of worshiping God in seclusion, and be safe from the sword of the executioner. Tertullian may have had some foundation for his declaration, that "those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans had become subject to Christ." Still there seems no certain evidence that so early as his time—the latter part of the third century—churches were settled under regular pastors in those remote and barbarous regions.

By whomsoever Christianity was first established among the Scots, it is certain that it was not by the emissaries of Rome, as their time of keeping Easter was in conformity with the usages of the Greeks, and was a subject of many severe controversies with the Romanists, by whom the primitive Scotch and English Christians were finally superseded.

The name *Culdees* was appropriated to the Scotch Christians; for what reason does not certainly appear. Some derive it from the Latin *Cultores Dei*, worshipers of God; others from the Gaelic *Gille De*, servants of God; and others from *Cuil* or *Ceal*, a retreat. Our author combines the two latter opinions, and supposes that the *Culdees* derive their name from the fact "that they were

refugees, and dwelt generally in secret retreats and hiding places; and that they were known to be in a peculiar manner servants of God." An account of their first organization he gives us as follows:

"The first definite accounts which have reached us respecting the Culdees are those which relate to Columba, who is said to have been a native of Ireland, and of royal extraction. He is reported to have founded the monastery, or rather abbey, of Iona, in the year 563, and to have been himself the first abbot. He took with him, we are told, from Ireland to Iona, twelve companions, over whom he possessed no other kind of superiority than that of being president for life. Neither the office nor the designation of bishop, in its prelatical sense, appears to have been known among them. The institution of Iona formed, in truth, a regular presbytery, as it has long existed in Scotland, with this slight difference, that the presidency, or what we term the moderatorship, was permanently enjoyed by the abbot, whom even Bede terms the 'presbyter-abbot.'"—P. 12.

This "presbyter-abbot," who was "president for life," was not constituted by a separate ordination, nor considered of an *order* superior to his fellow-presbyters, but was merely "the first among equals," or a *general superintendent* whose duty it was to take a general oversight of the pastors and churches. Archbishop *Spotswood*, a learned episcopal historian, gives us the following account of the primitive Scotch president:—

"*Boeth*, out of ancient annals, reports that these priests were wont for their better government to elect some one of their number by common suffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whose knowledge and consent nothing was done of importance; and that the person so elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a *Scots* bishop, or a bishop of *Scotland*. Neither had our bishops any other title whereby they were distinguished, before the days of Malcolm the Third, who first divided the country into dioceses, appointing to every bishop the limits within which they should keep and exercise their jurisdiction. After that time they were styled either by the countries whereof they had the oversight, or by the city where they kept their residence."*

From the same good church authority we have the following speech from *Colman*, bishop of Northumberland, in a dispute with *Agilbert*, bishop of the East Saxons before "Osmy, king of Northumbers," on the subject of Easter:—"The Easter which I observe, I received from my elders, who did send me hither, and ordained me bishop; all our forefathers, more beloved of God, are

* The History of the Church of Scotland, &c., written by that grave and reverend prelate and wise counselor, John Spotswood, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Privy Counselor to King Charles I., fol., 1655, p. 4.

known to have celebrated Easter in the same manner that I do; and if they think light of this, the blessed evangelist St. John, the disciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the churches whereof he had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is warrant sufficient."—*Ib.*, p. 16.

This primitive bishop was "ordained" by "*presbyters*," and sent out to superintend the church of Northumberland. Thus were the Scotch and British churches under the spiritual guidance of a presbytery and an *official delegated* episcopacy, until Augustine, by the aid of the king of Northumberland, annihilated this primitive regimen in Britain, and established diocesan episcopacy in its stead. But it was not until 1297 that the *Culdees* of St. Andrews made their last attempt to resist the encroachments of Rome. There the last ray of primitive light was extinguished in the north, and papal usurpation triumphed over the Scots.

We have seen what was the form of church government among the primitive Scotch Christians. How faithfully and devoutly they opposed the Roman corruptions in doctrine will be seen by the following statements of Mr. Hetherington:—

"They rejected that dark and tyrannical tenet of Popery, *auricular confession*, and also its natural sequents, *penance*, and *authoritative absolution;* confessing their sins to God alone, as believing that he alone could forgive sins.

"They opposed the idolatrous doctrine of *the real presence*, or *transubstantiation;* holding the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be indeed a healing ordinance and an appointed means of grace to all faithful receivers, but at the same time in its own nature essentially commemorative.

"They rejected and opposed the *idolatrous worship* of *angels*, and *saints*, and *relics*, and all these peculiar superstitious practices by means of which the Roman Church so grossly imposed upon credulous ignorance, and promoted its own wealth and influence; and so sensible do they appear to have been in their apprehension of the danger lest idolatry should creep into their pure system, that they would not permit any of their churches to be dedicated to, or designated by the name of, any saint or angel.

"They neither admitted *praying to saints for their intercession*, nor *prayers for the dead.* For they were persuaded, that while we are in the present world, we may help each other either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, 'neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden;'—so Scriptural were their views on these points.

"They strenuously denied the Popish doctrine of *works of supererogation;* utterly disclaiming all merit of their own, and hoping for salvation solely from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ; stating as

their view of that essential point of Christian doctrine, 'That the faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.'

"It has been already shown that the ecclesiastical constitution and government of the Culdees were diametrically opposed to prelatic episcopacy; and it ought to be stated, both as a consequence and as an additional proof, that they were unacquainted with the Episcopalian rite of *confirmation.*

"And, as an additional proof of their freedom from superstitious usages of merely human invention, they, in the sacrament of baptism, made use of any water that was conveniently at hand, as did the apostles, rejecting the 'consecrated chrism' introduced by the Romanists, and still retained wherever Popish and prelatic institutions prevail."*—P. 16.

From the facts of the History thus far surveyed, several observations are obviously suggested. First. It seems that the further Christians were from Rome, and the less intercourse they had with her, the more closely they adhered to the primitive simplicity of the Christian character, and the more strictly did they follow the teachings of the New Testament. The doctrine and discipline of the Culdees were anti-papistic, and the same as those subsequently revived by Luther and maintained by a noble army of confessors and martyrs. The church of Jesus Christ, and the Church of Rome, during the middle ages, were two very different things. That of Christ, though persecuted and scattered, was still one in faith and one in spirit; and was animated by a profound reverence for God's word, and by bowels of loving kindness and compassion for erring humanity. That of Rome was selfish and exclusive, and only moved by ambition and lust of power, whose great object was centralization. Hence all the policy of that corrupt hierarchy was directed to the object of establishing a universal supremacy over all the various branches of the church throughout the world. The jurisdiction of councils, the supremacy of the pope, and the catholicity and infallibility of the holy Roman Church, were the cardinal doctrines taught by the emissaries of Rome, and to effect uniformity in externals was the grand object of her great missionary efforts. These ambitious objects could not be answered while a free reading of the Scriptures was permitted. The holy Gospels knew nothing of Popery, the divine right of prelacy, and the infallibility of councils. Hence the Bible must give place to the traditions of the church, and men must obey their ghostly teachers and not reason upon the subject of religion or inquire for themselves at the fountain head of all divine knowledge. Armed with

"* For authorities in proof of the preceding statement of the differences between the Culdees and the Romish Churches, see Jamieson's History of the Culdees, chap. x."

the pope's anathemas, and sustained by secular tyrants, the emissaries of Rome pushed out their conquests westward until the last ray of light seemed to have expired, even in the most distant and secluded regions of the Caledonian Mountains and of the emerald isle.

The Culdees had sent their missionaries among the Saxons of Britain, and had established churches in various places. These Augustine, the monk, first undertook to reduce to submission to the pope, his master, and to induce them to adopt the Romish usages. Upon their denial of the pope's authority over them, their protestations against the innovations proposed, the ghostly father tells them "that they who would not have peace with their brethren should find war with their enemies. This falling out as he foretold, (for Edelfrid, king of Northumberland, invading them with a strong army, slew, at one time, twelve hundred monks that were assembled to pray for the safety of their countrymen,) made Augustine to be suspected of the murder, and did purchase him a great deal of hatred."*

In relation to the British bishops and clergy, Pope Gregory determined "that they were all to be subject to the authority of Augustine; and to govern themselves, in life and doctrine, and church affairs, according to his direction."† Now, to what purpose do our English Churchmen attempt to prove the independency of the British bishops before the arrival of Augustine? That he and his successors reduced a portion of them to submission, and exterminated the rest, are matters of history. And the present British succession of bishops, in all the catalogues, comes from Augustine. The former occupants of the British sees were, according to our Churchmen, the legitimate successors of the apostles, and Augustine, contrary to the canons of the Catholic Church, had usurped authority and jurisdiction, beyond his own limits. He received from Rome the pall—the badge of primacy—and his successors settled the Roman authority and the Romish line of succession. Now lo! our high-Churchmen have two strings to their bow. They not only have the Romish succession, but that of the primitive British bishops. But to make this out they must prove several things, which will be no easy task. *First*, that the ancient British bishops were really of an order superior to that of presbyters, having an independent ordination in regular series from the apostles. This we deny. *Secondly*, that these bishops, on the ground of their own ordinations and apostolical authority, were recognized

* Spotswood's History, p. 12. † See Stillingfleet's Originæ Brittannicæ, p. 367.

as fellow *episcopoi*, and that they took part in transferring episcopal grace to succeeding bishops. Of this there is no proof whatever; but everything in the state of the British churches, and especially the power exercised over them by the Roman see, goes against such a supposition. But, *finally*, something must be done to reconcile this usurpation of the pope and of his emissaries in the British isles truly canonical. Without canonical order, the succession is a mere rope of sand—not a particle better than the Lutheran, the Moravian, or the Methodist succession. Upon this point we challenge our opponents to meet us.

This double line of succession, then, turns out to be nothing else than the Romish succession flowing out beyond its appropriate bounds—occupying ground forbidden by the canons of the Catholic Church, in which, from the nature of the case, it can have no valid jurisdiction, and where its ministration must have been *null from the beginning*. What a glorious double and twisted succession is this! But to return from this digression. We were remarking upon the unhealthy action of the great central power—Popery or Romanism—upon the churches in remote regions. The system being corrupt at the heart, sent out its unhealthy pulsations until they had reached the utmost extremities, and, more or less, all the various limbs and members of nominal Christianity.

Another observation obviously suggested is, that with the Romish usurpations—with the progress and increase of clerical power and prerogative—the great essentials of the gospel were obliterated or beclouded. The true philosophy of history easily detects the proximate cause of the universal apostasy of the Romish Church from the faith. When the church became the Saviour, and the priesthood the sovereign arbiters of human conscience and the venders of pardon, what need was there of the Scriptures—of the atonement of Christ? what place for the doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the influences of the Spirit in regeneration? When to the pope were committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven—when he had prepared a purgatory where he detained, at pleasure, all who died in mortal sin, and had amassed a multitude of sainted human mediators, whence the necessity or the consistency of the doctrines of the one mediation of Christ and the sanctification of the soul in this life by his blood and righteousness? The church, and not Christ; the authoritative prescriptions and absolutions of the priest, and not the Word of God; constituted the way of salvation, out of which all must inevitably suffer the vengeance of eternal fire! By this process the very

essential tenets of Christianity were expunged from the system, and the pure doctrines of Christ had faded away with the gradual departure of the pure system of church organization and discipline which characterized the primitive apostolic church. This obvious fact is what gives to the Romish form of government and discipline its fearful interest. If that system were at all consistent with the way of salvation set forth in the gospel, it might be tolerated—it might be allowed to be one among the many forms of ecclesiastical polity which may be erected under the general provisions of the gospel; but being subversive of the whole gospel economy, the Romish regimen must be rejected as wholly anti-christian.

But though the iron hand of Popish usurpation had crushed the churches of the Culdees in North Britain, it is not to be supposed that all the individual light had been wholly extinguished. There were still left there, in the rural districts and mountain glens, many who sighed for the bread of life, and who mourned over the desolations of Zion. These were prepared to give a ready response to the thunder tones of Wicliffe and to hail the progress of the Lollards as the harbingers of a glorious reformation. And when the Lutheran Reformation "shook the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land," the mountains of Scotland reverberated with shouts of gladness and songs of salvation. The pope's myrmidons hastened to the rescue, and victims of their diabolical fury, who would have ornamented the first ages of martyrdom, were found in Scotland.

A young man of noble birth, extensive learning, and unexampled piety, was burned at the stake "on the last day of February, 1528," crying to God, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of man? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." "In February, 1538, Robert Forrester, gentleman; Duncan Simpson, priest; Friar Kyllor, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forrest, were condemned to death, and burned in one huge pile on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh." In connection with the last-named person, we have some facts which our author gives "as exhibiting the ignorance of the bishops." They are given in the words of Archbishop Spotswood:—

"This poor man, not long before, had been called before the bishop of Dunkeld, his ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his parishioners upon the epistles and gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him in suspicion of heresie. If he could find a *good gospel* or a *good epistle*, that made for the liberty of the holy church, the bishop willed him to preach that to his people,

and let the rest be. The honest man replying, *that he had read both the New Testament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any of them*, the bishop said, *I thank God I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or the New: I content me with my portuise and pontificall; and if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it.* Dean Thomas answered, that he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his account with any danger that might follow."—P. 27.

A multitude of victims followed, among whom was the amiable and pious George Wishart, who was burned in 1546, and is said to have uttered, while in the flames, a strange prophesy of the speedy destruction of Cardinal Beaton, which, in its peculiar circumstances, came to pass a few days subsequently.

Archbishop and Cardinal Beaton was the murderer general, who prosecuted the work of blood, as it would seem, *con amore*. And for him at least, the plea, now often set up by Romanists for their fathers, the persecutors and murderers of the Protestants, that the church only condemned their heresies and delivered them over to the civil power, by which they were punished as state offenders, is quite too narrow a covering. In Scotland, the ghostly fathers condemned heretics, and adjudged and inflicted the punishment; and this they claimed to do of right as the guardians of the church and the state. Take the following instance as proof of this fact:—

"While the cardinal was summoning together his prelatic council, that he might with the utmost pomp and ostentation proceed to the destruction of his victim, David Hamilton of Preston endeavored to persuade the regent not to consent to the death of so distinguished a servant of God. The regent yielded so far as to write to the cardinal not to precipitate the trial of Wishart till he should himself come to St. Andrews. The cardinal haughtily returned this answer: 'That he wrote not to the governor as though he depended in any measure upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a show of public consent, which, since he could not obtain, he would himself do that which he held most fitting.'"—P. 31.

But this bloodthirsty, miserable sinner was in the midst of his career visited with signal vengeance by the instrumentality of several enraged nobles, who assassinated him in his castle. He expired with these strange words in his mouth: "I am a priest! I am a priest! Fy, fy! all is gone!" Upon this our author remarks:—

"Thus died David Beaton, cardinal, and archbishop of St. Andrews, without uttering one word of repentance or of prayer, on the 29th day

of May, 1546, leaving behind him a name unrivaled in Scottish annals for the fearful combination of evil qualities of which his character was composed,—unscrupulous ambition, far-reaching treachery, deliberate malice, gross licentiousness, and relentless cruelty."—P. 33.

During these proceedings several very striking incidents are noted, which clearly show the genius of Popery, and especially its influence upon the character and administration of the civil powers. The Reformation having been espoused by a number of the barons and gentry, who considered themselves called upon to provide for the defense of their lives and liberties, and those of great masses of the people who had embraced the doctrines of the reformers, many of whom had been converted by the instrumentality of the heroic sufferings and fervent prayers of the martyrs, collected such a force as effectually to awe the queen regent, who was bent upon nothing less than a total destruction of the Protestants by fire and sword. When this arch-Romish queen found herself unable to cope with the opposing forces in the field, she would invite a conference—promise redress of grievances—the indulgence of the rights of conscience—and give the most solemn pledges to suffer "the preachers," who were protected by the Protestant barons, to exercise the functions of their office unmolested. But no sooner had she put the Protestant nobility off their guard, and persuaded them to disband their forces, than she would fall upon her Protestant subjects with the greatest violence; "changing their magistrates forcibly, and substituting creatures of her own, exacting oppressive fines from some, and conniving at the murder of others who had been friendly to the reformers," and in various other ways violating her "express stipulations." And what was her defense when charged with all this perfidy? Here it is:—

"Argyle and Lord James Stewart remonstrated strongly against such conduct, and were answered, that 'she was not bound to keep promises made to heretics; and that she would make little conscience to take from all that sect their lives and inheritance, if she might do it with so honest an excuse.'"—P. 44.

Here is Romanism run up to seed!

In the midst of these terrible conflicts, John Knox, the great Scottish reformer, returned from Geneva, and began to pour out his thunders upon the astounded hosts of Romish idolators. He denounced the pope as antichrist, and the Popish worship as idolatry, and preached the gospel of reconciliation with the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. The word ran and was glorified, and the whole Scottish nation was soon imbued with the doctrines of a pure Christianity.

"The lords of the congregation," as the Protestant barons were called, obtained timely succor from Queen Elizabeth, who sent an army into Scotland for the deliverance of her fellow-Protestants. This timely aid, together with the death of the queen dowager, brought on a peace, the assembling of a parliament, and the establishment of the Protestant religion in its primitive simplicity in Scotland. After establishing a Confession of Faith, which had been proposed by the ministers and thoroughly canvassed, Romanism was wholly abolished. The following account of the matter our author takes from M'Crie's Life of Knox:—

"The Confession was first read before the Lords of Articles, and afterward before the whole parliament. The Protestant ministers attended in the house to defend it if attacked, and to give satisfaction to the members respecting any point which might appear dubious. Those who had objections to it were formally required to state them. And the further consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day, that none might pretend that an undue advantage had been taken of him, or that a matter of such importance had been concluded precipitately. On the 17th of August the parliament resumed the subject, and, previous to the vote, the Confession was again read, article by article. The Earl of Athole, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons of the temporal estate who voted in the negative, assigning this as their reason: 'We will believe as our forefathers believed.' 'The bishops spake nothing.' After the vote establishing the Confession of Faith, the Earl Marischal arose, and declared that the silence of the clergy had confirmed him in his belief of the Protestant doctrine; and he protested that if any of the ecclesiastical estate should afterward oppose the doctrine which had just been received, they should be entitled to no credit, seeing, after full knowledge of it, and ample time for deliberation, they had allowed it to pass without the smallest opposition or contradiction. On the 24th of August the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction, prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of mass, and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic Church, and against the reformed faith."—Pp. 50, 51.

There was one remarkable feature in the arrangements made for the spiritual edification of the flock, and the establishment of churches throughout the kingdom. The whole country was divided into ten districts, which were to be put under as many *itinerant superintendents*, who had full powers of spiritual jurisdiction within their respective districts. Archbishop Spotswood gives us the following account of these ecclesiastical functionaries:—

"These men must not be suffered to live idle, as the bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be preachers themselves, and remain in one place above three or four months; after which they must enter

into visitation of their whole bounds, preach thrice a week at least, and not to rest till the churches be wholly planted, and provided of ministers, or at the least readers.

"In their visitation they must try the life, diligence, and behavior of the ministers, the order of their churches, and the manners of their people, how the poor are provided, and how the youth is instructed; they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dresse all things that by good council they are able to compose; finally, they must take note of all heinous crimes, that the same may be corrected by the censures of the church."*

These superintendencies corresponded very nearly with the most primitive form of episcopacy—that form which we have seen the Culdees of Scotland had in use before the reduction of the Scotch Christians to the Roman obedience.

Mr. Hetherington with great justice protests against the use which has been made of this feature of the ecclesiastical polity of the reformed church of Scotland by the advocates of prelacy. These superintendents were not considered an order of ministers independent of the order of presbyters—they had no separate ordination—their presidency was a matter of mere expediency, and their extraordinary powers delegated and temporary. Another class of temporary officers were called "exhorters and readers."

"This class consisted of the most pious persons that could be found, who, having received a common education, were able to read to their more ignorant neighbors, though not qualified for the ministry. When the readers were found to have discharged their duty well, and to have increased in their own knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures; and then they were termed exhorters. If they still continued to improve, they might finally be admitted to the ministry."—P. 54.

We need scarcely remark the general similarity between several temporary expedients resorted to by the reformed church of Scotland, and certain permanent regulations in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Their "superintendents" occupied the position of our presiding elders, and their exhorters that of a class of lay officers which we designate by the same name. Whether the permanency of these classes in the kirk would have as well served the cause as they do in our church, we will not now attempt to speculate. But we cannot well waive the reflection so plainly forced upon us, that great minds, set upon reforming the world by the instrumentality of the Bible and the preaching of the word, though they have lived at periods widely distant from each other, have often fallen

* Hist., p. 159.

into the same disciplinary arrangements. The Scottish reformers and the Wesleys were engaged in a similar work, and were pressed by similar emergencies. Multitudes were perishing for lack of knowledge, and there were few regularly-trained clergymen to feed them with the bread of life. The necessities of the case drove them to the expedient of employing exhorters and lay preachers. This resort, under the good hand of God, with the Wesleys, finally became the ordinary preparation for the Christian ministry. And admirably has it succeeded. God has placed upon it the broad seal of his approbation. These hands, trained in the field, though few of them had "received more than a common education," soon became mighty in the Scriptures, and, behold! "they have filled the world with their doctrine." From the settlement of the Reformation, in 1560, to the parliament of 1592, the kirk passed through many fiery trials. Though Romanism was suppressed, it was not wholly eradicated from the kingdom. The Romish Mary, queen of Scots, aided by several of the barons, made great efforts to bring back the kingdom to the Roman obedience. On the other hand, the stern and fearless John Knox led on the ministers, and the masses of the common people, who had become imbued with a portion of his spirit, through a series of dangers and triumphs which filled the world with admiration, and often petrified his enemies with astonishment.

Besides the real reformers and the real Romanists, there was a class who were looking out for themselves, and who found it convenient frequently to change sides, and sometimes to stride the line which separated the two parties. The confiscated revenues of the religious houses was too tempting an object not to excite the cupidity of the barons. But it was difficult for them to seize the spoil without some plausible pretext. The expedient was, to prevail upon some of the weathercock clergy to accept of bishoprics, and nominally occupy the vacant livings, but to transfer great part of the income to the temporal barons. Patrick Adamson at first violently opposed these villainous proceedings, as the following cutting allusion which he makes to them will show:—

"There were," said Adamson, "three sorts of bishops: my lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop was in the papistrie; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; and the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the gospel."—P. 76.

This same unprincipled ecclesiastic, however, afterward consented to become "my lord's bishop," and was presented to the archbishopric of St. Andrews by Morton. For this he was promptly

excommunicated by the assembly, who thenceforward made no compromise with prelacy under any modification. In 1572 the cause of the Reformation lost much in the death of its great leader and champion, John Knox. Mary, queen of Scots, pursued her intrigues until she lost her throne and her life. The belligerents, however, were still in the field; but the Popish party continued to lose influence, and the Reformed Church continued to increase, until, by the act of parliament of 1592, the discipline which had been prepared, and variously modified by the assembly, was ratified. The act of ratification was, however, upon some great points ambiguous, and the curse of "lay patronage" inflicted upon the church. This monstrous interference of the civil power with the ecclesiastical arrangements and spiritual prerogatives of the kirk has continued to lie as an incubus upon its vitals down to our own times, and has finally produced a disruption of the body, and the organization of "the Free Church of Scotland."

James VI. of Scotland was one of the most vain, pedantic, empty-headed, rotten-hearted, and recklessly-despotic sovereigns that ever wore a crown. Such a monarch could not but feel the most implacable hostility to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland. From the moment of his accession to the throne, he labored incessantly to restore prelacy, as the best auxiliary of the despotism with which his inclinations prompted him to rule, and the spiritual headship over the church to which he aspired. He consequently called into requisition, as often as need required, that satanic cunning which he called "kingcraft," for the subversion of the Presbyterian form of government. His movements were well understood by the vigilant ministers, who for a long time warded off the blow. The Synod of Fife extracted from a book put forth by the king several positions which were glaringly hostile to the church and subversive of its government, which they unhesitatingly condemned. They are given from Melville's Diary, as follows:—

"That the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: That it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text; and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: That no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: That parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion: That puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and Church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and

quarreled with the king because he was a king: That the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: And that parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished."*—P. 115.

Such sentiments as these were a sufficient indication of what might be expected from the king, whenever circumstances might favor their practical application. The circumstances arose when, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, James was proclaimed "king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland."

Not being able to subdue such men as the Melvilles and others with arguments, he had recourse to his "kingcraft" and brute force. When the assembly met, in 1604, he prorogued it till the conferences concerning the union should be over. And the next year he prorogued that body without mentioning any time for its next meeting, thereby intimating his determination upon its final suppression. In the parliament of 1609 the bishops were restored to the civil jurisdiction formerly held by the Popish prelates. In 1610 the court of high commission was set up, and an assembly convened composed of a majority of the king's creatures, which adopted prelacy and abolished the Presbyterian form of government. This was a packed assembly. The boldest and ablest champions of the Presbyterian form of government had been banished or imprisoned for pretended state offenses and treasonable proceedings, and bribes had been plentifully distributed among those who had hearts and hands corrupt enough to receive them. By these perfidious measures the revolution in the government of the kirk was made to assume a legitimate and legal form.

In 1618 a general assembly met at Perth, at which Spotswood, "archbishop of St. Andrews," took the chair without motion, and

* We have now before us the works of the royal author in folio, printed in London, 1616. In his *Basilicon Doron*, the work referred to in the text, we find the following advice given to the young Prince Henry, under the head of "The right Extension of a King's Craft:"—"First of all, then, study to be well seene in the Scriptures, as I remembered you in the first booke; as well for the knowledge of your own salvation, as that ye may be able to containe your church in their calling, as *Custos utriusque Tabulæ*. For the ruling them well is no small point of your office; taking special heede that they vague not from their text in the pulpit: and if ever ye would have peace in your land, suffer them not to meddle in that place with the estate or policie: but punish severely the first that presumeth to it. Do nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant, but reason not much with them; for I have overmuch surfeited them with that, and it is not their fashion to yeeld. And suffer no conventions nor meetings among the churchmen, but by your knowledge and permission."—*Bas. Dor.*, book 2. *Works*, p. 175.

proceeded to organize. A sharp conflict ensued between the "lord bishops" and the ministers who still adhered to their original principles. "The five articles of Perth," as they were subsequently denominated, were then passed. They are these: "Kneeling at the communion; the observance of holydays; episcopal confirmation; private baptism; and the private dispensation of the Lord's supper." The question upon these articles was often put in these words: "Will you consent to this article, or disobey the king?" In the action upon these articles, which were designed to demolish the fabric of Presbyterianism in Scotland, there were who voted in the negative, "one nobleman, one doctor, and forty-five ministers." The articles furnished business for the court of high commission, whose abominable inquisitorial prerogatives were now thoroughly called into action.

This is a brief sketch of the ascendency of prelacy in Scotland in the seventeenth century; an event in which many have gloried as the restoration of the primitive discipline and the apostolical succession, but which impartial history has stamped with infamy, and marked as a triumph of force and fraud over reason and right. If prelacy can gain any influence or character as a "divine institution" by such measures and such instruments as were employed in fixing its seat in Scotland, few right-minded men, we think, will grudge it its dear-bought laurels.

The march of usurpation is onward. The prelates were put in possession of lordly livings, were members of parliament, and constituted an estate of the kingdom. A fierce struggle now ensued between despotism and liberty—between apostolical simplicity and Popish splendor. The despotic and yet irresolute James pressed the revolution as far as he dared; but often found it necessary to recede a step or two, to prevent an open rupture. The death of this silly, bloated monarch in 1625 occasioned a pause in the advances of the prelates. But they soon found in his son and successor, Charles, an equally tyrannical and bigoted prelatist, and a more resolute and daring persecutor of the Presbyterians.

One aggressive measure succeeded another, until the system was consummated by the imposition upon Scotland of a book of canons and a liturgy, which were by proclamation required to be used in all the churches upon penalty of rebellion. At this point the national feeling overstepped the bounds of forbearance. The canons recognized the king's supremacy over all matters and persons spiritual and temporal, and required the unconditional adoption of a Prayer Book "not yet made!" The liturgy and offices were revised and molded by Laud, and were, in the estimation of

the Presbyterians, more *Popish* than the English Prayer Book. This was considered by the Scotch as a violation of the rights of conscience, an affront to the nation, and an innovation upon the constitution which had been established and guarantied to the kirk with the most solemn and binding pledges.

In the mean time the pious ministers betook themselves to prayer, humiliation, and, as their limited means allowed, to a more fervent and faithful preaching of the word. These efforts were wonderfully successful. The following paragraph will show how gloriously God manifested his saving power in these troublesome times :—

"In no individual instance, probably, was the converting power of the Spirit more signally displayed than at the Kirk of Shotts, on Monday, the 21st of June, 1630. It appears that John Livingstone, a young man of about twenty-seven years of age, who was at that time domestic chaplain to the countess of Wigton, had gone to attend the dispensation of the Lord's supper at the Kirk of Shotts. There had been a great confluence of both ministers and people from all the adjoining country; and the sacred services of the communion sabbath had been marked with much solemnity of manner and great apparent depth and sincerity of devotional feeling. When the Monday came, the large assembly of pious Christians felt reluctant to part without another day of thanksgiving to that God whose redeeming love they had been commemorating. Livingstone was prevailed upon to preach, though reluctantly, and with heavy misgivings of mind, at the thought of his own unworthiness to address so many experienced Christians. He even endeavored to withdraw himself secretly from the multitude; but a strong constraining impulse within his mind caused him to return, and proceed with the duty to which he had been appointed. Toward the close of the sermon, the audience, and even the preacher himself, was affected with a deep, unusual awe, melting their hearts and subduing their minds, stripping off inveterate prejudices, awaking the indifferent, producing conviction in the hardened, bowing down the stubborn, and imparting to many an enlightened Christian a large increase of grace and spirituality. 'It was known,' says Fleming, 'as I can speak on sure ground, that nearly five hundred had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterward. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so that many of the most eminent Christians of that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day.'"—P. 136.

In the discussion of the events of these times our author makes a slight digression from his narration to notice the baleful effects of "the tenets of Arminius." The sum of his accusations against these "tenets" is thus presented :—

"The younger Scottish prelates, headed by Maxwell, set themselves to emulate Laud, and almost surpassed him in their ardent

advocacy of Arminianism. But however this might recommend them to the king and the English prelates, it had a very different effect among their own countrymen in general. For the erroneous tenets of Arminius, however plausible in the eyes of men of superficial minds, will never stand the scrutiny of a searching intellect, if directed to the investigation with warm and real interest. Least of all will such tenets give satisfaction to a heart on which the light of God's Word has shone, revealing its desperate wickedness,—to a soul which has been quickened from its deadness in sin by the life-giving power of the Holy Spirit. In so far, therefore, as Arminianism prevailed among the prelatic party, to that extent were they regarded as weaklings and aliens, by the manly and searching intellect of Scotland; and in so far as vital religion revived and was diffused throughout the kingdom, to that extent did the right-hearted Scottish nobles and peasantry detest a system which introduced such men, and men who vitiated the oracles of the living God, and strove to reduce the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to a code of human morality."—P. 137.

We do not notice this passage for the purpose of censure or ultra criticism; but to correct an error which, we must say, it is a pity a writer of the piety and learning of Mr. Hetherington should have committed. We do not deny but the theology of Laud and his school was all that is here laid to the charge of Arminius. But we deny that Arminius ever gave the least countenance to that depreciated and corrupted Christianity which they maintained. The school of Laud were semi-Pelagians. Upon the doctrines of total depravity, justification, sanctification, and the influences of the Spirit, there was just as great a difference between Laud and Arminius as there is between the system of Laud and that of St. Paul. Laud was no "Arminian." The high-Church party in what is self-styled "the Church" are no Arminians. Let the comparison be made between the views of Arminius as set forth in his declaration before the states of Holland, and the views of the best of the reformers, and it will be found that the great Dutch divine was perfectly in agreement with them, except upon the subjects of predestination and election; and upon those speculative topics we doubt not our author himself will admit some of them wandered from the record. We shall have gained our object if by these few expressions upon this point we should contribute in any measure to bring about a change in the phraseology of evangelical writers of the several Calvinistic schools touching this point. It will essentially contribute to a better state of feeling among the evangelical churches if we all can come to call things by their right names. Evangelical Arminians do not acknowledge the Pelagian divines of the English Church, either of a former or of the present age, as Arminians. Their doctrines of episcopal grace,

ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins, baptismal regeneration, and justification by works, found no favor with Arminius, and are regarded by his legitimate successors as corruptions of the Christian doctrine. And when it comes, in the carrying out of these errors, to the reduction of "the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to a code of human morality," or to unmeaning Popish mummery, there are none who will stand more firmly to the great doctrines of the Reformation, and protest more strongly against such an injurious assault upon vital Christianity, than the evangelical Arminians of the present age. But we must not further enlarge upon this point. We have said thus much, because we judge our author's error to be quite too common.

The spirit of the people of Scotland continuing to rise with the greatness of the emergencies; and it finally becoming perfectly evident that the king meditated nothing less than the utter extinction of Presbyterianism, and that the persecuting spirit of the prelates, having in their hands the court of high commission, would find no limits while a ray of Scotch liberty remained unextinguished, the people bound themselves anew to God and each other in a "covenant," which was drawn up and signed with great solemnity.

The Covenanters now demanded a free assembly, before which the grievances of the church might be heard, and the prelates brought to answer for their usurpation and personal misdemeanors. The hypocritical Charles constituted Hamilton lord high commissioner, ostensibly for the purpose of calling an assembly such as the nation asked for, and redressing grievances, but really for the purpose of circumventing the Covenanters by intrigue, and, under the semblance of a free assembly, of instituting a court, of which the prelates should constitute an estate, and which should be the instrument of reasserting and maintaining the royal prerogatives, and of suppressing the outbreak of the Covenanters. The duplicity and double-dealing of the crafty monarch and of his privy commission were understood and baffled by the Covenanters. The assembly was convened, the prelates accused, and the rights of the church asserted. The lord high commissioner protested—prorogued the assembly—and by proclamation ordered the body to dissolve and the members to retire. The president, the heroic Henderson, refused to adjourn by prayer as commanded, for which he gave grave reasons; and the lord high commissioner having departed, the assembly proceeded to its work. The prelates, who had been duly notified of the charges preferred against them, were solemnly and deliberately tried, though they had taken the pre-

caution to send in a formal protest against the jurisdiction of the court, and then to put themselves out of the way. Their cases were separately examined, and determined according to law and evidence. "Eight were deposed and excommunicated; four merely deposed; and two deposed from the prelatic station, but allowed to officiate as pastors of single congregations," and an act passed annulling all the acts of assembly from 1606 to 1618, by which prelacy had been introduced. The lord high commissioner hastened to London to give information to the king of the failure of his mission. The king now threw himself upon the insane counsel of the exasperated prelates, and made the most formidable preparations for the invasion of Scotland with an armed force. The Covenanters, after duly sifting the question of the lawfulness of taking up arms against their sovereign, who it was now evident meditated nothing short of the entire reduction of the civil and religious liberties of Scotland, and the establishment of a profane headship over the church, totally destructive of all gospel order, resolved upon self-protection. And when the haughty monarch met the fearful, and, to him, unexpected array of near thirty thousand armed men, whose hearts beat high for liberty of conscience, and who opposed force to force in the holy cause of the church and the rights of conscience, his courage failed him, and he had recourse to negotiations. Upon the pledges of the faithless monarch of a free assembly and parliament, and "the ratification of what had been deceptiously promised by the duke of Hamilton," and that his army should immediately leave Scotland, the camp of the Covenanters was broken up, and the army disbanded. The officers, however, were kept under pay, and an organization preserved which could upon any emergency bring into action the strength of the nation.

Charles violated every pledge, and brought the Scotch army into England, with whom he again treated. The sequel of his story has often been told. He continued a series of promises which he intended to break as soon as it should be safe, until he finally ended his inglorious career upon the scaffold.

In the mean time the great leaders of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland exerted no small influence upon the English mind, and acted an important part in the general assembly at Westminster. The general assembly of 1647 ratified and adopted the confession of faith of the Westminster assembly of divines; and during the protectorate religion is said to have flourished in Scotland to an extent altogether unprecedented. Difficulties and disputes, indeed, arose, and parties were formed; but the divisions

were upon matters of mere expediency. Two parties were formed soon after the death of Charles I., one of which was called "the resolutioners," and the other "the protesters." The question which divided them was, whether persons of all characters should be admitted into the army, or whether none but religious persons should have that responsible place. The fact of such a question arising, and that parties were formed upon it, in the church, which continued for years, and survived revolutions in the government, may appear to us, of this age, strange and utterly unaccountable. But it is an instructive commentary upon the times. The protesters, who were the strictest kind of Covenanters, maintained the religious side of the question, and their ultra moral views are regarded with indulgence by our author.

On the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, no provision was stipulated in favor of the Presbyterians of Scotland. And Charles had no sooner become seated upon his throne, than he revived all the persecuting measures of his father and grandfather, and even went far beyond them in his efforts to suppress Presbyterianism in Scotland. Archbishops and bishops were appointed by the crown, who came to England for episcopal orders, and the general assembly, with all the peculiarities of the Presbyterian form of church government, were abolished. The bishops were the king's creatures, and the parish priests the creatures of the bishops. At this crisis there was no Knox, Melville, or Henderson to take the field. The fires of persecution were kindled, and though the efforts of the Presbyterians to maintain some fragments of their liberties, as men and as Christians, were distracted and feeble, yet there were found numbers who were not afraid to die for their religion. The fierceness of the prelates in their persecuting zeal is almost without a parallel in the annals of bigotry. Any expression of dissatisfaction with the persecuting enactments was construed into treason and rebellion. And the consequence was, that the prelates and their dependents became the guilty agents of hunting out and bringing to the stake or the scaffold many of the noble spirits who had survived the wretchedness of the times. The parish priests, who had been put into the places of the pious pastors, became informers, and instead of feeding the hungry sheep with the bread of life, drove them to the slaughter. The horrors of what is called "the killing time" are too dreadful for record. But the record is made and will remain while time endures, a rebuke to prelatic usurpation and a scandal to humanity itself. We have no heart to report the details of human butchery which blacken the pages of the reigns of the second Charles and James.

We would only refer to them as terrible examples of usurpation and oppression, which have, we trust, taught the world a lesson which will never be forgotten. The history is simply this. Things went on from bad to worse—the fires of persecution rose higher and higher, until they burnt out or expired by the intensity of their own action. It is probable Charles was a real Papist, and it is certain James was so. The latter took his course so openly to restore Popery that the Protestantism of England was aroused, and he was finally obliged to abdicate a throne of which he was utterly unworthy, and the occupancy of which he evidently intended to make the means of bringing back again the sad days of Queen Mary. But he fell, and with him fell the reign of terror in Scotland. Some estimate may be formed of the amount of misery inflicted upon Scotland, and the fiery ordeal through which the Scotch Church had to pass during this period, from the following statement of our author:—

"When the landing of the prince of Orange, and the revolution which followed, put an end to the persecution which had continued for twenty-eight years, a computation was made, from which it appeared, that above eighteen thousand had suffered by death, slavery, exile, or imprisonment, inflicted in the vain endeavor to destroy the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and establish prelacy on its ruins. This is exclusive of the desolation spread over the country by oppressive fines, assessments, and the lawless pillage of the licentious soldiery, by which whole districts were almost turned into a wilderness."—P. 291.

Among the martyrs were the Argyles of the nobility, many eminent and pious ministers, and numbers of the pious peasantry, embracing *women* and *children*. The stories of these martyrdoms, recorded by Wodrow, are fearful records of persecuting bigotry on the one hand, and glorious instances of true Christian constancy on the other. May the world never see again the same horrors—the same dreadful exhibitions of depravity! But should these recur, may the spirit of the Scotch martyrs again be revived!

On the accession of William and Mary, the Presbyterian Church was again restored and settled in Scotland. But the kirk was far from being at peace. There were then in the kingdom, properly, three parties, the Popish, the Prelatic, and the Presbyterian. And though the latter was now in the ascendant, the fallen parties, writhing under their mortifications, made use of every possible advantage. But being generally characterized as *Jacobites*, that is, adherents of the expelled sovereign, they could only act as a faction. But there were elements of discord among the Presbyterians themselves. As in all great civil or ecclesiastical changes,

there are multitudes who can bend their consciences to their interests, and so rally under the banners of the party which happens to be in power; so in this case, there were many of the prelatic priests who changed sides in name, to retain their livings, who were, of course, a curse to the church, being always ready to betray her into sinful compliances with the designs of state politicians. It was the policy of the government to make the terms of admission into the church to the prelatists as easy as possible; while there was a class of Presbyterians, and they of the better sort, who could not easily be brought into terms of Christian fellowship with their former oppressors and persecutors. The Cameronian ministers acquiesced; but many of the people refused, and finally organized by themselves, and, as best they could, provided themselves with pastors. After the final union of the two kingdoms under Queen Anne, in 1712, lay patronage, which had been kept at bay during the revolution, was restored by the British parliament. This was a grievous burden to the better class of Presbyterians, and originated questions which divided the church into two parties. One held what came to be called "moderatism," and being the majority, continued to sway the decisions of the general assembly; the minority being composed of stuff that could not be made to move a hair's breadth from what they conceived to be the New Testament pattern, declared themselves independent, and were thenceforward called "seceders." With the spirit and theology of the seceders our author strongly sympathizes, and also with the Antinomian creed which was maintained by the high Calvinists of those days.

The following is a test article proposed by one of the presbyteries to a candidate of the ministry:—

"That I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God."—P. 340.

This our author thinks truly orthodox, beyond all question. But his explanation is, "that it was intended to guard against the unsound doctrine, that a man must himself first abandon sin, and cease to be a sinner, before he can be at liberty or entitled to come to Christ, and to enter into the covenant with God." Now, with the doctrine of the author's explanation we have no difficulty; but it is a version of the article which will hardly be borne out by the language or the facts in the case. Then, again, we protest against his calling this "Arminian." No true Arminian ever held the doctrine which our author says this famous test article

was constructed to oppose. That Mr. Hetherington is a Calvinist, of the highest grade, seems clear from the fact that he says the views of Baxter "respecting the doctrines of grace are deeply tinged with Arminian errors." Pray, how many Presbyterians in America are not Arminians, if Richard Baxter was one? But we must dismiss these points, and proceed with the history.

"The moderates" kept the ascendancy, and such was their course that many local secessions took place, which drew off from the national church many of the most pious of the ministers and lay members. Patronage continued to produce its legitimate results in presenting to the church livings mere mercenaries, and thus starving the poor sheep—giving them dry moral essays and semi-Pelagian speculations instead of the pure gospel of Jesus Christ.

In 1742 God poured out his Spirit upon several churches in Scotland, and many were awakened and converted. And so low was the tone of religious feeling in the nation, that even the pious seceders were filled with such pious horror at these outbreaks of *fanaticism*, that they "appointed a solemn fast to be held on account of the awful symptoms of the Lord's anger," of which they were the evidence!

In 1796, a missionary effort having been put in motion, the general assembly passed sentence of condemnation upon it, on the ground that *the gospel is not good for the heathen!*—that "men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths;" and that "while there remains at home a single individual without the means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper and absurd!" These are sad specimens of the religion of the Scotch Church upon the very dawn of the nineteenth century. Methodism had by this time been the means, in the hands of God, of arousing England, and was achieving glorious triumphs in America. But even the better sort of the Scotch were too thoroughly entrenched in their attachments to their "covenants," their "confession of faith," and the divine excellency of their religious nationality, to be soon and easily affected by a new religious movement. So while the work of evangelical piety was reviving in England and America, and the great missionary movement, which constitutes the brightest spot in the present century, was attracting the attention and admiration of the world, the course of the kirk was still downhill.

An increasing dissatisfaction among the people with the practical workings of the national system, called forth efforts from various sources to effect some modification of it. There was a growing

dislike to moderatism among the people, and an increase of the evangelical spirit among the ministers, until, in the general assembly of 1834, an effort was made to check the deadly influence of the law of patronage, which proved successful. The following is the author's statement of this reforming measure :—

"A motion was made by Lord Moncreiff to the same purport as that made by Dr. Chalmers in the preceding assembly, declaring that the disapproval of a majority of male heads of families, being communicants, should be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting the person so disapproved of; and declaring further, that no person should be entitled to express his disapproval, who should refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation. After a long and able debate, this motion was carried by a majority of forty-six, the numbers being one hundred and eighty-four to one hundred and thirty-eight. This most important decision took place on Tuesday, the 27th day of May, 1834; and with it terminated the reign of moderatism in the Church of Scotland."—P. 399.

From this moment a conflict was waged between the "moderates" and the "evangelicals," which was never to be compromised. In several instances persons were rejected by the people, who had been presented by the patron, and, by an appeal to the civil court, obtained a decision in their favor. The "court of session" proceeded upon the principle that the presentation of the patron originated a civil right in behalf of the candidate, and entitled him to damages for being debarred by the Presbyterians. A series of lawsuits ensued, which occasioned great agitation throughout the country; and, in a final appeal to the British parliament, the "rights of patrons" were sustained. The majority in the assembly who were opposed to this sacrilegious usurpation of the civil power was large, and strong symptoms of a disruption of the establishment began to develop themselves. Our author thus sums up the grievances of the church pending the final issue :—

"Such was the state of affairs when the time for the meeting of the general assembly drew near. There was scarcely a single point of the conflict which had not been fought out,—scarcely a single disputed question which had not been resolved so as to cause its primary elements to appear. During the course of the protracted struggle, every leading principle of the Church of Scotland's constitution had been assailed and overborne by the decisions of the civil courts, so that her entire government and discipline had been subverted. Kirk-sessions and presbyteries had been prevented from exercising discipline, as in the case of the parish of Inverkeillor, and presbytery of Arbroath. The

court of session had assumed the power of determining who were or were not to be rulers and office-bearers, as ministers and elders in the possession of all their due functions, preventing the church from extending religious instruction to the people, and destroying the principle of Presbyterian equality of ministers, as in the case of Stewarton, affecting all *quoad sacra* parishes. It had been decided that the minority of a presbytery might supersede the majority, though fewer than the legal number required to constitute a presbytery at all, and might, in defiance of the orders of every superior church court, transact business, and give license, induction, and ordination, as in the case of Auchterarder. The court of session had assumed and exercised the power of removing the sentence of deposition, and restoring deposed persons to their ecclesiastical character, as in the case of Strathbogie. Damages had been found due to a rejected presentee, against the majority of a presbytery, because they refused to ordain him, although he was in possession of the fruits of the benefice, and the civil court had impowered the minority to confer ordination, as in the case of Lethendy. And, as if to complete the utter prostration of religious liberty, the court of session first interdicted the church courts from ordaining ministers on the call of the people, where no civil interests of other parties could possibly be involved, as in the cases of Marnoch and Stewarton, and then inflicted a fine upon those who had, in a matter so purely and exclusively spiritual, dared to obey God rather than man. And both government and the legislature had distinctly and peremptorily refused to redress these grievous wrongs, to restrain the civil courts within their own proper jurisdiction, and to protect the Church of Scotland from being again exposed to similar violent encroachments upon those sacred rights and privileges 'which God has given to his church.'"—Pp. 460, 461.

The aggrieved party had taken their measures: they had counted the cost—and considered themselves bound by the obligations which they owed the Lord Jesus Christ, as Head of the church, to wrest the church from what they considered sacrilegious encroachments of the civil power upon the rights of conscience, and the prerogatives of the Lord of the church. They consequently made solemn preparation for the final issue. A convocation had assembled, which took the present emergencies of the church into grave consideration, and appointed various committees to act in the business of preparing to meet the exigency when she should make her exodus. At length the time arrived; and the final action is thus eloquently described by our author:—

"The day had now come—the day big with the fate of the Church of Scotland, and without presumption it may be added, with the spiritual welfare of Christendom. It was a bright and lovely day of May—the memorable 18th—when nearly all that Scotland could produce of aristocratic grandeur, and civic authority, and legal dignity, and clerical aspiration, and ministerial worth, and upright integrity, and fer-

vent piety, and eager curiosity, thronged the ancient capital, and poured their countless multitudes along her streets, and to every point of peculiar importance. The reign of silence in gray Holyrood was interrupted, for the annual glitter and noisy bustle of reflected royalty was there; the sombre aspect of the old tower was changed into the brightness of a gorgeous procession, as her Majesty's commissioner proceeded to the cathedral church of St. Giles; and a close-pent crowd had already, from an early hour, filled St. Andrews, where the assembly was ere long to meet. Slowly the hours wore past until the levee terminated, and the sermon had been preached by Dr. Welsh, the moderator of the preceding assembly,—a sermon distinguished alike by clearness of thought, loftiness of principle, and emphatic energy of expression. Then began the active interest of the day. The streets were filled by a dense mass of human beings; and it required the utmost exertions of a large body of police to open an avenue through the multitude, such as to permit the processional movement of the commissioner to advance. As the brilliant train swept past, it was regarded by the people with utter indifference,—their beloved church was on her trial, and what was shadowed royalty compared to that? When the slow procession passed, the vast crowd closed behind it, as the disparted ocean-wave closes behind the gliding ship. Within the Assembly Hall, in St. Andrew's Church, the tramp of steeds, the clash of military accoutrements, and the ringing swell of martial music was heard; the languor of long hours was at once thrown off, and all prepared, with sharpened eye and mind, to notice and to treasure up in memory's most retentive tablets the even awfully-important events of each next trembling moment. All were keenly alive, yet all were deeply still, in the intense eagerness of curiosity, or the solemn earnestness of prayer.

"The members of assembly came thronging in by either door. On the moderate side there was the appearance of uncertainty and care, and somewhat, perhaps, of gloomy fear, lest, after all, their victory should prove more disastrous than defeat; and on the evangelical side there was that grave and settled seriousness of aspect, that chastened awe of mean and bearing which men wear when engaged in some great and sacred enterprise. The commissioner, the marquis of Bute, entered, and was received with the usual ceremonies of respect. The moderator opened the meeting with prayer. Then followed a pause of brief duration, but of dead silence, unbroken save by the quickened beatings of a thousand hearts. Again the moderator spoke, uttering slowly and firmly the following words:—'According to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges,—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her Majesty's government, and by the legislature of the country, and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth

in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read.' He then read the protest, laid it on the table before the clerk, and, bowing to the throne where sat the commissioner, attended by the law officers of the crown, withdrew, closely followed by all the men of distinguished genius, and talent, and learning, and piety, and faithfulness, and energy, and zeal,—by all whose lives and labors had shed fresh grace and glory on the Church of Scotland, as honored servants of her Head and King. A long-drawn sobbing sigh, a suppressed cheer, at once of admiration and deep sympathy, swept round the church, as the crowded spectators gazed intently on the strangely-solemn scene. As man by man rose and joined the retiring band, and seat by seat was emptied on the left side of the throne, the moderate party, the attendants of the commissioner, and the commissioner himself, gazed on with countenances expressive of astonishment and dismay. They were beginning to learn that religious liberty was a reality which the powers of the world might assail, but could not conquer; that faith and truth had yet a home upon the earth, and that there existed a class of men to whom stainless integrity of character, and a conscience void of offence, and spiritual independence, and the glory of the Redeemer's crown, were more precious than all that the world could give or take away. In some instances, the excited aspect of boasting and baffled scorners was even fearful; some who, but a few hours before, had sent intimation to the government that not thirty ministers would leave the establishment, and whose faces, as they marked the event, grew livid and ghastly with agitation.

"At the door of the church, and the street immediately in front of it, there had been some excitement among the crowd from their closeness to the scene, and yet the impossibility of knowing what was going on within. '*When* will they come?' 'They will *not* come.' 'They *will* come,' had been the abruptly-interchanged exclamations, when the door opened, and '*Here they come!*' announced to the vast multitude that the deed was done, and that the Evangelical Church of Scotland was free! Instantly the whole mass of people was in motion, hats and handkerchiefs were waved aloft, and a shout, not loud nor long, but deep and earnest,—a shout, the voice of the heart rather than of the lip, burst from the countless thousands that thronged street, and door, and window, and even housetop, wherever a foot could be perched and a view obtained. And how were the ministers to work their way through that dense crowd? No civic force was there to clear a path; the military had retired; but with one simultaneous impulse the mass divided right and left, and opened an avenue in the middle of the street so broad that four might walk abreast, and through that living lane the venerable defenders of religious liberty moved calmly and steadily on along the line of street leading to their appointed place of meeting at Tanfield Hall, on the north side of the city, in the valley formed by the water of Leith. Never, perhaps, was there a more signal instance beheld of the power which tried and trusted moral worth and religious dignity exercise over the mind of man, than in that marvelous spectacle; and frankly did many strangers, natives of other lands, who were present,

declare, that in no country but Scotland could such a moral and religious triumph have been displayed. Not one single jarring incident occurred; no haste, no confusion disturbed the great and grave solemnity of the Church of Scotland's exodus; her friends were stilled from tumultuary applause, her enemies were restrained from wrathful violence, and the presiding care of her Divine Head and King rendered her path one of serenity and peace. Yet when the protesting ministers and elders took their places in the space reserved for them in the spacious hall, within which already at least three thousand spectators had assembled, and when Dr. Welsh opened the meeting with a prayer remarkable for solemnity of tone, comprehensiveness of thought, and even sublime fervor of devotional spirit, many a bosom could no longer restrain its full and bursting emotions, and many a grave and manly countenance was copiously bathed in tears. It was not sorrow, still less was it regret; it was the outpouring of unutterable gratitude to God for that grace which had enabled them to maintain their integrity, and to bear an unshaken testimony to the truth of Christ's mediatorial sovereignty, and for that providential goodness which had watched over them, preserved them from all strife and confusion, and given to all their proceedings that air of calm, untroubled dignity, which so well beseemed the sacred nature and the vast importance of the event. Another mode of relief to the full heart was obtained when that great multitude stood up to sing the praises of the Lord, in such a strain of rejoicing and adoring melody as human ears have seldom heard, and human voices seldom raised to heaven. But enough; the whole scene was far beyond description,—a scene such as to share in and behold, might have amply repaid the toils and sorrows of a lifetime,—a scene worth living to witness, worth dying to realize.

"The events which followed are too recent in their occurrence, and too deeply engraved on the mind of the country, to require to be here recorded in minute detail. A few only of those which were of chief importance may be briefly stated. Dr. Welsh, in a short, emphatic speech, moved that Dr. Chalmers should be chosen moderator of this the first general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. The motion was carried by acclamation, and Dr. Chalmers took the chair. The forty-third psalm was then sung, prayer was again offered up to God, and the assembly was thus regularly constituted. Dr. Chalmers then commenced the business by an address, in which he recapitulated the principles of the recent conflict, as necessarily the same on which the new assembly was now constituted and prepared henceforth to act; viewed the position which must now be occupied, and the course of conduct which ought to be followed toward other parties; and concluded with a beautiful statement and application of the sacred principles and heavenly affections that knit together the hearts and minds of faithful pastors and their pious people. It was then proposed by Dr. Candlish, that the assembly should assume into their body, as members of the house, all those ministers who had signed the protest, or a concurrence in it, together with one elder from each adhering kirk-session. This proposal was received with unanimous approbation; and thus the assembly was put in a position to complete, by means of

a formal deed of demision, individually signed, the separation of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland from the state, and from the Erastianized Establishment.

"The time of several successive days was occupied in receiving deputations from other churches, who expressed their concurrence in the principles and sympathy with the sufferings of the Free Church; in hearing the reports of the sub-divisions of the Provisional Committee, and of the committees for managing the schemes of the church, of which the one for the conversion of the Jews obtained the precedence;* and in receiving the declared adherence of a large body of probationers, during the course of which proceeding, many very eloquent and very impressive addresses called forth the deep emotions of the vast audience. At length, on Tuesday, the twenty-third of May, the act of separation and deed of demission was read, received the approbation of the assembly, and was prepared for receiving the signatures of all adhering ministers and elders. All other business was suspended, that this momentous act might, with due deliberation and solemnity, be done in the presence of the whole assembly. The roll of names was called in the usual arrangement of synods and presbyteries. Ten by ten the members rose, moved to the platform behind the moderator's chair, and there, with unswerving heart and steady hand, calmly completed the sacrifice of all their worldly possessions and their station in society, for the sake, as they firmly believed and deeply felt, of Christ's crown and covenant.† At least five hours were occupied in the deliberate execution of this singularly-impressive and self-denying deed; and yet throughout this protracted period there appeared no symptom of either excitement or languor. It was the result, not of hasty and fickle passion, but of steady and unchangeable principle; it was the deed of the soul, rather than of the heart; it had been caused, and it was accomplished, by the power of spiritual and eternal truth, and, therefore, it displayed somewhat of the majestic serenity and immovable steadfastness of eternity itself."—Pp. 462–465.

Having followed our author through his interesting narrative, and attentively weighed his views of the causes and results of the facts he records, we have before us a wide field for remarks, both general and particular. But we have already occupied so much space that we must restrict ourselves to narrow limits in this department, and only notice a few points.

The work, as a literary performance, is of a high order. The author's style is copious, perspicuous, and nervous. Occasional

"* It was a curious and an encouraging coincidence, that as the Church of Scotland had been the first church that sent missionaries to the Jews, so to resume that mission was the first enterprise of the Free Church.

"† The number of those who signed on that day was three hundred and eighty-six; additional signatures, subsequently given, have raised it to upward of four hundred and seventy."

defects, in the ardor of composition, have escaped him, which he will be sure to remedy in subsequent editions. The philosophy of the facts presented is elaborated with a strong hand, and shows the author entitled to a rank with Clarendon, D'Aubigné, &c. That he should write as a *Scotchman* and an *evangelical* is not strange. But while he always appears as the apologist for the kirk, and in the latter part of his work for the evangelical party, it cannot in fairness be said that he colors for effect, or that he perverts authorities for the suppression of truth. He gives a thousand deadly thrusts at *prelacy* and *moderatism*, but no sympathy is excited for these great enemies of the kirk, as it appears perfectly plain that he strikes vipers whose poison had produced so much mischief, that the justice of the world demands their decapitation.

We have already had occasion to enter our protest against the author's views of Arminianism. In one or two more cases he loses the track of truth. He opposes "the voluntary system," as the doctrine that the church needs not legal provisions for the support of her ministry is now called in Scotland. It seems unaccountable how one so capable of following out all the various ramifications of state policy, and the deadly workings of the system of government in a state church, should still adhere to the figment of a national or state religion. Where did the system ever work well? In what instance has not the church suffered the entire loss of her freedom of discipline and purity of character by a union with the state? Religion needs no such ally. Indeed, it cannot endure the unnatural connection. All she wants is a fair field of action—protection from physical force; and even under much of this she has often flourished, and achieved some of her noblest conquests. But leave her to her own legitimate resources, the guidance and favor of her divine Author, and she will take the world—and "the kingdom and the greatness of the power under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high God, and they shall reign for ever and ever."

We also think the author errs in striking at patronage as the great source of all the mischief which has in modern times befallen the kirk; that is, we do not think his theory penetrates the depths of the evil. He merely strikes at a prominent limb, while he leaves the massy trunk of the tree untouched. Patronage, we believe, except in those cases where the state has been made the slave of the church, has always been an appendage of a state religion. If the civil government erects and endows churches, whose ministry and government are wholly independent of it, what security is there that the very resources of the state will not be turned

against itself? Should not the civil power have a check upon its own religious establishment? The union of the church with the state without the right of state patronage runs into ecclesiastical tyranny; and this union with state patronage ruins the purity of the church. The root of the evil then is, *the union of Church and State.* We abhor patronage as cordially as Mr. Hetherington can, but we would apply the only effective remedy—that of an utter severance of the church from the state.

Our author urges, in common with all advocates for a national establishment, that it is the duty of civil governments, as such, to support religion by legal provisions. Now this we wholly deny. Civil governments are institutions of God, but they have their particular province and work. This is the protection of the community, and of the individuals of which it is composed, in their natural and civil rights. They have nothing to do with religion but to revere its high and holy principles in their civil arrangements and administration, and to protect every man and every society in the exercise of the rights of conscience in matters of religion, so long as that exercise contravenes no social or individual right. Churches are voluntary associations for the purpose of carrying out the great general and public ends of religion. Upon them devolves the duty of sustaining discipline and of propagating the gospel. The true doctrine of the independence of the church, or rather its withdrawing from all state connections, and retiring to its own proper province, is well understood in this country, and scarcely anywhere else. "The voluntary system" has here been fully tested; and, thank Heaven, the success of the experiment has proved that religion only wants fair play. If she cannot support herself now, under the protection of a free government and the administration of wholesome laws—laws which protect her from violence and recognize her high moral claims—she has become another thing from what she was when she lived and flourished in spite of laws inconceivably unjust and cruelly oppressive, administered by bloodthirsty tyrants, shouted on by a licentious heathen multitude. It is not so. Christianity is, as it ever has been, the fair daughter of Heaven, higher and mightier than the kings and potentates of the earth. Christ her great Author will protect her, and lead her to final triumph and universal empire. Amen.

ART. II.—*The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M. With a Memoir of his Life.* By DR. GREGORY. *Reminiscences.* By JOHN GREENE, Esq.; *and his Character as a Preacher*, by the Rev. JOHN FOSTER. Published under the Superintendence of OLINTHUS GREGORY, LL.D., F.R.A.S., Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy; and JOSEPH BELCHER, D.D. 4 volumes, 8vo., pp. 2400. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1844.

THE fourth volume of these works is just published in this country, and at present may be had separately from the rest, so that purchasers of the previous volumes may complete their sets. It consists of one hundred pages of interesting reminiscences by Hall's intimate friend, John Greene, Esq., with notes by the editor of the volume, Dr. Belcher; ninety-two sermons of a miscellaneous character, taken in short-hand by several eminent clergymen and other professional gentlemen; a series of twelve expository discourses on the Epistle to the Philippians, with a few letters and gleanings. As its general character entirely accords with the other volumes, excepting indeed that it affords a greater variety of subjects discussed, we shall say nothing more about it than to express our gratification that the publishers in New-York have published, what it seems is yet a desideratum in England, a complete uniform edition of this English classic;—that the editor's duties have been discharged with evident care, and with a warm devotedness to his task;—and that the whole works are here published for about one-third the sum for which the first three of these volumes could be obtained in Great Britain.

We now feel ourselves at liberty to indulge our readers with a few pages of pleasant writing about Hall and his works; intended to afford them present interest, and to induce them to become better acquainted with a man who, though he especially belonged to one section of the religious community, was really, as he wished to be, the property of the whole Christian church. No man can read his works without seeing that Hall was a Baptist; but he resolutely set himself to show that differences of opinion as to the ordinance which distinguishes his denomination from all others ought not for one moment, or in any instance, to debar Christians from approaching the same table of the Lord, or in any other way to restrict the fullest Christian fellowship. Dr. Gregory tells us that on being asked whether he was an Arminian or a Calvinist, he replied,

"Neither, sir; but I believe that I recede further from Arminianism than from Calvinism. If a man profess himself a decided Arminian, I infer from it that he is not a good logician; but, sir, it does not interfere with his personal piety; look at good Mr. Benson, for example. I regard the question more as metaphysical than religious." Even this view of his feelings was scarcely consistent with his well-known intimacy with the excellent Theophilus Lessey, and the admirable Richard Watson; nor with his opinion of Mr. Wesley, given in a letter to a correspondent at Plymouth, which we find in the third volume of the works before us: "I have just been reading Dr. Whitehead's Life of Mr. Wesley: it has given me a much more enlarged idea of the virtues and labors of that extraordinary man than I ever had before. I would not incur the guilt of that virulent abuse which Toplady cast upon him for ten thousand worlds. When will the Christian world cease disputing about religion, and begin to enter into its spirit, and practice its precepts?" The whole of Mr. Hall's intercourse with the church of Christ was in harmony with this extract; men of every evangelical denomination enjoyed his friendship, and each in return felt the most delightful union of soul with him.

The father of Robert Hall bore the same name as his son. He was the pastor of an ancient and respectable Baptist church in the small village of Arnsby, in Leicestershire. He was a man of great genius and mental power, and stood very high in the connection to which he belonged. Robert the younger was born, in the village already named, in 1764, and was the youngest of fourteen children. He was so feeble and delicate in infancy that it was scarcely expected he would reach maturity; his mental activity, however, was always remarkable; he had learned his letters from the stones in the graveyard before he could talk, and his constitutional ardor at once became apparent. "He was incessantly asking questions, and became a great and a *rapid* talker. One day, when he was about three years old, on his expressing disapprobation of some person who spoke quickly, his mother reminded him that *he* spoke very fast: '*No*,' said he, '*I only keep at it.*'" At six years of age he began his daily journeys to a school about four miles from his father's house; but the severe pain in his back, from which he suffered so much through life, had even then begun to distress him; so that he was often obliged to lie down upon the road, and sometimes his brother John and his other school-fellows carried him in turn, he repaying them during their labor by relating some amusing story, or detailing some of the interesting results of his reading. Before he was nine years old he had perused and

reperused, with intense interest, the profound treatises of Jonathan Edwards on "the Affections" and "the Will." We would gladly trace, if our limits would allow us, the career of this extraordinary youth, but we cannot. Suffice it then to say, that, having given evidence of piety, he was baptized by his father, and was sent, in his fifteenth year, to the college of Bristol, attached to his own denomination, there to prepare for the ministry. His first attempt at preaching was an entire failure; after proceeding for a short time, much to the gratification of his auditory, he suddenly paused, covered his face with his hands, exclaimed, "O! I have lost all my ideas," and sat down, still hiding his face. A second time he made the attempt, and again failed. Soon after these things, however, we find him preaching to an auditory of ministers, many of whom he had been accustomed from his infancy to regard with the utmost reverence. He selected for his text 1 John i, 5: "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all;" and, it is affirmed, treated this mysterious and awful subject with such metaphysical acumen, and drew from it such an impressive application, as excited the deepest interest. We soon after seem to accompany him to the meeting of the church under the care of his father, where we read in the church book, "On the 13th of August, 1780, he was examined by his father before the church, respecting his inclination, motives, and end in reference to the ministry, and was likewise desired to make a declaration of his religious sentiments. All which being done to the entire satisfaction of the church, they therefore set him apart by lifting up their right hands and by solemn prayer. His father then delivered a discourse to him from 2 Tim. ii, 1: 'Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.' Being thus sent forth, he preached in the afternoon from 2 Thess. i, 7, 8: 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' May the Lord bless him, and grant him great success."

Having completed his preparatory studies at Bristol, and graduated A. M. at Aberdeen, Mr. Hall was appointed classical tutor at Bristol, and afternoons preached for Dr. C. Evans. In about two years after this he removed to Cambridge, to succeed the ingenious but erratic Robert Robinson. Here his religion and his prudence were both tried. Robinson had cherished some heretical views, and it is highly probable that many of his congregation had gone much further in error than their minister. At this period Hall himself was then a materialist, and was by no means clear in his

views as to the personality of the Holy Spirit; but the distinguishing doctrine of Christianity—the atonement by the death of Christ—he clearly understood and cordially loved. This was the subject of his first sermon after he had accepted the pastorate. Immediately after the conclusion of the service, one of the congregation went into the vestry and said, "Mr. Hall, this preaching won't do for us: it will only suit a congregation of old women." "Do you mean my sermon, sir, or the doctrine?" "Your *doctrine*." "Why is it that the doctrine is only fit for old women?" "Because it may suit the musings of people tottering on the brink of the grave, and who are eagerly seeking comfort." "Thank you, sir, for your concession. The doctrine will not *suit* people *of any age*, unless it be true; and if it *be true*, it is not fitted for old women alone, but is equally important at *every* age." We will here furnish one or two short extracts from Mr. Greene's Reminiscences which relate to this period:—

"Mr. Hall's sermons were principally upon subjects suited to the condition of his audience; and his appeals to the consciences and feelings of his hearers were equally pungent and faithful: 'What! will you shut out the Deity from his own dominions, till at length the great eternal Being becomes unknown and unacknowledged in his own world? Will you dare to venture on the thick bosses of the Almighty's buckler; or will you place briers and thorns before him? He would *pass through them; He would burn them up together!*' To form any idea of the effect produced by these appeals, it would be necessary to witness the expression of his brilliant eye, the moving eloquence of his lifted brow, and the animated and impassioned manner in which his addresses were delivered."—Vol. iv, p. 13.

"His habits were very studious: I never knew any man that was so great a reader on all subjects. It is a mistaken notion that he was entirely indebted to genius; he possessed great industry and application, united to which was a thirst for knowledge, and an ambition to excel in everything which he undertook. Dissatisfied with present attainments, he frequently said, 'Let your aim and standard be high, for you will always be below your standard; and if your standard is high, your attainments will be high also.' He generally read from an early hour of the morning till eight o'clock in the evening, after which he visited either the sick or his friends. If one was engaged or from home, he went to another, and stayed till eleven o'clock—then returned to his rooms. It was pleasing, on such occasions, to witness this great man descend from the sublimest speculations, and mingle with the socialities of common life. There was no ostentatious display of learning; he endeared himself to all by the simplicity of his manners, the unaffected modesty and kindness of his disposition, and the interest which he took in their welfare. He was exceedingly fond of children, and frequently took the little ones in his arms, and ap-

peared to enter into all their amusements. Under these circumstances, it will not appear surprising that his visits were anticipated with earnestness and delight."—*Ib.*, p. 14.

After a few years' successful labor at Cambridge, Mr. Hall was laid aside by mental aberration. The season was one of solemn interest with his people, who after a while had the pleasure of welcoming him again to his pulpit. Mr. Greene says:—

"The month of April was fixed for his return to Cambridge, and the late Rev. T. N. Toller, of Kettering, as an old friend, was invited to accompany him, and to preach one part of the day, in order that Mr. Hall might resume his situation by degrees. He came to the house of Mr. W. Hollick, the senior deacon. We were all delighted to see him again in his own pulpit. The following morning I called on him, and found him somewhat dejected. I commenced the conversation by saying, 'We were greatly delighted to see you once more in your pulpit, sir. It was a serious and admirable discourse. I quite enjoyed it.' 'O, do not say anything about it, sir; I shall never be the preacher I was. I find I have lost the principal faculty that distinguished my preaching, which was imagination; you know that was my forte, sir; all my imagination has been overstretched. You, with the rest of my friends, tell me that I was only seven weeks in confinement, and the date of the year corresponds, so that I am bound to believe you, but they have appeared to me like seven years. My mind was so excited, and my imagination so lively and active, that more ideas passed through my mind during those seven weeks than in any seven years of my life. Whatever I had obtained from reading or reflection was present to me; I had all my ideas at my fingers' ends, and could bring them to bear upon any subject.'"—Vol. iv, p. 32.

After a few months, however, the disease returned in all its malignity; a second confinement was the result: when he recovered, as he could not endure the physical aspect of the neighborhood, he resigned his pastorate, and received a high mark of the esteem of his church, who settled on him a handsome annuity for life.

Before we look at Mr. Hall at Leicester, where he settled after his entire recovery, we are desirous of presenting one or two features of his character with which we have been impressed in our progress through these volumes.

We have already seen that in the early part of his ministry at Cambridge his views of the Holy Spirit were not in harmony with the sacred volume. Dr. Gregory tells us in his Memoir:—

"Early in the year 1799 a severe fever, which brought him, in his own apprehension and that of his friends, to the brink of the grave, gave him the opportunity of experiencing the support yielded by the doctrines of the cross in the near views of death and judgment. He

never before felt his mind so calm and happy. The impression was not only salutary, but abiding; and it again prompted him to the investigation of one or two points, with regard to which he had long felt himself floating in uncertainty. Although he had for some years steadily and earnestly enforced the necessity of divine influence in the transformation of character, and in perseverance in a course of consistent, holy obedience, yet he spoke of it as 'the influence of the Spirit of God,' and never, in express terms, as 'the influence of the Holy Spirit.' The reason was, that though he fully believed the necessity of spiritual agency in commencing and continuing the spiritual life, he doubted the doctrine of the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit. But about this time he was struck with the fact, that whenever in private prayer he was in the most deeply devotional frame, 'most overwhelmed with the sense that he was nothing, and God was all in all,' he always felt himself inclined to adopt a Trinitarian doxology. This circumstance, occurring frequently, and more frequently meditated upon in a tone of honest and anxious inquiry, issued at length in a persuasion that the Holy Spirit is really and truly God, and not an emanation."—Vol. iii, pp. 35, 36.

There is something indescribably touching in the following fact, as recorded by Dr. Gregory:—

"In argument he was impetuous, and sometimes overbearing; but if he lost his temper he was deeply humbled, and would often acknowledge himself to blame. On one of these occasions, when the discussion had become warm, and he had evinced unusual agitation, he suddenly closed the debate, quitted his seat, and, retiring to a remote part of the room, was overheard by a lady, who was just entering, to ejaculate with deep feeling, 'Lamb of God! Lamb of God! calm my perturbed spirit!'"—Vol. iii, p. 25.

One fact more of this general character we introduce here, even though it relates to a subsequent period. It is supplied by the editor of the fourth volume:—

"While Mr. Hall was at Leicester, he became acquainted with a plain but excellent man, a deacon of a neighboring Baptist church. Walking with him in the fields one day, Mr. Hall asked him what he considered to be the most decisive evidence of personal religion. The answer I have now forgotten, but Mr. Hall replied by asking him whether he did not think that *supreme delight in God* was the most satisfactory evidence a man could enjoy of his acceptance with him. Kindling as he proceeded, he said, 'Why, sir, I often altogether doubt my religion, till I turn to the fact, which I can never question, that the character of God as he has revealed himself in the Scriptures is the object of my highest admiration and love.' So thought the Psalmist: *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none on the earth I desire beside thee.*"—Vol. iv, pp. 99, 100.

In 1807 we find Mr. Hall settling over a small Baptist church in Leicester, which had previously enjoyed the pastoral labors of

the afterward distinguished Dr. Carey of Serampore, but which, after his departure, had considerably declined. Here his talents and his piety combined to increase the number of attendants on public worship, and here perhaps was the most useful sphere of his labors. As we cannot afford space to describe his efforts here at length, we shall furnish an extract which Dr. Belcher has given from the pen of a traveler :—

"Went to hear Robert Hall; his text was the words, 'By the grace of God I am what I am.' Was exceedingly delighted with his sermon, which was correct and elegant in the composition, and rapid in the delivery. His language was chaste in the extreme; his argumentation was close; his illustrations were forcible; and his metaphors, though sparingly employed, strikingly beautiful. I was told that his sermon was, however, on the whole, a pure specimen of his simple style. Learning that he was to preach in the evening, I made up my mind to enjoy another rich, intellectual repast, hoping that it might display him in a different character.

"Went at half-past six to hear Robert Hall. His subject was '*The power of God.*' It was, without exception, the most wonderful sermon I ever heard in my life. Every quality which could have been called into exercise on such an occasion seemed concentrated in this one sermon; profoundly metaphysical, without bewildering himself or his hearers; and elegant, without the shadow of affectation; rapid in delivery, without confusion; energetic, without rant; devout, without enthusiasm; commanding, without austerity; affectionate, without cant; argumentative, without pedantry; the whole effect was beyond anything that it is possible to conceive of pulpit eloquence. A powerful voice seemed all that was wanting to complete the model of the orator; but even this defect was often totally hidden by the energy of his delivery, and the sublimity of his conceptions; while the weakness of his physical powers seemed to heighten the attention and increase the admiration of his auditory. He appeared to speak with much labor, and was frequently obliged to clear his voice, in order to make himself heard. His voice was, however, very even till within a few minutes of the close, when he became intensely earnest, and the rapidity, which before appeared scarcely capable of augmentation, increased to a degree that was quite overpowering to his auditory. Although preaching to his own congregation, who habitually heard him twice every sabbath, the silence was so great, that during the very short intervals when he stopped to clear his voice, or to wipe the perspiration which flowed profusely from his forehead, a pin might have been heard to drop. He preached entirely without notes, and I should conclude, from his manner of expression on the only two or three occasions when his ideas appeared to flow too rapidly for utterance, that he had not previously done more than arrange his ideas, without troubling himself to clothe them with words. His command of words is truly astonishing, and were this not the case, his hearers must often be deprived of the benefit of his stupendous ideas. I left the chapel with a strong impression that

the journey from London to Leicester would have been amply rewarded had it been only by hearing this surprising sermon."—Vol. iv, p. 98.

In 1825, in consequence of the death of the excellent Dr. Ryland of Bristol, Mr. Hall was invited to succeed him in his pastorate. After months of intense anxiety as to the path of duty, and the warmest solicitude manifested both by the church at Leicester and that at Bristol, he came to the determination to remove. This was in his sixty-second year; but his popularity was by no means abated, and he soon saw, in the increase of his congregation and the large accession of converts, that he had adopted a right course. Here he labored, latterly under some indisposition, till he closed his career, Feb. 21, 1831.

"He appeared for the last time in the pulpit at Broadmead on the 6th of the same month. The evening discourse has been considered one of his most interesting addresses. The attack, which was sudden and unexpected, took place on the following Thursday evening, while he was engaged in preparing the usual monthly discourse prior to the administration of the Lord's supper. On the morning of the 20th, a note was received by the officiating minister, soliciting the prayers of the church and congregation for their '*dying pastor;*' the usual afternoon sermon was omitted, and a meeting held for the purpose of commending him to God. It presented a scene of audible weeping: the tears of his affectionate people, however, formed a happy contrast to the hallelujahs of heaven, with which he was about to be welcomed as *a king and a priest unto God.* After a severe struggle, borne with the most exemplary piety and Christian fortitude, his eloquent tongue having terminated its appeal to mortals, invoked the arrival of his Saviour and his God—*Come, Lord Jesus, come*—and was then hushed for ever. His eldest daughter, whose filial piety bound her to the spot, added, '*quickly.*' The dying man gazed upon his child; a father's affection kindled the brilliancy of his fading eye, and a smile more than mortal spoke a father's blessing. His passing spirit entered upon a purer and more congenial clime, and united in the song of the seraphim and the church of the first-born, who serve God day and night in his temple. *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: Yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.*"—Vol. iv, p. 99.

To eulogize the works of a man who has been praised in terms of the strongest character, not only by divines and religious critics of every class, but by *scholars*, such as Parr, and Jack, the principal of King's College, Aberdeen, by *senators*, such as Brougham and Denman, and by *philosophers*, such as Mackintosh and Scott, might well be deemed superfluous. Nor is it a trifling evidence of the estimation in which they are held in England, that though everything which Mr. Hall prepared for the press had been published again and again, yet the copy-right of the materials com-

posing the first three of the volumes before us was sold to the London publishers for four thousand pounds sterling. No divine, no student of the English language, no admirer of literary beauty, can long be without the works of Robert Hall. Sir James Mackintosh says, "On a review of all his varied excellences, we cannot but expect with confidence that the name of Mr. Hall will be placed by posterity with the illustrious names of Paley and Watson, among the best writers of the age, as well as the most vigorous defenders of religious truth, and the brightest examples of Christian charity." Dr. Parr says, "Mr. Hall, like Bishop Taylor, has the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acumen of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, and the piety of a saint." Scott, the distinguished editor of the London Magazine, wrote in 1821, "His excellence does not consist in the predominance of one of his powers, but in the exquisite proportion and harmony of all. The richness, variety, and extent of his knowledge, are not so remarkable as his absolute mastery over it. He moves about in the loftiest sphere of contemplation, as though he were 'native and endued to its element.' He uses the finest classical allusions, the noblest images, and the most exquisite words, as though they were those which came first to his mind, and which formed his natural dialect. There is not the least appearance of straining after greatness in his most magnificent excursions, but he rises to the loftiest heights with a childlike ease. His style is one of the clearest and simplest—the least encumbered with its own beauty—of any which has ever been written. It is bright and lucid as a mirror, and its most highly-wrought and sparkling embellishments are like ornaments of crystal, which, even in their brilliant inequalities of surface, give back to the eye little pieces of the true imagery set before them." We were going on to give extracts from our countryman, Dr. Sprague of Albany, and others, but we must stop: besides, our object is accomplished—our readers will very generally possess these volumes.

In looking carefully over these volumes, we find everything of Mr. Hall's which we ever remember to have seen, with one exception—a letter addressed to the Rev. J. Jones, M. A., a young clergyman, while at college, and published by him in one of the English editions of Porter's Letters on Homiletics and Preaching. As it is adapted to be useful to our clerical brethren, we will now place it before them: we regret, however, that Mr. Jones does not give us the date.

"Rev. Sir,—I am happy to hear, as in the instance before me, that God is inclining by his Spirit so many young students to devote them-

selves to the ministry from the purest and most evangelical motives. With such views and dispositions, you may be assured of your receiving a competent measure of that sacred unction that teacheth all things. But, as you have condescended to ask my advice respecting the best mode of preparing yourself for the sacred work of the ministry, I can only lament my incompetence for the task you have assigned me. In the mean time I have no doubt you will take in good part the few suggestions which I shall present you, without suspecting me of a disposition to dictate or dogmatize.

"With respect to your first inquiry, I have no doubt that the extemporaneous mode of preaching is the best; by which I am far from intending the neglect of previous study, but the practice of delivering sermons with little or no immediate use of notes. That it possesses a superior power of keeping up attention and exciting an impression, can scarcely be doubted; and all that can be said on the other side is, that it is unfavorable to accuracy. But why should sermons be more elaborately exact, in point of composition, than the speeches in Parliament, or at the bar—or the force and pathos naturally attendant on the extemporary mode of speaking be excluded only from the inculcation of divine truth; that truth which we are enjoined by the highest example and authority not to attempt to combine with excellency of speech or of wisdom?

"The matter appears to me to be this. The general decline of piety among the regular clergy in the reign of the two Charleses almost extinguished pulpit eloquence. And when true religion began to be held in disesteem, nothing remained to be cultivated but a scrupulous and timid correctness; when the preacher, instead of attempting 'dominari in concionibus,' was chiefly solicitous to avoid ridicule, satisfied with the negative praise of not giving offense. This is surely a very confined limit for the ambition of a Christian minister: but whoever would greatly surpass it, and accomplish to any considerable extent the true objects of preaching, must, after deeply meditating his subject, and making a tolerably copious analysis, trust the clothing of his ideas to the feeling of the moment. I would not, however, urge a young preacher to attempt all this at once; but rather *never* to read *entirely* —to write the whole or a good part of his sermon for a while—then to trust himself gradually more to his extemporaneous powers.

"With respect to the course of study to be pursued, and the proper books to be read by a young man who is preparing for sacred orders, I am ashamed to attempt to give my opinion, conscious as I am of being so deficient myself in the knowledge which, if not absolutely requisite, is yet highly conducive to the profitable discharge of the Christian ministry.

"I suppose the most necessary study of all is the acquiring an intimate acquaintance with both Testaments in their original languages, never losing sight of the Septuagint, which is the best interpreter of the Hebrew words, as well as of the Hellenistic dialect, which pervades the New Testament. This, I presume, should form part, and a considerable one, of the daily study of a young divine.

"Next, ecclesiastical history will demand his attention, which, with-

out neglecting some modern historians, will be best learned out of Eusebius; and, if he wishes to pursue the history of the church beyond the fourth century, from Socrates and Sozomen. The compilation of Eusebius is invaluable, and the History of Socrates very entertaining, and full of melancholy instruction.

"For Jewish Antiquities, I know nothing better than Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introduction to the Prussian Testament; though the subject is handled more fully by Jennings, in two volumes octavo.

"Of commentators I am not very competent to speak, having not conversed with them very widely. Grotius is perhaps the most profound and enlightened—particularly on the Gospels. His legal views of religion, however, almost always confounding sanctification and justification, require to be strictly guarded against. Matthew Henry, as a practical and devotional commentator, exceeds all praise, and suggests most matter for sermonizing of any.

"As to general theologians, I much prefer Howe to any whom it has been my lot to meet with. He was at once a man of stupendous genius and of great unction, though his style is harsh and repulsive. I should recommend a young man who is entering on the ministry to make himself intimately acquainted with our older writers, Barrow, Tillotson, Hooker, Milton, Chillingworth, Pearson, &c.—of whom, in comparison with later writers, I should be disposed to say, with very few exceptions, 'No one, having tasted old wine, straightway desireth new, for he saith the old is better.'*

"Thus I have attempted very briefly to comply with your request; and with my sincere prayers and wishes that you may be enabled to 'approve yourself to God a workman that needeth not to be ashamed,'

"I remain, with sincere esteem, yours most respectfully,

"Robert Hall."

We really wish that our space would allow us to dilate at length on the character of Robert Hall as a preacher. Clear and valuable as Foster's delineation is, and though it is usually correct, yet the reader does not obtain a full view of the occupant of the pulpit. Let him imagine a man of rather more than the usual size, with an appearance of a commanding order, rising to speak, and, by his slowness of utterance, almost total want of voice, hesitancy, and a most uncomfortable tickling cough, destroying all the expectation which his fame has excited, filling you with mortification, leading you to determine that you will never again believe a representation made to you respecting *any* preacher, and, in a word, wishing yourself at home. You grieve, too, as you look round and see the clergy, the senator, the noble of the district, and are vexed for

* Good! This is so exactly in accordance with our taste and experience, that we cannot withhold our cordial approbation. When we have as many thinkers formed upon these models as the present condition of the church and the country now calls for, we shall hear little complaint of the "drowsiness" of the Methodist Quarterly Review.—Ed.

them as well as for yourself. But stay; his voice is becoming clearer, his cough is leaving him, he breathes with greater ease, and his countenance brightens up; now you can hear him, for his voice assumes a fuller and rounder tone, and you perceive that he has just set about to make some single impression on your mind: you become interested as he becomes warm. How musical his style; how classical his allusions; how conscious is he becoming that his subject is supremely important! See, he steps back in the pulpit, and then comes forward, bending over the cushion, to throw over his congregation torrents of eloquence! Now you have entirely forgotten the preacher, and his *subject* is all in all; you and others rise from your seats, intent to catch every word;—you are filled with raptures;—it is just possible that the hope crosses your mind that he will go on at least another hour;—but no, he has sat down! What a disappointment! What shall be done! Where are we! Never before lived such a preacher surely as this! You go away with one deep, solemn impression, which you can never lose.

This is no exaggerated picture. The volumes before us, and many other witnesses, amply sustain this statement, and justify those who never witnessed his efforts in giving full credit to our representations; those who have once heard him need no further proof. Hear the statement of a French Protestant clergyman: "I heard Mr. Robert Hall, of Leicester, last Tuesday morning; but his sermon was so great, so good, so eloquent, so simple, so pious, in a word, so complete a piece of pulpit oratory, that I cannot tell you anything about it, except that it has made an indelible impression on my mind. I thought when I came out that I never could preach again." What says Dr. Sprague, our own countryman? "When he commenced his sermon in the morning, I was not at all struck with him, and was ready to inquire, 'Is this the great Robert Hall?' But in a few minutes he opened, as it were, a battery; and the effects of it were such that I thought I should have fallen from my seat. I was quite electrified; as soon as I had recovered from one shock, it was succeeded by a second and a third. I never heard anything to be compared with it." Mr. Greene speaks of persons becoming ill from the happy excitement occasioned by his preaching, and Dr. Belcher describes a memorable scene at Kettering, where the congregation stood on the tops of the pews, and when he had finished his sermon, congregation, singers, and clergymen were alike disqualified to proceed with the service.

We have given no analysis of the volumes; nor need we, as we

are sure they will be universally read. They are attractive, and marvelously cheap. We should have been glad to see them better arranged. Their publication in England was evidently begun without a plan, and the publishers in this country printed them as they found them, with the exception of putting the six volumes of Dr. Gregory's edition into three. The editor of the fourth volume could not do better, under the circumstances, than he has done.

On reading over what we have written, we find we have omitted much that we intended to say; indeed, we have brought before our readers but a very small specimen of the riches of this mine. We regret that we have not been able to present Mr. Hall in the domestic circle. There must have been something indescribably affectionate in the father of whom one of his daughters, when writing to a friend, after his death, says: "Well I remember that, when I was a child, on leaving home for a few days, or on going to school, he would call me into the study, give me the tenderest advice, make me to kneel down by him at the same chair, and then, both bathed in tears, would he fervently supplicate the divine protection for me. This I believe he did with regard to all of us on leaving home while young."

Art. III.—*Luther before the Diet at Worms.**

(*Translated from the French of M. Mignet, for the Quarterly Review.*)

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, a town of Prussia, in Upper Saxony, in the district of Mansfeld, on the 10th of November, 1483. His father, John Luther, was a miner in the mountains of Saxony. The youth of Luther was marked by hardship and poverty; but these contributed, as do the early trials of all great minds, to prepare his future destiny. This was the season when the oak thrust deep in the soil the roots which were one day to render it immovable to the tempest.

* The above historical sketch was read by its author before an annual meeting of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences at Paris. A distinguished English traveler, who was present on the occasion, thus speaks of the orator and his theme:—

"But the great attraction was the discourse pronounced by M. Mignet. This gentleman is too celebrated not to have excited in us a very earnest wish to hear him; and never was expectation more agreeably gratified. Combined with the advantages of a remarkably fine face and person, M. Mignet has a tone of voice and play of countenance sufficient of themselves to secure the

Luther's mother, a grave and pious woman, directed his early education, which was of a strong religious cast. He was sent to the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach, where he supplied his wants by reciting prayers and singing devout songs before the houses of the citizens. Thus his first instruction was gained by the aid of charity. He had a fine voice, and was always fond of music, which in his youth had come to the relief of his indigence.

At the age of eighteen he repaired to the university of Erfurt. There he mastered the scholastic philosophy, and devoted himself to the study of antiquity and jurisprudence. His penetration was remarkable: hardly had he applied himself to a study before it was comprehended; and what he had once acquired he never forgot.

The Bible, which he read for the first time at the university of Erfurt, seized his imagination by its simplicity and grandeur, and rendered him still more profoundly religious. But that which decided his vocation was the death of one of his friends, who was struck dead by lightning at his side. He then left the world for the cloister, and gave up the study of jurisprudence for that of theology. He became a mendicant monk, and enrolled himself in the order of the Augustins. With the most rigorous austerity he followed the practices, fulfilled the duties, and endured the privations of monastic life. The man who was soon to fill Europe with his name and a great revolution, humbly condemned himself to the most abject labors of his convent. For these he left the reading of St. Augustin and St. Paul, the father of the church and the apostle whom he best loved and most diligently studied.

In 1508 he was sent by the provincial vicar of his order, John

success of an orator. But on this occasion he did not trust to these; his discourse was every way admirable; subject, sentiment, composition, and delivery,—all excellent.

"He had chosen for his theme the history of Martin Luther's appearance before the Diet at Worms; and the manner in which he treated it surprised as much as it delighted me. Not a single trait of that powerful, steadfast, unbending character, which restored light to our religion and freedom to the mind of man, escaped him: it was a mental portrait, painted with the boldness of outline, breadth of light, and vigor of coloring, which mark the hand of a consummate master.

"But were they Roman Catholics who filled every corner of the lecture-room, and listened to him with attention so unbroken, and admiration so undisguised? I know not. But, for myself, I can truly declare, that my Protestant and reformed feelings were never more gratified than by listening to this eloquent history of the proudest moment of our great apostle's life, pronounced in the centre of Cardinal Mazarin's palace."—*T.*

de Staupitz, to the university of Wittenberg, which the elector of Saxony had then just founded. Here he read philosophy, and afterward theology. He had learned Greek and Hebrew, the two great instruments of innovation of that age,—the two languages which, again made honorable, suggested new ideas by revealing the sources of ancient knowledge. Step by step, as he comprehended the texts, he was led back to primitive Christianity, and began to detach himself from the Roman faith.

In 1510 he made a journey to Rome, in the interest of his order. It was then he experienced that repugnance to the opinions and manners of the Roman clergy, and that hatred to the pomps of the pontifical court—mainly supported by tributes from Germany—which he carried for seven years in his bosom, but which at length burst forth in a sudden explosion. After his return he was made a doctor at the expense of Duke Frederick, who had already conceived an affection for him, in consequence of the fame of his learning, which drew the German youth to Wittenberg, and thus made illustrious his growing university. As Luther was fond of combat, and feared not great adversaries, he at first attacked Aristotle; and when the quarrel of the indulgences succeeded, he at length attacked the pope himself.

When he engaged in this second contest he was thirty-four years of age. He was of middle stature, with a chest broad and full, an immense forehead, and eyes of fire and energy. Under this vigorous exterior he bore a powerful intellect, a high and ardent soul, and an indomitable heart. Luther was strength itself. He united the most contrary qualities. He was vehement and mild; austere and cheerful; sensible and shrewd; persuasive and imperious;—he had the humility of a Christian, and the pride of a great man. This energetic nature, which had acquired still greater force from the restraints of a cloister, also permitted him to accomplish two objects, either of which would have sufficed for his glory;—he was enabled to overthrow and to construct. He instituted discussion, and he knew how to maintain obedience; he was followed as a revolutionist, and imposed laws as a legislator. He awoke in the hearts of men the passions which had slept for ages; but the thoughts and feelings which he had aroused he inclosed in the limits of his own designs.

The Catholic religion had been the most graceful, the most complete, the most poetic, and the most imposing of all the forms of Christianity. It had carried farthest the spirit of sacrifice and of union; it had most agreeably mingled divine sentiments with terrestrial arts; it had obtained most from human strength, and done

most for the organization of society. It had formed Europe. From one extremity of the continent to the other it had established that homogeneity of civilization which exacted a single faith under one sole authority,—the submission of the mind to the law,—of the political to the religious power,—in order to repel so many invasions, transform so many people, refine so much barbarity, master so many passions, and surmount so many disorders. But after accomplishing this great object, by the unity of Europe and the security of civilization, it had lost its power. Luther's mind was cramped. He burst the barriers that confined it; and the crash of that mighty unity shook the time-honored institutions of the earth, and strewed its face with their ruins.

Luther at first, by his sermons and disputations against the Dominican Tetzel, attacked only the sale and virtue of indulgences; but the controversy soon extended itself from this to all the other points of the Catholic doctrine, and from the Dominican Tetzel to Pope Leo X.

During three years, by the publication of his views, and the obstinacy of his disobedience, he departed step by step from the court of Rome. He acknowledged as the rule of doctrine the Scriptures alone, and not the decisions of the Holy See. In vain did Leo X. command retraction and silence. He deputed Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg to reclaim him to obedience. The cardinal having condemned without refuting him, Luther appealed from him to the pope. The pope, in his turn, condemned him without a hearing, by his bull of 9th November, 1519, and he appealed from the pope to the general council. Seeing that Luther, by his book *on Christian Liberty*, thrust himself yet deeper in heresy, and estranged himself from the church, the pope fulminated against him a second bull on the 15th June, 1520, in which he condemned forty-one propositions extracted from his works. He demanded their retraction in the space of sixty days; and threatened that should Luther fail to send this retraction to Rome, he should be declared excommunicated, and delivered to the secular arm. He ordered his books to be publicly burned, and interdicted all countries from giving him an asylum.

As soon as Luther was apprised of this bull, he wrote:—"The die is cast. As I have despised the favor of Rome, even so do I despise her fury. I wish neither to be reconciled to her, nor to continue within reach of her fruitless advances. Let them condemn me, and burn my writings; I, in my turn, if I can find fire, will condemn and burn every pontifical edict." At length, having learned that his books had been burnt at Rome, and in some of the

ecclesiastical states of Germany, and in the Low Countries, faithful to the vow he had made, on the 10th of December, in the public square of Wittenberg, in presence of an admiring multitude, he solemnly committed the Papal bull and the canon law to the flames.

Thus, by an act till then unparalleled, he separated himself irrevocably from Rome. After this step, but one resource was left him,—he must triumph over the Holy See or perish. He was about to commence a new struggle with the secular power, till then the bounden auxiliary of the ecclesiastical, which enjoined upon the former to silence by force those whom in the name of religion the church had condemned. The emperor, to whom Leo X. addressed himself, was then called to become, subordinately to the pope, the adversary of Luther.

That emperor was Charles the Fifth. He was then in his twenty-second year, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe. In 1506 he had acquired the Low Countries; in 1516, the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; in 1519, the states of the house of Austria. He had also just obtained possession of the empire. Christopher Columbus, Fernando Cortez, and Francis Pizarro had added almost a new continent to his states of Europe. Four great houses, those of Aragon, Castile, Burgundy, and Austria, in him were united. Neighbors to France, and alarmed at her aggrandizement under Charles VII. and Louis XI., and at her conquests under Charles VIII., these houses had allied themselves by marriage, and had left Charles V. as the heir of their power and the representative of their fears. Born of a system of political alliances, in him alone it became a coalition. The royal races united in his person had transmitted to him not only their possessions, but their qualities. He had the ability and artifice of that house of Aragon which had produced, in Ferdinand the Catholic, the most politic and crafty of the sovereigns of his age; the gravity and gloom of that house of Castile which became extinct in Jane the Simple, and which led him to assist, while living, in his own funeral obsequies; the valor and enterprising character of that house of Burgundy which expired at Morat and at Nancy with Charles the Bold; the prudent spirit of that house of Austria, which, arriving in Germany with its sword alone in the thirteenth century, was the most powerful there in the sixteenth. He was young and brilliant, ingenious and circumspect, courageous, and full of glory and enterprise. The states he had inherited were to him but the means of acquiring others. Austria, the Low Countries, Spain, and Italy, were the strong columns on which he labored during twenty years to erect the vast edifice of universal monarchy.

Shortly after his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charles convoqued the first diet under his reign at Worms. The pope having moved him to execute the sentence pronounced against Luther, he addressed himself to the elector of Saxony; and advised him that as he had been several times requested by the pope's nuncio to burn the books of Dr. Martin Luther throughout the extent of the holy empire, he had already given orders to that effect in his hereditary estates of Burgundy. But, he added, out of regard for the elector, he wished to hear Luther before proceeding against him, and desired that he should be conducted to the Diet at Worms for examination.

The elector was anxious to learn the mind of Luther, and to ascertain if the example of John Huss would not deter him from obeying this perilous citation. His private secretary, Spalatin, therefore wrote to ask if he would repair to Worms on the order of the emperor. Luther replied: "I would go to Worms if I were called, even if I were sick. But if they intend to use violence against me, as this citation seems to imply, I shall leave the affair with God. He yet lives and reigns—He who preserved the three youths in the burning fiery furnace. If he deigns not to protect me, my life is of little worth. Besides, it is not what I fear, or what it becomes me to do; the question concerns the gospel. Our adversaries must not have occasion to say that we dare not confess what we teach, or that we fear to shed our blood for our faith. For the rest, I know not whether my life or my death would most benefit the cause of the gospel and the public weal.

"My only wish and prayer to God is, that the emperor may not stain the commencement of his reign with my blood. I should have preferred, as I have often said, to perish by the hands of the Romans alone, and not to see him concerned in this strife. You know what wretchedness overwhelmed the Emperor Sigismund after he had caused the death of John Huss. He never again knew peace. He died childless; his grandson Ladislaus perished; his wife became the reproach of queens and of her sex, and his name was extinct in a single generation. But if it be decreed that I shall be delivered up not only to pontiffs, but to kings, the will of God be done. You now know my purpose and my heart. Expect everything from me but flight or retraction. May the Lord Jesus fortify me in this resolution!"

Meantime the court of Rome, advised of the convocation of this species of secular council, and of its purposes, was loth to permit the civil power to encroach thus upon the ecclesiastical. Leo X. was also eager to pronounce his final sentence, and fulminated

against Luther an irrevocable bull of excommunication. He prescribed to all priests, that in presence of the assembled people, before the unfurled standard of the cross, with ringing of bells and extinguished tapers, they should solemnly declare Luther and his adherents, of whatever rank, even the highest, excommunicates and accursed.

The nuncio Alexander, who had for several months opposed himself to the citation of Luther before the assembly at Worms, then asked of the emperor the simple execution of the pontifical sentence. On the 13th of February he was admitted before the Diet, to argue the necessity and justice of the bull. He spoke three hours against Luther, and demanded that his books should be instantly burnt, and his person laid under the ban of Christendom. He affirmed that Luther was reviving the condemned heresies of Huss and of Wiclif; that he was attacking not only the pope and the court of Rome, but the principal doctrines of the Christian religion; that his heresy, by denying the sacraments, destroyed the means of redemption and salvation; that in giving to every Christian the power to grant absolution, it destroyed the priesthood; that in making every man a judge of the faith, it destroyed the authority of the church in the interpretation of Scripture, and would produce as many religions as there would be interpreters; that in proclaiming the liberty of the faithful, it destroyed the power of the pope, and menaced the safety of princes; that it would throw the world into confusion, which would remain without law, without a hierarchy, and without obedience, if this dangerous heresy, which the court of Rome had for four years vainly endeavored to extinguish, were not suppressed with its author.

He closed by opposing the design of citing Luther before the assembly, and also that of granting him either a hearing or safe-conduct; and he conjured the emperor to command immediately, by an edict, the execution of the Papal sentence.

The emperor, wishing to displease neither the elector of Saxony, who was not present at the Diet, nor the nuncio Alexander, partly granted the desires of both. Before burning Luther's books, and pronouncing sentence of banishment, he resolved to call him before the Diet. At the same time he intended merely to ascertain by the citation if Luther was the true author of the propositions condemned by the bull, and if he still persisted in sustaining them. He hoped that fear of the imperial authority would draw from him a retraction which he had been unwilling to grant to the distant menaces of the court of Rome. If he refused, Charles had resolved to act. Luther was therefore cited to Worms, not to explain

his doctrine, but to disavow it, or to hear his sentence of condemnation.

On the 6th of March, 1521, the emperor wrote:—

"Charles V., by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, &c., to our honorable, dear, and pious Dr. Martin Luther, of the order of the Augustins.

"Whereas we, and the states of the holy empire, now here assembled, have proposed and resolved, by reason of the doctrine and books by thee lately published, to take a decision upon thy case, we therefore herewith grant unto thee, for thy journey hither, and moreover for the safety of thy return, our free and imperial safeguard.

"Desiring thee instantly, fearing neither violence nor injury, to take measures to be present with us in the space of twenty-one days, and in the manner indicated by the safe-conduct, we bind ourselves to the fulfilment of that instrument, in the assurance that thou wilt not fail: for thy delinquency would render our justice severe."

The letter and passport of the emperor were transmitted to Luther by the imperial herald, who was charged with his protection during the journey. Luther unhesitatingly obeyed the orders of the emperor and the Diet. But some of his friends, not sharing his intrepidity, and thinking his life menaced, sought to dissuade him from his purpose by reminding him of the fate of John Huss. He replied: "*Could they kindle a fire as high as heaven between Wittenberg and Worms, still would I go!*"

He departed in an open chariot, which was furnished by the senate of Wittenberg. Duke John of Weimar provided the expenses of his journey. His attendants were the professors Just Jonas and Nicholas Amsdorf, his disciples, and the jurisconsult Jerome Schurf. The imperial herald, in his official costume, preceded on horseback. Throughout his journey Luther was an object of curiosity and enthusiasm to the people. At Erfurt his reception was of the most flattering description. The rector of the university, attended by an escort of horse and foot, went forth to meet him at two leagues from the city. Though prohibited from preaching, he yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants of Erfurt, and ascended the pulpit in the church of the Augustins. A crowd, moved with admiration and awe, everywhere preceded him. At Oppenheim he was warned by Spalatin not to advance so rashly; but he replied: "Though there were as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on the houses, still would I go!" At Mentz he was advised to retire into the castle of Ebersburg, where he was offered

an asylum by Francis of Siechingen, who had sent Martin Bucer, attended by knights, to serve as his escort. But his constant reply was, that he would obey the citation.

On the 16th of April he entered Worms in his open chariot, clothed in his monkish habit, preceded by the imperial herald, and followed by more than two thousand persons. This concourse, increased by the inhabitants of the city, accompanied him until he alighted at the house of the Teutonic knights. The same day he was visited by many German nobles and the dignitaries of the empire. All were anxious to see the man who for four years had singly defied the Papal power, and who by his learning, his austerity, and his courage, had become celebrated throughout the extent of Europe. His friend, the poet Ulric of Hutten, the ingenious and valiant author of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, which had confounded the monks of Germany, wrote to encourage him in his bold resolutions. His letter, which was superscribed, "*To my godly friend, Martin Luther, theologian and evangelist*," ended with these words:—"In that event, dear Luther, be firm and confident: you may count upon me. If you remain faithful, I am yours to my latest breath."

The next day, attended by the marshal of the empire and the imperial herald, Luther was conducted before the Diet. An immense crowd filled the streets, and covered even the roofs. So great was the press, that Luther was compelled to make his way through houses and gardens to the assembly. While passing he was greeted on every hand with words and signs of encouragement. Having reached the door of the hall where the Diet held its sittings, George Frundsberg, one of the most renowned of German warriors, striking him upon the shoulder, thus accosted him: "*Monk, thou art braving a danger such as neither I nor any other captain has ever confronted on the field of battle. Still, if thy doctrine be true, and thou art well persuaded of its truth, in God's name be steadfast, and he will never forsake thee.*" His person and his cause inspired universal interest.

The hall was filled to overflowing at the moment of Luther's entrance. Most of the electors, princes, and deputies of the imperial cities were present, seated on the benches assigned to the three colleges of the empire, each according to his rank, after the order and bearing the marks of his dignity. Strong curiosity or a secret sympathy had attracted them all to this meeting. Seated on his throne, surrounded by his ministers and the principal dignitaries of his court, the emperor presided in all the splendor of his power. More than five thousand persons filled the hall and obstructed its

avenues. Before this imposing assembly Luther appeared, simple and respectful, but without embarrassment. He felt elevated far above all human timidity by the mission to which he believed himself called.

The marshal of the Diet warned him not to speak before being questioned. His books were placed on a table. After some moments of silence, John de Eck, an official of the electorate of Treves, charged with the duty of interrogating Luther, then commenced: "Martin Luther, the emperor has cited you hither, to inform himself if you acknowledge the books published in your name." The civilian Jerome Schurf demanded the reading of their titles. This being granted, Luther acknowledged himself their author. Being asked if he was disposed to retract their contents, he replied, "As this question concerns the faith, the salvation of souls, and the word of God, it would be rash in me to give it a hasty reply. By answering without preparation, I might not say sufficient for the benefit of my cause, and yet too much, perhaps, for the honor of the truth. I also fear to incur that anathema of our Lord: 'He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven.' I therefore humbly crave of your imperial majesty time for reflection, that I may be able to reply without swerving from the word of God."

Twenty-four hours were granted him by the emperor. On going from the assembly, Charles pointedly remarked, "That man will not return to me a heretic!" The simplicity of Luther, whose friends had counseled him to restrain his ardor, failed to touch the imagination of the young emperor, who expected more fire and eloquence from so bold and celebrated an innovator. The delay which Luther requested was even regarded by some as a mark of timidity, and inspired them with hopes of a disavowal.

The next day, toward evening, Luther was again conducted before the assembly. The hall was lighted with torches. The official of Treves having demanded the result of his deliberations, he replied in these terms:—

"Most illustrious emperor, serene electors, gracious princes and lords,—I obey your orders, yesterday given me; and I pray your majesty and your lordships indulgently to listen to a just and true cause, and to pardon me if I have not given to each the titles which may be his due. I am but a simple monk, educated in the solitude of a cloister, and have little knowledge of courtly usage. In all that I have hitherto written and taught, I have had no aim but the glory of God and the salvation of Christians, whom I desired to bring back to the way of truth. Of this I can myself bear witness."

After this preamble, he stated that his writings were of several kinds. The first, which related to faith and morals, he could not disavow without condemning the approbation they had received from even his enemies. The second censured the Papacy, and the doctrine of the Papists, who had perverted Christianity, oppressed the world, and desolated Germany by insupportable exactions. He wished not to disclaim them, for fear of giving a free course to the rapacity and tyranny of the court of Rome. The third and last had been written against the adversaries of his own opinions. Toward these he confessed to have often borne himself with too much harshness and vehemence, and to have gone further than became one of his holy profession; but he assumed not to be faultless, nor gave himself for a saint. Besides, the issue in this case was not his character, but his doctrine. These he also formally refused to disavow.

Coming then even to the defense of his books, "I cannot better defend myself," he said, "than by imitating my Master, who, struck by a servant of the high priest while speaking, turned to him and said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?' He who could not be deceived refused not to hear the witness of a simple servant against his doctrine. I, who am but dust, and easy to be deceived, I demand if any one will bear witness against my doctrine. I entreat your imperial majesty and your highnesses, and whoever else may be here present, whether high or humble, to endeavor to convict me of error by the words of the prophets and apostles. Let this be done, and I am ready to retract, and will be the first to throw my books to the flames."

He added, that he had not rashly embraced his cause, and that he did not adhere to it through pride; that he had weighed its greatness and foreseen its perils; that he knew the troubles it would bring upon the world; but these disturbed him not, because without discussion the truth could not be established. His Master, he affirmed, had announced it to men by proclaiming that he came not to bring peace, but the sword. He entreated the Diet not to bring sorrow upon Germany, and open with fatal omens the reign of the young emperor, by persecuting the sacred cause of truth. He closed by commending himself to the protection of the emperor and the assembly against the violence of his enemies.

The partisans of the Holy See who were present at the Diet, particularly the Italians and Spaniards in the suite of the emperor, who had impatiently listened to Luther for more than an hour, then murmured aloud, and reproached the official of Treves for

permitting him to speak without interruption. They found that, though called simply to verify his writings and renounce his doctrine, he had been imprudently permitted to defend the one and eulogize the other. Prompted by them, the official of Treves declared to Luther that he had not replied to the questions propounded to him, and, in the name of the emperor and the Diet, commanded him to answer if he would retract or not.

Luther then replied: "Since your illustrious majesty and your highnesses demand of me a categorical answer, I shall speak plainly and without evasion. Until I am convinced by the Scriptures or by manifest reasons—for I cannot submit to the mere decisions of popes and councils, since it is certain that they have often erred and contradicted each other—I shall remain firm in my faith, which reposes on the words of God himself. I neither can nor will retract, as it is neither safe nor honest to violate one's conscience." After this declaration he added: "I stand here! I can no more! So help me God!"

The retraction which had been demanded of him was thus solemnly refused by Luther. The summons of the emperor was as little heeded as that of the pope. Two officers of the Diet then immediately conducted him from the hall to his lodgings.

By his courage, his convincing manner, and his eloquence, he had gained the favor of many members of the assembly. The old Duke Erick of Brunswick sent him a silver vase filled with Eimbeck beer, of which he had himself first drunk. On receiving it, Luther exclaimed, "As he has remembered me to-day, so may God remember Duke Erick at his last hour!" The house of the Teutonic knights was never free from company. "Doctor Martinus," (for this was the appellation by which he was known throughout Germany,) "during his visit at Worms," wrote Spalatin, "had more visitors than all the princes. I have seen at his apartments, besides many counts and lords, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Duke William of Brunswick, Count William of Henneberg, and my gracious sovereign the Elector Frederick, who, though he could have desired to see Doctor Martinus somewhat less courageous, was yet struck with admiration at his Christian reply before his imperial majesty and the states of the empire." As it was feared that, after his positive refusal to submit, Luther might be exposed to the fate of John Huss, four hundred German gentlemen united themselves to defend him; and Francis of Sieckingen, whose castle was in the vicinity, held his troops in readiness to march to his assistance.

But these marks of favor had no effect upon Charles the Fifth.

He had convoked the Diet only to fulfil a formality necessary to satisfy Germany. The day following he announced to the states of the empire his determination to command Luther instantly to depart from Worms. The conditions of the safe-conduct were to be observed during his journey; but, at the expiration of that term, he was to be pursued as a manifest heretic in whatever country he might be found.

The declaration of the emperor was the subject of an animated discussion in the Diet. The violation of the safe-conduct was advised by some of the ecclesiastical princes, and even by the elector of Brandeburg himself. In support of their opinion they cited the decree of the Council of Constance, which permits no faith to be kept with heretics; but this was indignantly rejected by most of the secular princes. The elector palatine and Duke George of Saxony, though the latter was an open enemy to Luther, declared that they would not suffer the first Diet of the emperor to be covered with this infamy, and German loyalty to be thus put to open shame. The contest grew so warm between the elector palatine and the elector of Brandeburg, that Luther affirms they even drew their swords. Charles was far from meditating so odious a perfidy. His own convenience, as well as the interest of the Holy See, made him anxious to condemn the doctrine of Luther; but he had no desire to soil his reputation with treachery.

The proposition to place Luther under the ban of the empire found little more favor in the Diet than that for the violation of the safe-conduct. The consequences that might result in Germany were feared, and the assembly would have preferred rather to reconcile than proscribe the reformer. To this end, permission was obtained from the emperor to prolong Luther's stay at Worms. During the few days that were granted, the archbishop of Treves, and many secular princes, bishops, and doctors, conferred with him to obtain an amicable submission; but all their efforts were fruitless. Luther remained unshaken; and on taking his leave of the elector of Treves, he remarked: "The prediction of Gamaliel to the scribes and Pharisees may be applied to my cause. If it be not of God, two or three years will suffice for its existence; but if it be of God, you will labor in vain to suppress it."

After several conferences, Luther having been found proof against persuasion as well as authority, the emperor, by the official of Treves and an imperial secretary, gave the order for his departure from Worms. Twenty-one days were granted him to place himself in safety. Speaking of the issue of the Diet, Luther wrote to his friend, the celebrated painter, Lucas Kranach, at Witten-

berg: "To me it seems, that the emperor might have called a doctor, or even fifty, fairly to refute the monk. But this was not the object. 'Are these thy books?' 'They are.' 'Wilt thou disavow them—yes or no?' 'No!' 'Begone, then!' O blind Germans that we are!"

On the morning of the 26th of April, after taking leave of his friends, Luther set out from Worms. The people, who pressed about him during his journey, were moved at the perils he had encountered. Frankly, but with intrepid eloquence, he had defended his noble cause; he had preferred proscription to a disavowal; he was departing for exile, and after twenty-one days Germany would no longer contain for him an asylum. Every mind was filled with these reflections, and all hearts were secretly devoted to the heroic reformer. Thus the revolution commenced by his sentiments was accomplished by the interest awakened in his misfortunes.

On the 28th of April, having arrived at Friedberg, in the territory of Hesse, he wrote to the emperor and the states of the empire, to thank them for keeping their faith in his behalf. Considering himself in safety, he dismissed the imperial herald and took the road to Saxony. His design was to visit his family and friends in the county of Mansfeld; but after passing Eisenach, not far from Altenstein, on the borders of the forest of Thuringia, he was surrounded by a body of disguised horsemen, who had secretly laid wait for him. By them he was forcibly taken from his coach, seated upon a horse, and conducted across the forest, to a castle erected on the summit of the most elevated of the mountains of that region. Wartburg castle, for this was its name, had been the ancient residence of the landgrave of Thuringia, and here an asylum for Luther had been furnished by the elector of Saxony.

This prince, who had long felt for Luther a growing attachment, determined not to forsake him, even though he should be laid under the ban of the empire. But, to reconcile his designs with the obedience he owed to a decree of the Diet, he resolved to withdraw the reformer from his persecutors without publicly protecting him. The elector, taking measures to be himself ignorant of the retreat of Luther, at the same time enjoined upon Spalatin to procure him a refuge in his estates. Spalatin punctually executed his orders, by causing Luther to be transported to the castle of Wartburg. Here, to avoid recognition, he threw off his monkish habit and assumed the dress of a gentleman, and changed his name of Doctor Martin for that of Knight George.

After Luther had left Worms, the Diet was occupied in delibe-

rating upon his sentence. The task of preparing it had been laid upon the nuncio Alexander; but many of the princes, wishing to have no part in this condemnation, left Worms before it could be pronounced. Of this number was the elector of Saxony. On the 5th of May he wrote to his brother Duke John: "Know that not only Annas and Caiphas have declared against Martinus, but also Pilate and Herod."

The decree of the emperor was published on the 26th of May, in the cathedral of Worms; it was dated, however, the 6th, that it might appear to have been done in full Diet, and approved by all the princes of the empire. Charles Fifth, in whose name the edict was published, declared that, in execution of the sentence pronounced by the sovereign pontiff, the legitimate judge of the cause, Luther was severed from the church and banished from Germany. Under pain of perpetual exile, he prohibited all persons from lending him any assistance, from furnishing him nourishment, and from giving him an asylum. He gave orders to arrest his person, to burn his writings, and to seize his partisans or protectors, together with their possessions; and forbade the printing thereafter of any book upon matters of faith without the consent of the bishops.

This decree caused more discontent than fear in Germany. The people were indignant at seeing proscribed, in the name of a German Diet, the man who, while sustaining his own opinions, had defended the wealth and liberties of his country against the exactions and tyranny of the court of Rome. Ulric of Hutten, who became the organ of the feelings of his countrymen, wrote: "Because he would not retract, they have condemned the man of God; they have driven him forth, forbidding him to preach God's word on his way! O indignity that merits the anger of Heaven! I blush for my country! The time has arrived when we shall see whether Germany yet has princes, or whether she is governed by statues in costly apparel."

After the publication of the edict the Diet was dissolved. The emperor left Germany to repair to his hereditary estates in Spain, which were then convulsed by an effort for independence. He flattered himself that by proscribing heresy he had struck its death-blow, and arrested the progress of the human mind by placing it under the authority of the bishops. He was deceived. Luther was more powerful than he; for the man whose thoughts respond to the wants of his age can never be withstood. Shortly after the departure of the emperor, Luther came forth from his retreat; and that which had been at Worms but the opinion of an innovator, became the faith of a whole people.

Thus, at nearly the same period, Columbus opened the seas to the enterprise of man,—Copernicus the heavens to his researches,—and Luther boundless regions to his independence. Of these three great representatives of the modern intellectual movement, Columbus gave to mankind a new continent,—Copernicus, the law of the heavenly bodies,—and Luther, the right of free inquiry. This last and perilous conquest was the price of an indomitable will. Summoned during four years to submit, for four years Luther still answered, No!—*No!* to the legate—*No!* to the pope—*No!* to the emperor. The liberties of the world were found in that heroic and fruitful *No!*

ART. IV.—*English Synonymes; with Copious Illustrations and Explanations, drawn from the best Writers.* By GEORGE CRABB, M. A., author of the Universal Technological Dictionary, and the Universal Historical Dictionary. 8vo.

THE volume named at the head of this article is, or ought to be, in the library of every scholar. Our object, therefore, is not to call to it the reader's attention, nor to review its merits or scan its faults. On the contrary, as preachers sometimes use a passage of Scripture, we have chosen it as a theme, which, by a little aid from the imagination, may be supposed to have suggested the train of remarks in which we purpose to indulge. To continue the figure, we may not allow ourselves, even when discoursing from a mere motto, to take too wild a flight; but if we would gain attention, some congruity between the text and the subject must be preserved; and, as ought to be the aim of all public speakers and writers, we shall endeavor not only to amuse, but to produce some useful and lasting impression.

Our subject is, of course, the English language: its beauty, its expressiveness, and its power.

Our mother tongue! we love it; and pleasant though it be to peruse the pages of the foreigner—as it is delightful to visit distant lands—there is always the charm of *home*, with all its witchery, in the good old Anglo-Saxon of our fathers. Very like the contempt which springs up in every breast for the man who reviles his country, are our feelings, spontaneous and irrepressible, toward him who slanders "his own tongue wherein he was born." He has, it may be, a smattering of French, and the English, he tells us, is

deficient in gracefulness; he has heard, too, that it lacks the harmonious sweetness of the Italian; and he takes it for granted that the German far exceeds it in metaphysical vigor, and the Spanish in pompous rotundity. Or, perchance, he is a devoted admirer of the ancients; he reads Virgil and Cicero in the original; he pores over the pages of Tacitus and Thucydides, and revels amid the glowing beauties of Demosthenes and Homer. What then? Is it necessary to slander the *living* in order that he may enjoy the *dead?* Shall he ransack the dictionary in search of contemptuous epithets to be applied to his native language? Language, did we say? He is not satisfied with declaring that, in contrast with every other dialect, ancient or modern, the English is guttural, harsh, hissing: he has discovered that it is no language at all; it is a mere *tongue.*

Fortunately, men of this stamp do not write much; or if they do, publishers are cautious, and their manuscripts seldom see the light. Occasionally, however, self-desperate, they print on their own account; or, through the kindness of some inexperienced book-seller, the public are favored with a small volume, in which the reader is permitted to see how men of genius can smooth down the roughness, and mellow the harshness of our nervous Anglo-Saxon. This is done by the use of what are called *euphemisms;* and by Latinizing and Frenchifying common phrases. A neologist of this class, we may suppose, once undertook to *modernize* the common translation of the Bible. Whether the entire work was beyond his ability, or whether he became disgusted at the indifference of the ignoble vulgar, we know not. Certainly, his labors have not yet been given to the public, except in detached portions by way of specimens. As these may not have been seen by the reader, we shall present him with a sample, that he may learn from it how much *can* be done in the way of *euphemising.* It is necessary to forewarn those who are acquainted only with common English, that they are now about to read what is usually called the Lord's Prayer; and that they may see the beauties of the new version, and, at the same time, be enabled to test its accuracy, we place the two translations in juxta-position:—

COMMON VERSION.	BEAUTIFIED TRANSLATION.
Our Father,	Paternal ancestor,
who art in heaven,	existing in elysium,
hallowed be thy name,	consecrated be thine appellation,
thy kingdom come,	thy jurisdiction advance,
thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven;	thy determination be executed on terra-firma as in elysium;

give us this day	confer upon us during this mundane sphere's axillary revolution
our daily bread,	our diurnal sustenance,
and forgive us our debts	and remit unto us our violations of thy commandments
as we forgive our debtors;	as we remit the transgressions of our associates;
and lead us not into temptation,	and conduct us not into enticements,
but deliver us from evil;	but effectuate our deliverance from malfeasance;
for thine is the kingdom, and the power,	for to thee pertain the jurisdiction, and the faculty of performing,
and the glory, for ever.	and the splendor, from eternity to eternity.

Would you object to this new version? Why? Is it not faithful to the original? Most certainly it is; and how far does it exceed the vulgar translation in sonorous epithets and mellifluous cadences! Try it again. Does not *Paternal ancestor* mean the same as our Father? and how much does the sentence gain in majesty by the alteration! *Consecrated be thine appellation*, as you perceive, is merely the old Saxon, "hallowed be thy name," Latinized, that is, beautified; and how tame, how very English is the phrase, "give us this day our daily bread," compared with the sonorous and magnificent sentence, *confer upon us during this mundane sphere's axillary revolution our diurnal sustenance.* And it means, you see, precisely the same thing. Then, again, is not the language enriched by the introduction of words that have not been bandied about by the vulgar until all their beauty, if they ever had any, is worn off? *Terra-firma*, instead of earth, for instance; and *elysium* for heaven; and above all, that sweet-sounding word, *malfeasance*, instead of evil. Thus would the new translator argue. You would tell him, perhaps, that, after all, you prefer the old version. No doubt of it, he would reply; but that is owing to the prejudice of early education. That your taste is depraved is no good reason why the language should not be enriched and beautified. Certainly not, say you; and then, with becoming modesty, you hint a doubt as to the possibility that the new translation may be less generally understood. At this our beautifier would laugh outright. And before turning on his heel, and leaving you to your vulgar prejudices, he would probably pour upon you a volley of unanswerable questions; such as: The language is to be kept down to the level of the common people, is it? What, then, is the use of us *literati?* And how are the asperities of our crabbed tongue to be smoothed? And how are the most beautiful neologisms to obtain

a foothold? And, above all, what is the use of dictionary-makers, as the vulgar call the practitioners of the lexicographic art?

Although, as we have said, these improvers of the language do not often succeed in ushering into the world an entire volume, the periodical press affords a frequent opportunity for the display of their peculiar talent. That class denominated Annuals seems to be an especial favorite, insomuch that no one who opens their gilded outsides may hope to find on their snow-white pages anything masculine in sense or sound. Take hold of the next "Gem," or "Wreath," or "Amulet," and whether the article you attempt to read be entitled a Revery, or a Vision, or a Romaunt, or Stanzas to * * * *; the probability is, that your ingenuity will be tasked to find out the writer's meaning; and when you have discovered it, you will marvel why so common a thing could not have been expressed in common words. But the language is English; you will find it all in Webster's quarto dictionary, with the exception of a few expressions from the author's own mint, and *their* meaning, if you are very inquisitive, perhaps you may guess. But the Annuals are a privileged class; the aristocracy in the republic of letters. We may pardon a little stilted affectation in them, just as we cannot afford anything more severe than a smile at the rich democrat, lolling in his gilded chariot, surrounded by lackeys in livery.

Frequently these lackadaisical sentimentalists find their way into the columns of a magazine; and occasionally a sedate quarterly allows them to glitter on its pages. The editor smiled as he read the manuscript, and fearful, perhaps, of offending the conceited writer and his friends, or desirous, it may be, to test the gullibility of his readers, and to see how many would prefer high-sounding epithets to common sense, in plain language, he handed it to the printer without alteration or erasure. His conscience has troubled him since; especially when he heard that article declared to be—very fine. Happy will it be for the cause of literature when the tribe editorial exercise, with rigid impartiality, their conservative veto power. They are the guardians of the language; to their pages the young have a right to look for models of style; and when it is considered with what ease grandiloquence and bombast are imitated and exceeded, no other motive need be urged to enforce upon them the necessity of keeping the literary fountains pure, if they cannot always make them sparkle.

Those who have been in the habit of attending the popular courses of lectures delivered in our large cities during the winter months, need not be told that many of them are the veriest com-

mon-place, dressed up in gaudy colors; things "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." True, there are some honorable exceptions—perhaps two or three in the course of a season—but the general impression made upon your mind, as the lecturer proceeds, is, that he, at any rate, does not deem it

> "Praise enough
> To fill th' ambition of a common man,
> That Chatham's language is his mother-tongue."

But he is not a *common* man, although his thoughts are very common, and Chatham's language would render them intolerable. Of necessity, therefore, he seeks some other dress in which to clothe them; and thus he is enabled to palm them off as something *very fine*, just as by means of high-heeled boots, and a laced coat, and a long feather, a fellow with a little soul and a weak body may pass muster as a bold grenadier. Take one of these lectures, for sometimes the author is vain enough to print, and translate it into plain English. It seemed very splendid in the delivery. Your attention was entirely taken up by the speaker's sonorous periods, his strangely-compounded epithets, and his mysteriously-inverted sentences. But how does it look now that with great effort you have "done it into English?" You toss it aside with a pish, exclaiming, "Weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable." Let us not be understood as calling in question the general utility of these public lectures. If they have done nothing else, they have thinned the attendance upon more questionable places of amusement; and they bid fair to post on the doors of every theatre the ominous words—To let. The morals of a community are certainly of more importance than their language; but it does not follow that what is confessedly of less, is, therefore, of *no* importance.

This passion for high-sounding epithets pervades every class of the community; and, if not checked, will, in the course of another generation, so emasculate our mother tongue as to divest it of all its energy. To begin at the beginning in citing a few specimens;—has not the reader noticed that now there are very few *schools?* They were common in our youthful days, but of late they have been almost entirely superseded by Academies, Seminaries, Institutes, and Lyceums. Pretty words those. Are boys and girls taught therein by more competent teachers than they were in the olden times? Boys and girls? Pardon us. We should have said—young gentlemen and ladies. And as for teachers, you may find them in the Sunday school; but, as you value your gentility, apply not that vulgar epithet to—Preceptors, Professors, Princi-

pals, or Academicians. You will have observed, too, that those who rejoice in the euphony of these self-applied titles condescend to nothing lower, in their prospectus, than to give instruction in *orthography* with strict attention to *orthoepy;* meaning thereby that they teach children to spell, and attend to their pronunciation. Is the art of *writing* taught nowadays? Certainly, but that also has been dignified with a Greek title. In an "institute" or a "lyceum" you may look in vain for those old-fashioned articles with an intelligible inscription, such as *John Smith's Copy-book;* but you will find—"Specimens of Caligraphy, by Master Horatio Augustus Noodle." What is *Belles-lettres?* It is pure French, and can never be anything else. It has no precise meaning in its own country, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that there should be a diversity of opinion as to what particular branches the barbarism should include; and yet a seminary that did not place belles-lettres in its course of instruction might justly be considered as behind the age. The common old-fashioned amusements necessary for exercise, such as jumping the rope or playing ball, are called, in the dialect of very fashionable instructors, *Calisthenics.*

Even the pulpit is not free from this affectation of refinement in language. Once it was usual to *pray;* now, addresses are made to the throne of grace. The expressive little verb, *to preach,* has given place to the phrase—deliver a discourse, which may mean anything—a sermon, a eulogy on music, or a lecture on politics. *To kneel* is very intelligible, but—to assume a devotional posture, as we have been invited to do, on more than one occasion, is not quite so clear, although, possibly, in the opinion of some, more elegant. Preachers are—clergymen; their hearers—an audience; and their meeting-house—a sanctuary. Many and various are the titles by which the supreme Being has been pleased to reveal himself in the Bible; but you will search in vain there for that most common appellation of the present day—the Deity. The word has been borrowed from the classic pages of heathen Greece and Rome, and is probably considered satisfactory evidence that those who use it in the pulpit are educated men. There is not in any language a more expressive term than the pure old Saxon word—*death.* Why should it be displaced by that long and awkward collocation of syllables—dissolution? But enough. The reader's memory will readily furnish him with a number of similar new-coined expressions that are rapidly gaining currency. Nor need we dwell at any length in illustration of the fact that this euphonistic mania is pervading all classes of the community. Thus *shops* and *stores* are converted into "bazaars" and "emporiums." *Houses,* once so com-

mon, are now known as tenements, mansions, and residences. *Ink*, in the language of the most vulgar stationer, is—writing-fluid. *Eating-houses* are, by those who prefer the language of ancient Rome—refectories; by those who affect the modern French—restaurants; and *horse-markets* are rendered respectable by dubbing them—hipponas.

It is evident, and therefore no argument is needed to establish the position, that the press, aided by the pulpit and the lecture-room, is mainly responsible for the introduction and consequent currency of these and similar refinements. We are not certain that it is possible now to effect a reform. Revolutions, it is said, never go backward; and the prospect at present is, that the language of our fathers will become obsolete, and, instead of its nervous majesty, we shall bequeath to posterity a dialect of sublimated sweet sounds, very pretty, but very tame. Do we object, then, to the use of beautiful language? Are we to be confined to words of Saxon origin? Must we abandon our derivatives from the Greek and Latin? These questions we answer, of course, without hesitation, in the negative. But what *is* beautiful language? What makes one word more beautiful than another? In answer to the former of these questions, we say that the beauty of any literary composition depends upon the *thoughts* conveyed, and not upon the words in which they are expressed. Tame language may injure great sentiments, but all the high-sounding epithets in the dictionary will not make tame thoughts great. The second element of beauty is perspicuity. If the thoughts are beautiful, and the language used to convey them is such as the reader cannot help understanding, then that also is beautiful, whether it be the plain every-day phrases of common people, or a dialect borrowed from the classic pages of antiquity. Glass will obstruct the vision quite as much when beautifully painted as when discolored with dirt; and a style studded with far-fetched epithets and high-sounding phrases may be as *dark* as one abounding in colloquial vulgarisms. Again, that word, no matter of what syllables it is composed, or whence it is derived, which most exactly expresses the idea of the writer, is always the most beautiful. Our language is peculiarly rich in what are called synonyms. These are words which differ by slight shades of meaning, and which serve, consequently, to express with precision minute varieties of thought. For instance, the words happiness, felicity, bliss, convey in general the same idea, and might be used indiscriminately by a poet, according as his verse required one, three, or four syllables. Neither of them is in itself *handsomer* than the other, but there are sentences in

which any correct ear would detect an impropriety in the use of one instead of the other. Amenity, suavity, sweetness, are equally good words, and equally expressive and necessary; but who would talk of the suavity of sugar, or the sweetness of a prospect, or the amenities of a man's temper? Take again the following adjectives —injurious, mischievous, harmful, hurtful, deleterious, destructive, pernicious, baneful, ruinous, noxious, venomous, poisonous; while there are things to which, with propriety, each of these expletives might be applied, it is evident that no two convey precisely the same idea, and that there may be occasions when each in its turn would be most appropriate, and therefore most beautiful. Is not *tear* a beautiful word? "I could think of that word," says Robert Hall, "until I wept;" and how expressive, and therefore beautiful, is that word—weep! What a strange fancy, what an absurd idea of the beautiful, had that modern writer who tells us of a lovely woman that he "found her in a state of lachrymation!" instead of saying in plain language, that would have appealed at once to every heart—I found her weeping; or, I found her in tears. "It is a bad sign, my hearers," said a minister who affected elegance of diction, "it is a bad sign when you feel *somnolent in the afternoon*." He thought it would be vulgar to tell them they appeared sleepy or drowsy, and will probably lecture his hearers, if some kind friend will give him the hint, on the "vitiosity of post-prandial somnolency." Why not? A celebrated English divine, Hall, bishop of Norwich, in a sermon preached at court, in the presence of royalty, selected as his theme the miracle at the pool of Bethesda. After an elaborate introduction, he invites his hearers to "consider,

"I. The topography,

"II. The aitiology,

"III. The chronology of this miracle."

There are, it is true, in all modern languages, and not more in our own than in others, a few words that, from their associations, have an air of rusticity or vulgarity. We plead not for them. They may safely be abandoned, as we have enough to supply their places; but we do insist that it is no mark of good breeding or good scholarship to forsake the plain, precise, and nervous expressions of our own mother tongue, for interlopers which have nothing more to recommend them than their novelty and their foreign origin. It was in this way, by the affectation of Greek idioms and compounds, that the language of the ancient Romans became, after the Augustan age, so diluted and enervated as to lose nearly all the beauty and majesty that it once possessed. While, on the contrary, the preservation of the Greek in its purity, for a length of time

unequaled in the history of any other language, is to be attributed mainly to the contempt that people had for the use of any foreign terms. Whencesoever they came, and by whomsoever used, the Greeks branded all these euphonistic improvements with the contemptuous epithet—*barbarisms*.

In the English language there are also words, that from the position of their syllables, and their accentuation, are harsh and not easily pronounced.* They are, however, not more numerous than in other modern languages; and are, in comparison with the whole, extremely few in number. It is very seldom that they are unavoidably used, and, when necessary, they give a pleasing variety to a style which would otherwise grow wearisome from its smoothness. The poets sometimes employ them with great skill when they would make the sound an echo to the sense, as in the following verses from Dyer's Ruins of Rome:

> "The pilgrim oft
> At dead of night 'mid his oraison hears,
> Aghast, the voice of time, disparting towers,
> *Tumbling all precipitate down-dash'd*,
> Rattling *around*, *loud thundering* to the moon."

* It is well observed by Campbell, in his Philosophy of Rhetoric, "that those languages which are allowed to be the most susceptible of all the graces of harmony, have admitted many ill-sounding words. Such are in Greek, σπλαγχνιζεσθαι, προσφθεγξασθαι, εγχριμφθεις, κεκακοκα, μεμιμημενον. In the last two one finds a dissonant recurrence of the same letter to a degree quite unexampled with us. . . . . Such are also, in Latin, *dixisses*, *spississimus*, *precrebrescebantque*. The last of these words is very rough, and the first two have as much of the hissing letters as any English word whatever. The Italian is considered, and I believe justly, as the most musical of all languages, yet there are in it some sounds which, even to us, appear harsh and jarring. Such are, *incrocicchiare*, *edrucciolaso*, *spregiatrice*. There is a great difference between words which sound harshly, but are of easy pronunciation to the natives, and those words which even to natives occasion difficulty in the utterance, and consequently convey some idea of awkwardness to the hearer, which is prejudicial to the design. There are, in the languages of all countries, many words which foreigners will find a difficulty in pronouncing, that the natives have no conception of. The Greeks could not easily articulate the Latin terminations in *ans* and *ens*. On the other hand, there were many sounds in Greek which appeared intolerable to the Latins, such as words beginning with μν, φθ, ψ, πτ, κτ, and many others. No people have so studiously avoided the collision of consonants as the Italians. To their delicate ears, *pt*, *ct*, and *cs*, or *x*, though belonging to different syllables, and interposed between words, are offensive, nor can they easily pronounce them. Instead of *apto*, and *lecto*, and *Alexandro*, they must say *atto*, and *letto*, and *Allesandro*. Yet these very people begin some of their words with the three consonants *sdr*, which, to our ears, are perfectly shocking."

And we assert, fearless of contradiction, that there is no language, ancient or modern, living or dead, that exceeds our own in its capability of giving utterance, in echoing language, to sentiments gentle and boisterous, tender and sublime. We may not afford space to verify our remark by numerous quotations, but simply refer the reader to the whole of that wonderfully-elaborate and inimitably-harmonious elegy of Gray. Familiar though it be to every schoolboy, we fully subscribe to the sentiment "that imbued as it is with the calm, tearful melancholy of the time and place, it will fill up a soothing hour in millions of hearts which have not yet begun to beat." Allow us one short extract from Milton, and in fairness we must have one from Shakspeare. They shall both illustrate the point under consideration. The first is the language of the spectre, death, at the gates of hell, addressed to the arch-fiend himself:—

> "Back to thy punishment,
> False fugitive! and to thy speed add wings,
> Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
> Thy lingering,—or, with one stroke of this dart,
> Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before."

"The hand of a master" (says a critic of our own day, himself a master*) "is felt through every movement of this sentence, especially toward the close, where it seems to grapple with the throat of the reader; the hard *staccato* stops, that well nigh take the breath in attempting to pronounce, 'or with one stroke of this dart,' are followed by an explosion of sound in the last line, like a heavy discharge of artillery, in which, though a full syllable is interpolated even at the cesural pause, it is carried off almost without the reader perceiving the surplussage:—

> 'Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before.'"

But listen to the bard of Avon; how, even with our "intractable English," he makes his readers see the lightning and hear the thunder. It is the language of the gentle Cordelia when her old gray-headed father is brought in from the pitiless tempest, to which he had been all night exposed by the cruelty of his other daughters:—

> "Had you not been their father, *these white flakes*
> Had challenged pity of them. Was this a face
> To be exposed against the *warring winds?*
> To stand against the *deep dread bolted thunder?*
> In the *most terrible and nimble stroke*
> Of *quick cross lightning?*"

* Montgomery.

There is a degree of unfairness which even our most approved writers on rhetoric seem to manifest when comparing our own with ancient languages. They take a specimen for instance from some admired classic, Greek or Latin, and contrast it with the best English translation. Of course, the idiom being entirely different, the advantage is all on the side of the original, and then they rest satisfied that the fault is in our language; they tell us it is tame, and inexpressive in the comparison. Now it would be just as fair to take Milton's Paradise Lost, for instance, and because the versions that have been made into French, or Spanish, or Italian, do not equal the original, to argue, *therefore*, the superiority of the English. Or select a passage from the greatest master of our glorious Anglo-Saxon; give it to a competent Latin scholar, and bid him turn it into the hexameters of ancient Rome, and by *that* test which would appear the more beautiful, the more concise, the more expressive language? Happily we have at least an answer to this question. Here is a passage from Shakspeare, among a thousand fully equal to it that might be selected, and with it we give, from the hand of a ripe scholar, a poetical Latin version, which comes perhaps as near the spirit of the original as it is possible. But O how tame in the comparison! And beautiful as is the Latin, no one after reading both but will be ready to exclaim—What a falling off is here! The passage is taken from "Measure for Measure," and is the language of Claudio, a heathen, when informed by Isabella that she will not stain her honor to save his life. "A shamed life," says she "is hateful:" he replies,—

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where,
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot,
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless* winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and uncertain thoughts
Imagine howling! 'Tis too horrible!
The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death."

* The old word for invisible.

Here is the Latin, and it *is* beautiful:—

"Attamen; heu! quam triste mori! nec quo sit eundum
Scire prius—positum clausa putrescere in arca;
Membrorum sisti motus, alacremque vigorem
In luteam solvi molem—quam triste! capacem
Lætitiæque jocique animam torrentibus uri
Ignibus, aut montis claudi glacialis in alveo:
Suspensumve dari ventis, noctesque diesque
Huc illuc, invisa vi, turbantibus orbem;
Aut graviora pati, quam quos cruciatibus actos
Tartareas implere feris ululatibus umbras,
Anxia mens hominum, mirum et miserabile! finxit,
Horrendum! quodcumque mali ferat ægra senectus,
Pauperiesve dolorve gravis, tractæve catenæ,
Omnia quæ possunt infestam reddere vitam,
Esse voluptates lætæ Elysiumque videntur,
Spectanti mortem prope, venturamque timenti."

But our mother tongue, we are told, is a *hissing* language; and something more is meant by the charge than that we have frequent use for the letter *s* and the soft *c*. The intimation evidently is, that the English abounds in these sibilations to an extent unequaled in other languages; and grammarians, rhetoricians, and writers on elocution gravely assert and mourn over it, without taking the trouble to ascertain its truth. When a party of wise men were endeavoring to account philosophically for the strange fact, that a pail of water with a live fish in it weighs no more than the same pail of water without the fish, Dr. Franklin, who had not given his opinion, bethought himself of a pair of scales, and on thus testing the question under discussion, the fact was found to be false. Precisely so with the *hissing* of our vernacular. Get your scales and make the experiment. You need go no further than the above extract from Shakspeare and the accompanying Latin version; or, you may select at random a passage from any foreign author, and compare it with a good English translation: take, if you please, the Lord's Prayer; *count* the hissing sounds in the Greek, in the Latin, and in the English, and there, as well as in nine instances out of ten, from whatever source you may choose them, the fact, as in the case of the fish, will be found—false. We know not that we are entitled to much credit for this discovery; at any rate, we do not claim much, it is so easy a thing to count; but it *is* strange that philosophers should lament over and attempt to palliate facts that exist in the imagination only.

We are not claiming *perfection* for our language. It is doubtless susceptible of improvement, and it is constantly receiving

additions that are of real value. He who introduces a new word that is expressive and necessary is a public benefactor. In this respect, not less than others, necessity is the mother of invention; and there is—to quote the language of an amusing writer of the present day—"there is no government mint of words, and it is no statutable offense to invent a felicitous or daring expression unauthorized by Mr. Todd! When a man of genius, in the heat of his pursuits or his feelings, has thrown out a peculiar word, it probably conveyed more precision or energy than any other established word; *otherwise he is but an ignorant pretender!*" Note the force of the adverb in that last sentence. It is not intended to imply, as the strict grammatical construction would seem to warrant, that one may be at the same time a man of genius and an ignorant pretender, but that this appellation belongs to him who invents, and endeavors to throw into circulation, words that are not more precise and energetic than those already established.

May we not be permitted to suggest, with all modesty, to those who are dissatisfied with our vernacular, that by possibility the fault may be in themselves rather than in the language? Is it beyond a peradventure, that on a very rigid investigation it might not be discovered that the reason why they cannot find suitable words in which to express great thoughts, is because the thoughts themselves are not great? As the reader will perceive, we venture to propose these inquiries with great deference; and he will pardon us, perhaps, when he reflects upon the fact, that it was our own English that sustained him who soared

"Above all Greek, above all Roman fame,"

ascending, in his own language,

"——the highest heaven of invention:"

and that this same "well of English undefiled" did not fail the dramatist when

"Each scene of many-color'd life he drew,
Exhausted worlds—and then imagined new."

We will not vouch for the truth of the following anecdote, nor attempt to show its pertinency, but leave it with the reader to make the application.—An ambitious musician, who attributed the loud disapprobation of his hearers to a defect in the instrument on which he was playing, was told by HANDEL, jealous of the honor of the *organ* on which he himself performed—"The fault is not *there*, my friend; the fact is, *you* have no music *in your soul!*"

J.

ART. V.—*The Articles of the Synod of Dort, translated from the Latin, with Notes.* By the Rev. THOMAS SCOTT, D. D. To which is added an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. SAMUEL MILLER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1841.

(*Concluded.*)

SINCE nothing could be effected in the Conference of Hague toward the promotion of peace, it was determined, from the advice of certain persons, that a number somewhat less, as well of Remonstrants as Contra-remonstrants, should assemble at Delft. Therefore, in the month of February, of the year 1613, there assembled at that place on the side of the Contra-remonstrants, John Bogardus, John Becius, and Festus Hommius; on the side of the Remonstrants, John Uitenbogardt, Adrian Borrius Nicolas Grevinkhovius. At first the business was attempted by word of mouth, but finally it was carried on in writing. The leading Contra-remonstrants exhibited a document, in which they declared the peace of the church could not stand unless the Remonstrants, one and all, would declare their opinion concerning the various heads of religion, to wit: the satisfaction of Christ, the justification of man as a sinner before God, saving faith, original sin, the certainty of salvation, and the perfection of man in this life; and these heads they delivered over comprehended in fixed theses and anti-theses; because, they said, there existed a suspicion which, moreover, could be proved by glaring testimonies, that some of the Remonstrants thought unsoundly concerning them, or maintained a familiarity with those who did. Nevertheless, they did not declare that, if the Remonstrants would subscribe to the articles in question, they could be tolerated in their opinion concerning predestination; but that they would then deliberate what further could be done toward their toleration. The Remonstrants responded, that they demanded what was unjust; that if the Contra-remonstrants knew of any persons who denied those heads, they might carry on a disputation with them separately; the Remonstrants had assembled there to act on the articles comprehended in the remonstrance; nevertheless, if the Contra-remonstrants wished to declare that the five articles could be tolerated, they themselves would act, with all the Remonstrants, for the purpose of disclosing their opinions ingenuously upon the heads in question; but if they judged the five arti-

cles were not to be tolerated, it would be fruitless for them to give a declaration of their opinion upon those heads, for they would advance nothing by this toward obtaining peace. But this proposal was rejected. Therefore, the Remonstrants said, they would communicate in reference to these things with all the Remonstrants: the Contra-remonstrants, in turn, that they would consult with those of their own party, whether the tolerance which the Remonstrants demanded could be limited by some established formula; for they thought it impiety to concede unlimited tolerance upon the five heads. They accused the Remonstrants of cherishing other errors in their minds, and of being the authors of a dissension which they might be able to settle by an ingenuous declaration. But the Remonstrants showed that they had, in no manner, been the authors of dissension, for though they should declare themselves openly, they could not, by that declaration, promote peace; because the Contra-remonstrants, notwithstanding, thought the five articles could by no means be tolerated. Wherefore, it was believed they had devised this fraudulently, in order to separate the Remonstrants mutually from each other, in case this one should subscribe and that one refuse; or if all should refuse, that they might bring them into suspicion as thinking unsoundly upon the forementioned heads; and, nevertheless, there were weighty reasons for not subscribing, because we should not proceed in matters of faith under the form of inquisition, but of accusation and proof; and, as was before said, they could not promote peace by that subscription.

Thus controversies beginning to burn, the states of Holland labored carefully to preserve peace in the church; the Contra-remonstrants to bring about a schism. This, in fine, they sought, a synod, in which the judgment upon doctrine should rest wholly with themselves and their own party. The states believed their minds not sufficiently calm for holding a synod, and, therefore, decreed mutual toleration in order that their dispositions might in the mean time be softened down, and that they might tolerate one another fraternally until a synod should be held. In the beginning of the year 1614, a decree was established by the states of Holland, for the peace of the churches, in which they forbade to be taught in the church, certain extremes objected to each opinion, but acknowledged by the advocates of neither; they also approved of tolerance upon controverted points. This decree the Remonstrants freely obeyed; but the Contra-remonstrants opposed sharply; whence a new controversy arose concerning mutual tolerance. But this did not extend further at that time than to the

five controverted articles upon predestination. The Contra-remonstrants, without doubt, perceived that peace could be preserved between two diverse opinions upon predestination, of which one (as they say in their contra-remonstrance) holds that God, in his own eternal counsel, has considered man as not yet created; while the other conceives that God has elected certain ones from the human family after the fall, and passed by the rest, for they agree in the fundamental doctrine, to wit: there is a certain definite number of elect sons of God who can never perish; and moreover that God, in this election, has had no respect to faith or any good work which existed in the elect, more than in those whom he passed by, before he himself wrought it in their hearts, and that in such a way that they performed nothing from their own will; but faith and piety became the fruits of election. But those, say they, who hold that God, in the eternal decree of his election, has considered man, not as created and fallen, but as believing, lay another foundation of election, and consequently of salvation also. But the Remonstrants contended for the mutual toleration of those differing upon the article of predestination. Not long after the issuing of this decree by the states, a pamphlet came forth without the name of the author, containing an answer to three questions, which impugn the decree, and traduce it as condemning the opinion of the Reformed Church. Uitenbogardus undertook the defence of the decree in a very learned book published against the three questions. Triglandius opposed to that an unpolished tract, to which he gave the title of "Defensio Honoris et Doctrinæ Reformatarum Ecclesiarum." This same Triglandius, not much before, directly combatted mutual tolerance in a book with the title of "Rectè moderatus Christianus." On the other hand, Jacobus Taurinus, pastor at Utrecht, in a most learned treatise, contended, with many arguments, for mutual tolerance. Thus the Remonstrants contending sharply for tolerance, but the Contra-remonstrants against tolerance, no fruit of the truly salutary edict of the states could be perceived. For the Contra-remonstrants, not contented with opposing toleration in their writings, both secretly and openly were attempting a secession from the Remonstrants. The inhabitants of Amsterdam especially were meditating a schism. The states sent deputies from their own assembly to Amsterdam in the year 1616, among whom was Hugo Grotius, who, in a prolix oration, delivered before the senate of Amsterdam, which is now extant in his works, tom. iii, p. 177, endeavored to persuade the magistracy, with much reasoning, to embrace, in conjunction with other states, designs of peace and tolerance. But it was in

vain. All things now tended to a schism. In the month of January, in the year 1617, several Contra-remonstrant ministers and elders assembled at Amsterdam, and having made Plancius, the minister of Amsterdam, president, decreed a schism, in which they declare, that they "recognize" the Remonstrants "as those with whom it is by no means lawful for them to hold any conventions, whom also they do not consider members of their own assemblies; but separate themselves finally from them until they abandon their doctrine;" and they require "their fellow-ministers, holding the same doctrine and rank with themselves, to witness, by the subscription of the hand, that they are also of the same mind, in order that, in this manner, binding themselves mutually in a good work, with Christian concord and zeal, they may rule faithfully the church of God," &c. In the month of March, of the same year, they instructed certain persons, by confidential letters, "to stir up" those in the classes "who had hesitated to subscribe the decree of secession between the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, to perform that intermitted subscription," and, moreover "to procure from among the same that money should be collected for the use of the afflicted churches." A similar decree was made at Hague in the month of July, in a more concise explanation of which they declare "that they hold the Remonstrants, and those given to their opinion, as false teachers, and that they only await a national synod, of which great hope now seems to dawn, in order that the secession made from the Remonstrants may be there legitimately commanded, and with an ecclesiastical sentence preceding its execution; threatening also that if the national synod does not go forward, they themselves, together with the other brethren who have already made the secession, (which they judge to be made from causes the most weighty and sufficient,) will deliberate upon the first opportunity, concerning the proper way and mode of forming a universal and unanimous secession." All of these decrees, and another, the decree of Schiedam, of the year 1618, are found entire in vol. 2, of Opera Episcopii in Antidoto Synodi Dordracenæ, cap. 1.

This schismatical spirit did not stop with mere decrees, but the Contra-remonstrants formed a schism in various places. They had their own pastors in public churches, and so likewise did the Remonstrants. But in certain places they refused to hold communion with their own colleagues, the Remonstrants: the chief of these were Cornelius Hillenius at Alcmaer, Cornelius Dunganus at Utrecht, and Cornelius Geselius at Rotterdam, who, when they were able to teach their own opinion in the public

churches, formed private congregations, independent of the public churches, in order that they might hold no communion with the Remonstrants, and, indeed, they even formed separate assemblies, without the sanction of the states, to which very many flowed together from various states and villages. Such detached assemblies were held in the country of Schieland; and although in that territory also there were pastors who believed in the opinion of the Contra-remonstrants, and professed it in the public churches, though unconnected with the schism, whom they could have heard, those being neglected, they attended the detached assemblies. But there were very few among them who belonged to the inhabitants of Schieland. There also assembled together, from the beginning, to these persons, certain Flemmings, from Leyden, some from Schiedam, and others from Amsterdam, who could have no cause why they should run forth hither, unless it were to create schism, since they could at home hear pastors who were of the same belief as themselves. Those ministers who were of a very fierce disposition, offered themselves as leaders of the schism, and taught in these private assemblies. These separate assemblies were prohibited in Schieland by a decree. Of a like purport was the decree of Utrecht, that the Contra-remonstrants should be prohibited, not from the free exercise of religion, but from schism and sedition. The design of this decree was evident to all those who were acquainted with the movements of those who, in connection with Dunganus, were establishing these assemblies without the city.

Now all things were directed toward schism and the condemnation of the Remonstrants, and being got in readiness for the national synod. The states of Holland preferred that the way to agreement should be tried by means of a synod in Holland, to which the deputies of the neighboring provinces should be invited. But others urged a national synod. In the mean time certain political contentions arose between the states and the Prince Maurice; and the prince himself, at the instigation of certain ones of the states, began to disapprove the decrees of the same, for the mutual tolerance of dissenters, having deserted the public temples to join himself to those who had seceded. He also gave commands to the common soldiers, unbeknown to the lords of Holland, that they need not interfere in difficulties which might arise from these controversies. But their lordships knew that obedience was due to their decrees from that soldiery which was under their pay, both for the protection of walled towns, by their wardens, and the prevention of violence and sedition of every kind in public

places. Wherefore, the magistrates of some of the walled towns, where there were either no garrisons, or the garrisons were suspected, increased and set in order the guards of their own towns according to the decrees of the states of Holland. The states of Utrecht did the same wherever their sway extended; and the latter, as well as the former, professed to hold this soldiery on their own expense independent of the common burdens of a warlike enterprise. Although they had used this right, often before this, without the prohibition of the chiefs of the confederacy, or of the stadtholder, who also was the commander of the common soldiers; nevertheless the Prince Maurice contended that this was prejudicial to his authority. Therefore some of the nations, sustained by the authority of the prince, in the name of the confederate states proclaimed a national synod. The inhabitants of Holland and Utrecht opposed themselves to this movement, and denied that it was lawful for the confederacy to interpose itself, according to the opinion of the greater party, to establish anything in relation to these affairs. They proceed to proclaim a synod, theologians of other nations also being called, yet no others than those who it was evident were of the opinion to which victory was destined. In the mean time the Prince Maurice, in connection with some from the convention of the states-general of Utrecht, against the will of the lords of that nation, disarms the soldiery, and in the same place and through all the states of Holland, having driven the magistrates from their offices, substitutes others in their places; so far was this the case that the republic suddenly wore a new aspect. Immediately the lords of Holland agreed upon the convention of a national synod. It was, therefore, thought proper first to convene provincial synods through all the provinces, in order that everything might be prepared for the celebration of a national synod. But in them all things were so arranged and directed against the Remonstrants, that they sufficiently foresaw from that very time what would be the end of the national synod. In order that the Contra-remonstrants might prevail by more suffrages in the provincial synods, all the classes in which they were inferior in number were divided into two, and every one sent deputies to the synod; but those classes in which they prevailed in number, they did not suffer to be divided. In this manner it could not be avoided that the Contra-remonstrants should be superior in suffrages in all the synods. Disputes were also set in motion concerning the letters of credence with which the Remonstrants were furnished. Some of them were excluded from the synods on account of pretended causes; and in this way the Contra-

remonstrants sent to the national synod such deputies as they wished. At length also they set apart certain persons, who exauctorated, under various pretexts, not a few of the Remonstrant ministers, without awaiting the judgment of the national synod. While in the province of Utrecht there were only five Contra-remonstrant ministers, a synod was granted to only those five, and this was kept secret from the synod of the Remonstrants, in order that two Contra-remonstrants might be sent from that province also to the national synod. Of these, nevertheless, one was from Holland, being sent thither for a time, to serve in those churches. The synod of the Remonstrants, indeed, sent two deputies to the national synod; but they were excluded from the synod when the affair of the Remonstrants came up. Some of the Remonstrants were cited before this synod, that they might set forth their cause in its presence as judge, and await the opinion of that judge; among whom was Simon Episcopius enrolled, indeed, in the synod by the letters of the states of Holland, but not admitted by the synod. Here the Remonstrants immediately excepted against that synod as an adverse party and a judge in their own cause; and when they gained nothing by that, they entered a solemn protest "that they did not consider the synod a legitimate judge in its own controversies, and that, therefore, its judgment would be considered of no weight with them and their churches." When they would not renounce this protest, they were ejected from the synod, and, after various deliberations, were condemned by the synod as if indeed convicted of corrupt religion, of schism in the church, and moreover of intolerable obstinacy against the decrees of the magistrates promulgated in the synod, and resistance against the reverend synod itself. Moreover they were exauctorated from their ecclesiastical offices; and all those who hesitated to promise silence by the solemn subscription of their hands, and to absent themselves thereafter from all ecclesiastical functions and duties, or from that which might possibly devolve upon them, as well secretly as openly, directly or indirectly, both within and without cities, towns, &c., were sent into exile. Then, also, by an edict of the states-general, all the religious assemblies of the Remonstrants were severely forbidden, and various punishments and fines established against the transgressors of this edict. Nevertheless, they permitted every one, in his own house, and without assembling those who might dwell around him, to exercise the free use of his religion, before his own family, either by reading, singing, or admonition; and that those thinking in this way should enjoy liberty of conscience, defended thus far in these regions. In the

month of February, of the following year, this was not only confirmed by a new edict, but the punishment of perpetual imprisonment was decreed against ministers and the candidates of the ministry, who are commonly called propounders, and a reward of five hundred florins was fixed to those traitors who, by impeachment, should cause a minister to be thrust into prison, and three hundred to those who should in like manner deliver up a candidate for the ministry.

New controversies immediately arose from thence. First: whether the Remonstrants, with a good conscience, could hold separate assemblies? Because the Contra-remonstrants contended, since the Remonstrants had offered mutual tolerance, and had always maintained there was no difference in belief upon articles necessary to salvation, it was unlawful for them to erect separate assemblies. But the Remonstrants contended that they could not, in good conscience, abandon the profession and defence of truth, which, though it might not be precisely necessary to salvation, was, nevertheless, of the greatest moment in the promotion of piety; that they had offered mutual tolerance, which requires that it should be free to the advocates of each opinion to assert and defend their own views; or that limits should be fixed upon either side, within which, all extremes being avoided, the whole controversy should be restrained. Thus, free search after truth would be permitted to all; but they contended that now the state of the controversy was far otherwise: for their own opinion, true, and of the greatest importance to the promotion of piety, was condemned as an intolerable error; but the contrary opinion, which they were persuaded was erroneous, and, if its tendency should be marked, would be found entirely calculated to extinguish all zeal in piety, was set down as necessary truth. Therefore, to omit their religious assemblies, and congregate themselves with the condemners of the truth, would be the betrayal of truth and the patronage of error; that error in those mistaking could be tolerated, but it was not allowable in those convinced of the truth to patronize error; or by silence and communion with the condemners of the truth, to hold out a show of approving falsehood. Therefore, though the Remonstrants who had been accustomed before this to assemble with the Contra-remonstrants in the same temples, on sacred occasions, now formed seclusive assemblies; they cannot, on this account, be made guilty of the schism brought into the Reformed Church, by means of the controversy upon predestination, because they did not secede of their own accord, and they were not able to continue in the communion of the public church, and at the

same time maintain the profession of a good conscience; but the blame should be imputed to the Contra-remonstrants, who had expelled the Remonstrants from them. For not he who possesses the public temples, but he who is the cause of separation, is guilty of schism. Not he who is prepared to tolerate the dissenter, but he who expels the dissenter from him, makes the schism. And so much the more unjust was this schism because it depended upon the decision of a dogma, which had thus far been undecided in the church, and which no synod before the Doric had ventured to define. Wherefore, that judgment ought to be considered rash; even Balcanqual himself, a member of that synod, in an epistle to the king of England, being judge: "It seems to me too hard that each one who does not wish to subscribe to each of the canons, should be removed from his office. Never did the ancient, never did any Reformed Church, lay down so many articles to be kept under pain of excommunication." Add to this, there is established a dogma peculiar to that church and its patrons, in which they diverge from the opinion of all other churches and have no one consenting with them, which fact Abraham Heidanus further recognizes and urges in the "Judicium de Doctrinâ Remonstrantium," which he wished annexed to the examination and refutation of the catechism of the Remonstrants, p. 414: "The Remonstrants especially have this, in distinction from others, that their separation from the church is founded on such a head of doctrine concerning divine predestination, and free will, &c., as our churches alone at the present day, throughout Christendom, assert against all other churches, even to that extent that no other church sides with it; so, indeed, if the cause of God was not maintained by us, (thus, with Bradwardine, we call the doctrine of grace,) it would be universally deprived of its protection, and be defended by no church."

Another question was, concerning the liberty of conscience, which the Contra-remonstrants urged was conceded by them to the Remonstrants, even if they were forbidden to convene in religious assemblies; since it was not inquired what each one thought privately; nor were they prevented the free exercise of that religion they believed true, when in their own family at home. The Remonstrants perceived this was, indeed, some show of liberty of conscience; but that something more was required in order that full liberty of conscience might exist. For men are bound by conscience in two respects. First, not to do anything which is unlawful, or profess what they believe is false; secondly, not to omit anything which they believe necessary to be

done. Therefore, violence is done to the conscience, not only when men are compelled to do that which is unlawful, or to profess what they believe is false, but also when they are impeded in doing or professing those things which they judge necessary and true. Therefore, since all Christians are under obligation to assemble together and worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, enlightened by the divine word, violence is certainly done to the conscience by the prohibition of religious assemblies of this kind, and by the fines instituted against those convening in these assemblies. The Remonstrants also maintained that the reformed contended for the same right when they were oppressed with the tyranny of the Church of Rome, and groaned under the yoke of Spanish domination; that it was not sufficient that the free privilege of exercising their faith and religion in private buildings was permitted to them; but they also demanded the power of convening in assemblies, and of professing publicly their own faith. Uitenbogardus excellently vindicated this liberty of conscience in a learned treatise to which he gave the title "Liberum ac cordatum examen variorum edictorum intra biennium in Fœderato Belgio adversus Remonstrantes publicatorum." When the magistrates in various states, after some years had elapsed, seemed to tolerate the assemblies of the Remonstrants by connivance, the Contra-remonstrant ministers, in almost every session of the states of Holland, demanded, in supplicating letters, that the edicts against the Remonstrants should be carried into execution with extreme rigor, and on account of this they were of ill report in various quarters, and were refuted in books issued by the Remonstrants. Henricus Arnoldus vander Linden, the minister of Delft, published a treatise sufficiently prolix, "de conscientiarum coactione," in which he endeavors to prove that no violence was done to the consciences of the Remonstrants although their religious assemblies were prohibited and impeded by violence. But Uitenbogardus opposed him in a learned treatise, in which he contends for liberty of conscience, and shows that violence is not only done to the conscience of any one when he is commanded, under fear of some great evil, either to do or pretend to believe that which he thinks cannot be done or believed, or feigned to be believed by himself without crime; but also when he is commanded, under peril of like evil, not to profess or execute what he believes is necessary, from duty, to be believed or carried out by himself. There are, indeed, distinct grades of threatening, according to the ratio of the greater or less penalty attached; nevertheless, they are all goads to the conscience, and the progression from the inferior steps to the

higher is most easy, from fines to imprisonment, from imprisonment to corporeal punishments, from these to the scaffold and stake, and thus to the highest step of compulsion.

To this question was joined a third controversy concerning hereticide (killing heretics.) Now immediately after the punishment of Servetus, Calvin contended, in a special publication, that heretics should be put down by the sword of the magistrate. A dialogue was opposed to this publication between Calvin and Vaticanus, which was incorrectly attributed to Castellio; but it is very similar to that written by Lælius to Socinus. But Castellio published another upon the same subject under the fictitious name of Martinus Bellius. To this Theodore Beza opposed a treatise sufficiently copious, in which he treated the whole subject more at large; and while before this, Calvin had never given the definition of a heretic, Beza endeavors distinctly to explain what a heretic is. Afterward many doctors in the Reformed Church defended the same opinion in their writings; and they wished it confirmed by the axe of the executioner in the punishment of Valentinus Gentilis, at Bern in Helvetia, and of John Sylvanus, at Heidelberg. In the Netherlands, John Kuchlinus, regent of the theological fraternity in the academy of Leyden, defended the same opinion publicly in his disputations. John Bogerman, who after that was president in the Doric synod, with his colleague, Geldorpius, translated the treatise of Beza concerning putting down heretics with the sword of the magistrate into the Belgic tongue; and recommended it in a prolix dedication to the magistracy of the city of Sneck. Some of the Remonstrants, that they might show their abhorrence of this bloody doctrine, procured a new edition of the dialogue between Vaticanus and Calvin, which they believed was written by Castellio. Bernardus Dwinglo, pastor at Leyden, in a treatise which he published, having suppressed his name, with the title "Conspicilli Cristallini," refuted this sanguinary sentiment with several arguments. To that, some one of the Contra-remonstrants opposed an anonymous book, with the title of "Polysteen," by which is designated the stone with which glass is polished, and afterward sent out an apology for it, under the title of "Euphrasia," in each of which he sharply contends for hereticide. About the same time, at Middleburg, in Zeland, a certain one who wished to hide under the letters H. J., in a weak tract, with the title of "Velitationes quorundam leviter armatorum militum," &c., defends the same opinion, together with others besides it. The Remonstrants, on the other hand, everywhere showed themselves averse to this cruelty. Among others, Episcopius, in his theological lectures given

publicly in the academy of Leyden, abundantly refuted that sanguinary opinion. His commentaries may be referred to, in Apoc. ii, 2, 3, tom. ii, p. 442, col. i., and especially in Joan ii, 9, 10, ii, ibid., p. 245 et seqq. Finally, the Remonstrants, who were cited—for they knew that Bogerman, the president, was the advocate of hereticide, inasmuch as the treatise of Beza had been translated by himself and Geldorpius, into the Belgic tongue,—in that excellent writing in which they respond to the sharp invective with which the president expelled them from the synod, thus, near the end, declare their own sentiments: "This bloody opinion of certain ones concerning the destruction of heretics, (for such their adversaries, whoever they are, most easily are presumed to be,) should be eradicated from the churches, an opinion not only calculated to torment Christians, who are often innocent, but to bring destruction upon this our country, which, thus far, has flourished greatly in liberty of conscience. We seek and demand, in our own name and in that of our churches, that this may be seriously considered." But so far was the synod from rejecting or condemning this sanguinary opinion of certain individuals, that it did not show, by the slightest indication, that it was not approved; but, on the contrary, gave no light signs that it was, by no means, regarded with abhorrence; for in the explanation of its own opinion concerning the Remonstrants, "it humbly and submissively entreats" the most illustrious and very powerful states of the Belgic League "to restrain all heresies and errors in their first rise, to curb uneasy and turbulent spirits;" (as many as do not submit themselves willingly to their decrees;) and that horrid persecution which followed against the Remonstrants gave too clear an approval of this. The Remonstrants not only attacked this cruel opinion in their private writings, but in the name of the whole, in a published confession, wished it testified to the whole world, how averse they were from it, that "those who, in any manner patronize hereticide, or similar tyranny, or persecution on account of conscientious scruples, are both entirely alienated from the mild spirit of Christ, and moreover fight against heresy with unsuitable and perverse arms, and therefore bring themselves under a most grievous sin in the sight of God." "De Disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ, cap. xxiv § 9. The professors of Leyden, in "Synopsis purioris Theologiæ," and in "Censura Confessionis Remonstrantium," wished to seem unfavorable to hereticide, yet, in the mean time, they defend it strenuously. They deny that any one of their own party "has absolutely maintained" hereticide "on account of naked and simple heresy." Voetius, "Disp. Theol.,

tom. iii, parte octavâ de errore et Heresi," p. 804, more clearly expresses this by distinguishing between "heresy simple and qualified." But in order that they might show themselves averse from hereticide, it was their duty to define a simple heretic; for while, according to their definitions, one erring was not a simple, but a qualified heretic, it certainly became necessary to give the definition of a simple heretic, in order that, as one simply erring could be distinguished from a heretic, so also a simple heretic might be known from a qualified heretic. But since they do not give this definition, Episcopius rightly concludes in his apology for the confession of the Remonstrants, that, from the nature of things, there are no simple heretics of this kind; and that the professors sport as they please under the cry of heresy, and reckon now these and now those of that name, in order that they may stand either for or against hereticide, and turn themselves warmly to either party. After that, many also among the Contra-remonstrants defended hereticide in a similar way; nor hitherto did any come forth from them who openly disapproved of hereticide; it was only wanting that it should be established in the common name of the church of the Contra-remonstrants.

But since this controversy could not be fully decided how far the free exercise of his own religion should be conceded to each one, the Remonstrants in the apology to their confession concluded that this rule of nature (whatsoever ye wish that men should do unto you, do ye even the same unto them) was the most equal in liberty, and liable to the least ambiguity. Fol. 277, "Liberty of conscience should be extended so far (that is to others) as every one wishes it to be conceded to himself." Voetius, in order that he might have material for slandering the Remonstrants, in his usual manner perverts these their words and turns them contrary to their meaning; he says that the Remonstrants wish liberty of conscience conceded to every one who desires it, just as far as he wishes it conceded to himself. Polit. Eccles., lib. iv, tract i, cap. i, pp. 355 and 356. While it was manifest from the strain of the entire discourse that the Remonstrants said far otherwise; undoubtedly the liberty which each one seeks for himself ought to be the rule for the liberty which he holds should be conceded to another; and moreover this should be extended so far as every one from whom certainly some other one seeks the concession of liberty, would desire it to be conceded if he were placed in the condition of the other. This sense is plainly expressed, "fol. 274, verso, There should, indeed, be a bound of liberty, and the bounds of freedom should be designated not from the will of the ruling party, or of him who has

an interest in what manner they are marked out, but from the nature of the case itself, which is then best understood when he who domineers puts himself in the place of him who is oppressed." What is more clear? See also Episcopius in "Verus Theologus Remonstrans," cap. vi, Oper. Theol., tom. ii, p. 525, b. col. 2, "One thing or the other is necessary: either the course of the pontiffs must be followed, and Papal ground must be occupied against others, and liberty conceded to none but those to whom it pleases us; or the same liberty is to be granted to every Christian which we desire should be given and conceded to each and every one of us."

When the Remonstrants, condemned by the Contra-remonstrants and ejected from the public churches, were oppressed with grievous calumnies, to wit: that they cherished many heresies which they blushed to profess, and therefore did not dare to publish a confession of their faith, they published a confession, a prolix preface being added, concerning the true use and design of confessions and their authority, which are not rules of faith prescribing what each one ought to believe, but only declarations of the opinion of those who publish the confessions; moreover, as we ought always to test matters of religious belief by the Word of God, a confession can be binding upon no one, further than he judges it agrees with the Word of God. From this occasion the controversy was renewed concerning the authority of confessions. The Contra-remonstrants urged that they were not primary but secondary rules, and not particularly rules of faith but of consent. The Remonstrants said that secondary rules were superfluous, when there was a primary rule, namely, the sacred Scriptures, containing plainly and perspicuously all things necessary to salvation; which indeed, all the Reformed Church holds with one voice against the pontifical: they affirmed also, that the rule of consent was the rule of truth, because consent ought only to be urged in the truth.

Before the Synod of Dort was held they extended the examination with regard to the mutual tolerance of dissenters no further than the controversy upon predestination. For though Arminius himself, by reason of that love with which he burned for the peace of the church, had recognized the foundation of a more universal toleration, that certainly "there was a difference to be made between fundamental principles and those not fundamental, that we could be sure with regard to the former, but freely conjecture concerning the latter;" and though Isaac Casaubon represented these reflections of Arminius as "sacred," yet he wrote at length to Uitenbogardus, "This seems worst of all in religious controversies, that everything appears connected with the loss of salvation and with the

wreck of the divine glory. I admonish my disciples that they should learn not only to discern by the Scriptures truth and falsehood, but also to discriminate from the same Scriptures between the greater or less necessity of articles of faith." And in another epistle, "Not only should we think in Scripture concerning those deep mysteries," (to wit: of the most Holy Trinity,) "but as far as possible, speak in Scripture." Nevertheless they confined themselves alone to the disquisition of tolerance, because the condition of those times did not require a more careful examination concerning it, than was necessary up to that period to prevent schism upon the controversies in question. But now being ejected by the Contra-remonstrants they began to investigate more accurately the foundations upon which Christian tolerance stood, in order that it could thus be determined to what extent and to whom it could be extended.

Since the Holy Scriptures are recognized by all the Reformed Churches as the alone and perfect regulator of Christian faith and life, containing fully and perspicuously all things requisite for salvation, to be known, believed, hoped, and done; upon that beginning as undoubtedly true, they have, moreover, built up this doctrine: that we should judge concerning the necessity of believing any dogma from Scripture alone, that we should cling closely to the words and expressions of Scripture when we determine concerning those things necessary to be believed, and that no one should be bound to the words or expressions invented by men. This foundation being established, it would be easily determined how far Christian tolerance should be extended, and within what barriers it ought to be restrained. For since God is the supreme and sole legislator, who is able to save and destroy, it is not our part to condemn any one whom God in his own eternal Word has not consigned to destruction, nor to debar from our communion him whom God has not excluded from heaven. Since, therefore, all things necessary to be believed, hoped, and done, stand forth not only perspicuously, but with the mark of necessity affixed, that whosoever shall believe and do the same shall be saved, that he who neither believes nor performs them shall be condemned; it thence is evidently concluded that whosoever shall believe these things, and as far as human infirmity permits shall perform them by the aid of divine grace, will be saved; whosoever does not believe or neglects to do one of these, and continues obstinate in this course, shall be condemned according to the sentence of the Divine Word. Whosoever, therefore, taking Scripture as the guide, will be saved, are to be admitted to our communion and acknowledged as brothers in Christ: whosoever, taking Scripture as the guide,

will be damned, they alone are to be excluded from our brotherhood, and no Christian communion is to be cherished with them. From these principles we, moreover, deduce what should especially be considered as necessary, and what ought not to be reckoned in the number of essentials. If we recede from this foundation, no sure rule can be constituted by which the necessity of any dogma may be determined. Therefore those things are not necessary to be believed in order to salvation, which do not stand forth in Scripture either plainly, perspicuously, or with the mark of necessity affixed to them. But when, indeed, the observance of divine precepts is necessary, the belief of them is also necessary, and without their belief it is not possible for a man to be obedient to the precepts of God, confide in his promises, or fear his threatenings. Therefore those things are not necessary which do not have so close and necessary a connection with the observance of divine precepts: such are all questions which terminate in speculation alone, which being believed, have some use with reference to piety: but being unknown or denied, do not, nevertheless, destroy piety: and finally those things, which if their tendency be marked, will be found in their own nature subversive of piety; but, nevertheless, by those who are held in this error, this tendency of their doctrine is not observed, but by a certain mistake of the mind is believed to incite to piety: but since they look to the clear precepts of God rather than to the character of their own doctrine, by this means they are not drawn away to impiety. By this doctrine we believe a way is laid open to the universal union of the whole Reformed Church, so that all rash condemnations and anathemas being abolished, hatred and hostility extinguished, although thinking differently in some things, we may agree in the fundamental principles of salvation, and as we think with the Scriptures, so also speak with the same.

But here I cannot refrain from hinting to a few that this, our full and ingenuous confession, has been most unfairly traduced by the declared enemies of Christian union, and our words wrested to a sense plainly contrary and foreign from our meaning. Curcellæus, in the preface of the works of Episcopius, wrote as follows: "The sum of the matter comes to this; when Christians agree among themselves in the chief and fundamental dogmas of religion, it ought not to be that the dissent which exists in things of less moment should hinder the churches from assembling together in one body, and the members from conducting themselves as brethren in Christ with mutual charity: provided that those who consider these dogmas of great importance do not compel others, thinking differently, to receive the same. For this is a tyranny

that is insufferable in the church, of which those who are guilty are to be regarded as overturning the foundation, and breaking in sunder the bond of brotherhood. This I would also wish to be applied to idolators." In these last words it is evident that Curcellæus excludes idolators from Christian communion, as overturning the foundation and breaking in sunder the bond of brotherhood: nevertheless, Hornbeck, in "Summa Controversiarum," lib. viii, p. 580, turns these words contrary to the meaning of Curcellæus: "That passage concerning idolators assembling together with them, best explains their mind, and shows what sort of a church would arise from thence, forsooth, of the bigness of a pig-sty, or such as the chapel of Adrian is said to have been, where among the idols a sort of Christ also appeared;" and although admonished by Arnold Poelenburgh, nevertheless he did not correct his error, but obstinately continued to pervert these words against the design of Curcellæus. But while Hornbeck pretends not to have understood; others, by no means favorable to us, show that they perceived the meaning of Curcellæus very distinctly. Calovius, in "Consideratio Arminianismi," pp. 25, 26, after repeating the words of Hornbeck just cited by me, adds: "But Hornbeck has shown by this specimen either with what care or fidelity he treats the writings of his adversaries; since, indeed, it is a well-known fact that the Arminians do not admit idolators into their communion, whom even the Socinians themselves exclude: nor does Curcellæus there treat concerning the admission of idolators, but holds forth the contrary, considering them guilty of subverting the foundation equally with those who exercise tyranny in the church."

But the Remonstrants were especially accused of hesitating according to the solid foundations of Christian toleration cast up by themselves, to write anathema against those erring in the important dogma of the most Holy Trinity. Thence an accusation of Socinianism arose, which also the professors of Leyden wished confirmed in their censure of the confession of the Remonstrants. But from that the Remonstrants defended themselves full well; because it is one thing not to admit a particular dogma, but far another, though you do not admit it, nevertheless not to condemn those professing it; it is one thing to maintain the truth of a dogma, but another to urge the necessity of a dogma which we believe true. There is no church where there may not be some variety of opinion among its doctors upon certain points, and though each endeavors to support by argument what he believes true, and refute the opposite, yet he does not make that difference of so great weight, that on account of it he should condemn him dissenting, or re-

nounce him as a brother. Therefore a disputation arose not concerning the truth of the dogma relating to the Holy Trinity, for the Leyden professors acknowledge that the Remonstrants think soundly upon this dogma, "if only they feel from the heart what they testify in words;" and a man ought to be judged from his words concerning his faith; no one could be sure of the heart of the professors. It belongs to God alone, the καρδιογνωστης, to judge of the heart. But the Remonstrants, as well in the apology to their confession as in the response to the specimen of calumnies published by the professors, and particularly Episcopius, in "Instit. Theol., lib. iv, sec. ii, cap. xxxiv et xxxv," have shown, by no contemptible reasons, why they hesitated to reckon this dogma among those absolutely necessary to be believed in order to salvation, and to write anathema against those who in this respect differ from them. Those who believe that this forbearance is possible and ought to be exercised, and are prepared to tolerate the difference of those persons, do not intend to prescribe a law of toleration to others, but if they are able, to persuade them by argument; because a reason is to be rendered to God, the supreme Judge of all, by every one for his own judgment which he binds upon others. And if in a matter not in all respects clear and evident, an excess peradventure may be committed on one side or the other, we prefer to incline toward the milder side, and to hope well concerning the salvation of those whom it cannot be clearly proved from Scripture are excluded from thence; rather than adjudge to death those concerning whom, Scripture being the guide, one may suppose that we can hope well. That which meets with our approbation, and should be imitated by all princes and theologians as the truly Christian judgment, which is now extant in "Succincta Expositio Consensus Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Marchicæ cum aliis in Germaniâ, et extra Germaniam Reformatis Ecclesiis: indultu et approbâtione serenissimi Electoris Brandenburgici in lingua Germanicâ, anno 1666, prælo commissa;" and translated from the German tongue into the Latin, and subjoined as "Appendix Quarta Criticæ Concionatoriæ Samuelis Strimesii, S.S. Theol. Doct. et Prof. in Ecclesia et Univers, Francofurtensi:" anno 1700, pag. 42. "We are persuaded that in that day of judgment we shall be treated more graciously, if by chance we have used too much charity, lenity, and kindness, rather than too much rigor, hatred, and severity toward those who differ from us. Or as others have expressed the very same thing, we prefer in the final judgment to render a reason for too much lenity toward dissenters (if peradventure we have used it) rather than of too much rigor; (for

blessed are the peacemakers.) But unto them that are contentious and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil. Matt. v. 9; Rom. viii. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." James iii, 17.

But the Contra-remonstrants excogitate a distinction between the former Remonstrants or those of the five articles, and the latter or Socinians, in order that they may palliate their accusation of Socinianism with some coloring, and under the specious pretext of Socinianism lurking among the Remonstrants and advancing among them by degrees, defend their own schism and persecution against the Remonstrants. Some, not contented with this two-fold distinction, formed four classes of Remonstrants; which, nevertheless, finally terminated in these two. But it was entirely vain for them to seek any refuge in this distinction. For it is known to all that the Remonstrants were condemned by the Doric Synod solely on account of the five articles upon predestination; for the Doric acts and canons openly declare this: on account of these articles alone the Remonstrants were deprived of their offices, sent into exile, and saw their churches wasted through the entire space of ten years with that most grievous persecution: fraternal communion was denied to those professing this doctrine by the judgments of the provincial synods, as is shown in the synodal acts anterior to that time. Therefore, even if the Remonstrants subsequently had adopted Socinianism, no argument can be drawn from thence to excuse a schism already introduced before this period solely upon predestination, or to palliate the fierce persecution which followed it.

But we complain of this calumny as very unjust, and maintain that it is by no means safe to give a blind belief to the accusation of our adversaries; and, moreover, we think that anything in question should be drawn not from the writings of our adversaries, but from our own. For, *first*, they do not fear to attribute to us many things plainly false, and which no one of our number maintains, and the very contraries of which are advocated in our writings. So far is this the case that we can justly say the same concerning them as Whitaker says concerning Campian, Resp. ad Rationem, viii, p. $\frac{155}{239}$: "This is your custom when you are not able to blame those things which we speak, you feign something to be said by us, which can easily be blamed." *Secondly.* They set forth our opinion for the most part odiously, and in words which they know are commonly under-

stood in a bad sense, and which, moreover, we do not use; and in this way they twist it about, so that it seems to be entirely another thing; or else they attribute to our words a meaning other than they really have, and other than they express to the unbiased reader. And though this is by no means consistent with a sincere search after truth, yet it is not entirely unlooked for by us in them; since also Balcanqual, in an epistle to Carleton the legate of the king of Great Britain, dated April 19th, 1619, with reference to the Synod of Dort, of which now he was a member or at least through the greater part of the session, has complained that "they are bent with so great ardor upon crushing the Remonstrants, that they use every way to fix that construction upon their words which no grammarian would think could be put upon them." And, again, he says that they were for condemning something as too curious, "and yet wished it retained, in order that they might render the Remonstrants odious, although the words bore upon their face just the contrary of what they attributed to them." *Thirdly.* They do not exhibit our opinion, but substitute in its place their own consequences, which they represent as our genuine opinion. We perceive that the opinion which we believe false is also legitimately beset with absurdities which are elicited by a necessary or very natural consequence: but these absurdities should be distinguished from the opinion itself. Therefore it is the part of a candid disputant plainly to state the opinion of his adversary and in those very terms in which he is accustomed to express it, and then to show what absurdities follow: but not to impute to his adversary as his genuine opinion those absurdities which he will not acknowledge. When we cast heavy absurdities upon their opinion, they always respond, that these consequences ought not to be imputed to them as their opinion; and, indeed, correctly, yet we do not do this, but only urge that these consequences flow from their opinion. But it would become them to use the same equity toward us as toward themselves: but when they are checked by us in this respect they do not fear to respond, that the consequences lawfully deduced from any opinion should be considered as the opinion itself. And it would become them to reflect, that they should by no means seek that right for themselves against others, which they do not concede to others against themselves. *Fourthly.* That which has been spoken occasionally as a reason why, forsooth, we have not used this or that argument, they exaggerate as a controversial principle; and accuse us as Socinians, not because we believe the Socinian dogma, but because we have not used some argument for its destruction; and so the reason which we alledge why we have not used this

or that argument is turned by them into a controversial principle. This is the worst rancor of a base mind. *Fifthly.* What one of us wrote, and he only, they impute to the whole society: besides, that which some person has answered concerning some particular case or the exposition of some passage of Scripture, this they fix upon our whole society as a common tenet. But when the frightful sayings of certain teachers of their own are objected to themselves, they generally respond, that these are not the maxims of their church; that their tenets should be judged from their confession and the writings published in the name of the church universal. Therefore let them use the same equity also toward others. *Sixthly.* That they may render us odious they traduce as Socinian what Socinus holds in common with others, or I should say with some of the fathers, and even with Augustine himself. Moreover, whatsoever recedes from their maxims, though it may have nothing to do with Socinus, they are accustomed to traduce with the infamous appellation of Socinianism, because they know that by this cry an opinion can be made most hated by the ignorant multitude. And already has this evil custom prevailed so far, that they do not fear to stain their own brethren communing in the same church, and contending strenuously for that which (as they believe) is orthodox. with the foul blot of Socinianism, on account of a dissent which has no relation to Socinian tenets. Hornbeck, on account of a dissent concerning the rigid observance of the sabbath, objects against Heidanus a consent with Socinus. And Maresius, on account of many other things, fastens upon the same and various divines, whom he calls Cartesians, the charge of Socinianism, in his book "De Abusu Cartesianæ Philosophiæ," and "De Afflicto Statu Studii Theologici in Fœderato Belgio." But to that extent did the unadvised heat of calumniating the Remonstrants proceed, that they did not fear to traduce as Pelagian what was taken from their own form of baptism: the Remonstrants produced an excellent example of this against Walæus in "Præf. Resp. ad Specimen Calumn."

So far was this the case that the Remonstrants deservedly condemned this habit of calumniating, and had formerly written not without weighty cause, "The Remonstrants declare once for all, that the mode of proceeding, This is Socinianism, This is Pelagianism, is not of more weight with them than a rotten medlar. They hold such things in derision, and consider this mode of proceeding as a farce." These words of the Remonstrants, the Leyden professors—"Præfat. in Specim., Calumn. et Heterodox. Opin. ex Apolog. Remonstr."—wrest thus invidiously, in their usual manner: "Therefore the preceding judgments of the former and

better Christian world against Socinians, are held in no greater esteem among them than a rotten medlar;" plainly against the meaning of the Remonstrants, who designed nothing more by these words than to disapprove and condemn that mode of proceeding, by which even the truest doctrines were depreciated under the names of Socinus and Pelagius; which thing the reformed teachers in their own writings against the pontiffs generally reject and condemn. And justly too; for the reformed teachers are in the habit of responding to the pontiffs, when heresies, formerly condemned, are objected to themselves, "That the names of heretic or orthodox are not the criterion of falsity or truth, nor is human authority, whatsoever at length it may be, sufficient to the condemnation of any one: we can fight with Scripture and reason alone, which are the only arms in the school of Christ." Vide "Resp. ad Præf. Speciminis, pp. 8, 9, 12." Wherefore it happens that the Remonstrants do not endeavor elaborately to remove this accusation from themselves, but resting content in the testimony of a good conscience, desire to render their cause approved in the sight of God. This one thing they beg of all who are zealous for the truth, not to exercise a rash confidence in the accusations of their adversaries, which are everywhere found in their writings, and especially of those who have manufactured catalogues of the controversies with the Remonstrants, and from one controversy fabricated very many, in order that the number of controversial articles might appear greater, and that a more specious excuse could be contrived for condemning the Remonstrants; but let lovers of truth compare those catalogues with the writings of the Remonstrants; let them sincerely mark all those misinterpretations of our opinion which have just been enumerated. I might establish each point by bringing forward examples; but that brevity which I have marked out for myself in this little work does not permit it; and, though I might prove these things to an ocular demonstration, still, in order that any one may judge without danger of deception, let him inspect those writings to which I have appealed.

Another question also arose among the Contra-remonstrants themselves with regard to the Remonstrants. The Doric Synod judged that the doctrine of the Remonstrants could not be tolerated in their own church; therefore, all the Remonstrant pastors who refused to subscribe to the canons of the synod were exauctorated; and those who hesitated to promise silence were sent into exile. Thus the doctrine of the Remonstrants was entirely excluded from the public churches. But another question came up, whether the members of the Remonstrant Church could be admitted to the

communion of the Church of the Contra-remonstrants. For while they saw that the Remonstrants, persuaded of the truth of their doctrine, fled from the communion of those who condemned an opinion true in their own judgment, and notwithstanding the severe punishments which are contained in the edicts of the states-general, convened in sacred assemblies, and did not abandon the ingenuous profession of the truth through fear of punishments; some of the Contra-remonstrants, among whom also was Festus Hommius, thought the private Remonstrants could be admitted to the communion of the public church. But others disagreed with them, and inquired whether they could be admitted to communion and still hold to their own opinion. Certain ones urged, they ought first to renounce their own opinion and embrace the doctrine of the synod: others thought they should be admitted without a solemn renunciation of their opinion, provided they showed themselves docile and kept their opinion concealed. This question was agitated in various provincial synods. The synod held at Leyden in the year 1619, Art. lxxviii, decreed, "That those members of the Remonstrants who from their simplicity, error, or weakness, were not yet fully able to comprehend or receive the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, in one or the other of the five controversial articles, nor were fully prepared to reject the doctrine of the Remonstrants upon the same heads, that they only were to be admitted to the communion of their churches;" and, indeed, under this condition, "That they would show themselves docile, and willing to be instructed; that they would continue in the good which they had already received, and desire to make further proficiency in the truth; and, moreover, that they would promise to preserve quiet or silence, and give diligence, in order that they might make proficiency in the truth more and more, and that they would at the same time declare they considered the doctrine of the Reformed Church as the true and perfect doctrine of salvation, and that it was their purpose by the aid of divine grace to continue in it." In the next year, 1620, it was decreed in the Synod of Gouda, that those of the Remonstrants "who were entirely devoted to the Remonstrant opinion with regard to the five articles, and declared themselves willing to stand fast in those articles, though they should promise silence, could in no wise be admitted to the communion of the Lord's supper." The provincial synod, celebrated at Dort in the month of July, in the year 1627, declared, Article lxxviii, "It is not to be understood that the Synod of Leyden referred to Remonstrant members of this kind, to wit: those who in all the five articles hold the opinion of the Remonstrants: for, indeed, those who endeavor to de-

fend seriously, according to the Word of God, their Remonstrant opinion in all points, or in one or another of the five controversial articles, are in no wise to be considered docile, nor to be admitted to the communion of the holy supper." At length this question circulated publicly in published documents. Rippertus Sixti, having brought forward ten arguments, contends that the Remonstrants should not on any account be admitted to the communion of the holy supper. Of which the sixth sounds thus: "If the doctrine of the Remonstrants comprehended in the five articles may now be tolerated in our Reformed Churches, it necessarily follows that the opinions brought forward by delegated judges concerning the death of Barnevelt, and the imprisonment of his menial train, are condemned openly of iniquity and injustice; because they had their foundation in the zeal for introducing this foreign doctrine, and vehemently propagating it," &c. "It also follows, that excellent national synod was celebrated with so great expense, labor, and vexation, without necessity and to no purpose; and the unanimous and pious judgment of that synod in which the doctrine of the five articles is condemned, is false and without foundation," &c. Johannes Kloppenburg asserts the same thing in a published tract, and contends it is impossible to treat with the Remonstrants concerning a union with the Reformed Church; both on the part of the Reformed Churches, because the opinion of the Remonstrants was not only judged in the national synod to be false, but also intolerable; as well as on the part of the Remonstrants, because they pretend to have weighty and sufficient reasons why they believe it is unlawful for them to hold spiritual communion, and exercise the outward practice of religion with the Reformed Church." Antonius Walæus about the same time published a disputation in the Academy of Leyden "concerning what are commonly called the four controversial articles of the Remonstrants, in which the ground of the controversy is plainly set down, and the Remonstrants are invited without injury of the truth to unite with the Belgic Church:" this disputation, after setting down in his own way the ground of controversy embraced in the most odious terms, he thus concludes: "Therefore, if the Remonstrants wish to return to the society of the Reformed Church, they ought to renounce these their errors, and profess roundly and ingenuously, that they attribute the entire glory of salvation, solely to the glorious grace of God in Christ Jesus, the alone Saviour, and not to the human will; and if there are any things in the public formulas of the church which they hold doubtful—for instance, the catechism, the confession, and the canons of the Synod of Dort—they ought modestly to receive the interpreta-

tion of them from the judgment of the Reformed Church, and not from their own," &c. Episcopius, in a published examination of this work, not inelegantly says that Walæus invites, and does not invite, the Remonstrants who are not Remonstrants, without injury of the truth, and not without injury of the truth, and with the peril of conscience. Other books also came forth at that time in which the Remonstrants are accused calumniously of schism, and are, moreover, invited to a union with the Contra-remonstrant Church, but are to be admitted on no other condition than that prescribed to them in the synodal decrees.

Nevertheless, many principal men showed themselves desirous of the restoration of union in the church. The president of the Assembly of Holland requested Uitenbogardus to draw up his opinion of this matter in writing. Uitenbogardus, after communicating with Episcopius and others, shows in a written epistle on what foundations Christian tolerance rests, and advises that a friendly conference be instituted for the purpose of lulling to sleep the controversies. This epistle was delivered to the president, but nothing further was attempted. The Contra-remonstrants, because the Remonstrants maintained that their members could not, with a good conscience, desert the assemblies of those professing a truth of which they deemed themselves persuaded, in order to join those who were condemners of the truth, and advocates of very dangerous errors, and who urged the profession of these errors, as though they were truth necessary to be believed, accuse them of being prepared to cherish fellowship with all other sects, while they excluded their own auditors from their communion. But this was evidently false. They offered the same communion to the Contra-remonstrants as to others, and under the same condition, to wit: of mutual toleration—and they showed themselves prepared to forget all they had suffered on account of the ingenuous profession of their own religion: but they could not profess error by forswearing the truth, against the dictates of conscience; therefore they never receded from their first offer of mutual tolerance, however this offer was constantly rejected by the Contra-remonstrants. In the year 1630 it was decreed, in a full convention of Remonstrant ministers, to offer again the mutual toleration which thus far they had offered, since some leading men were manifesting a desire that the churches might be united. But their efforts were fruitless. In the year 1653 the Assembly of Utrecht composed a writing containing a confession which was to be recited by Remonstrants who desired to be joined to the public church: this expressed the opinion of the Contra-remonstrants in mollified and sometimes ambiguous terms.

The Remonstrants again offered mutual toleration, "in order that a meeting and friendly conference might be instituted by means of deputies from either side, for the purpose of trying by what agreement mutual tolerance could be kindly, piously, and conveniently introduced and cherished in churches one and the same, or different, —but nevertheless celebrating the same holy sacrament according to a public declaration of unity in articles necessary to salvation." But the Contra-remonstrants resisted this writing as something which they could not admit, and responded, "That it was a matter already decided not only among all the reformed, but also among Lutherans and Papists, that no Christian tolerance could be observed upon the five articles of the Remonstrants, and those which are contained in their confession and catechism." The Remonstrants responded to all this in a writing a little more prolix; but this writing was rejected by the Contra-remonstrants, and so this conference was broken off. Nor is it to be wondered at; since some among them stoutly maintained in writings published about that time, that the five articles of the Remonstrants overturned the foundation of salvation. Among others Petrus de Witte, pastor at Leyden, asserts this in his catechetical questions, question LIV of the Heidelberg Catechism: it is worth the while to copy his own words:—"QUEST. Are the famous five articles of the Remonstrants fundamental principles, or do they injure the foundation of salvation? ANS. In order rightly to understand this question, we must consider what the foundation of salvation is. It is the grace of God, and of Christ, the Son of God, as our Mediator and Redeemer. The Lord himself explained and set forth this foundation in the covenant of grace. Vide Jerem. xxxi, 33, 34, et xxxii, 38, 39, 40, 41: 'They shall be my people, and I will be their God. And I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever,' &c. Which covenant was confirmed by the death of Christ, as the apostle teaches Heb. viii, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. To this the five articles stand opposed, since in those articles, whatsoever God would ascribe to himself, or to his grace and guidance, is transferred to the right use of the free will of man, in which, nevertheless, there is nothing but corruption. The covenant of grace, on which faith and a hope of salvation depend, is spoken with reference to a gracious election and adoption as sons: 'I will be their God and they shall be my people.' To this declaration of God is opposed the first article of the Remonstrants concerning conditional election, and the election of the faithful, or of those who shall have persevered in faith and the obedience of faith even to the end.

To reconciliation with God and the gracious remission of sins, 'I will forgive their iniquity and I will remember their sin no more,' the second article is repugnant; which suspends upon the condition of the exercise of faith the application of the sought remission, that is, the actual remission of sins. Moreover, you have in the covenant the efficacious operation of the grace of God, by which the elect are surely converted: 'I will put my laws in their mind and write them in their hearts.' To this the third and fourth articles stand opposed, inasmuch as they make it depend upon the resistance and non-resistance of the human will. Finally, the eternity and stability of divine grace and beneficence: 'But I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.' To this the fifth article stands opposed. QUEST. Therefore, can we have no communion with the Remonstrants? ANS. None, on account of the reasons just alledged." With this catechism Cornelius Poudroyen, minister of Heusden, agreed; the catechetical questions and answers of which, Voetius, in a recommendation prefixed to that book, upon the 23d of July, 1659, testifies that "he has particularly examined, and where it was necessary, according to his ability, so revised it; indeed, even to the minutest words and expressions of Scripture, that he trusts in the Lord nothing can be found therein repugnant to the sound words of Scripture and the received doctrines of their churches." After he has said, p. 14, of the third edition, that the reformed religion is the true religion among Christians, he asks: "What therefore are the religions of the rest of the Christian world? of the Papists, Remonstrants, Socinians, and Mennonites? ANS. False religions and sects. QUEST. Can we not, therefore, be saved by those religions? ANS. We cannot." And again, p. 16: "If any one wishes to be saved, should he, therefore, separate himself from the false religion to which he is joined, and betake himself to the true reformed religion? ANS. Even so, according to what our Lord says, Apoc., xviii, 4: 'Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.'" The same, p. 291, in question XXX of the Heidelberg Catechism, asks: "Are you able to say to the Papist, Remonstrant, &c., You deny Christ the alone Saviour? ANS. I am able." Again he adds, that they "deny Christ, not, perhaps, in express words and directly, but indirectly and by consequence." And not much after, p. 293, that "those who deny Christ cannot be saved." And at length, p. 295, that "there is salvation in the alone faith of the Reformed and Protestant Churches, and of those who agree fundamentally with them. Nevertheless," he says

he "does not consign all others to death," but "commits this to God, whom he entreats to open their eyes, to convert them, and give them the true faith in Christ, in order that they may be saved, as well as themselves:" in like manner, also, he certainly believes "God will effectually call, in his own good time, his own sheep whom he has elected to eternal life from all eternity." So in question iv, of the catechism: "QUEST. Are we, then, able to hold ecclesiastical communion with Papists, Socinians, Mennonites, and Remonstrants? ANS. By no means. QUEST. Why not? ANS. Because they and we differ in fundamental points." What could be spoken more expressly? And the same author wished this idea thoroughly inculcated, so that it might be apparent how averse he was from the toleration of Remonstrants. And the same Voetius, about the same time, viz., 17th September, 1661, testified, together with his colleagues, Andrew Essenius and Matthias Nethenus, "that they judged there could only be an agreement upon the heads of the Christian religion between Protestants, Reformed, and Lutherans—that since there was no difference in some respects between them, they ought not mutually to hate, condemn, and persecute each other as enemies; but, on the other hand, to recognize each other as brethren, to love each other, to assist each other against common enemies, to tolerate each other in controversies, and perform friendly offices for each other." But he testifies also that "the manner of concord and fraternal tolerance pleased them, which was marked out in the short relation of a colloquy, held by the authority of the landgrave of Hesse, between two Marpurg and two Rinteln divines at Cassel, in the month of June of this year;" vide the prodrome of the Irenical treatises of Duræus, p. 536. And, indeed, in that colloquy the controversy upon predestination which is common to the Lutherans with the Remonstrants, is placed among those dogmas concerning which Christian tolerance was established." Ibid., pp. 524, 525. The Lutherans considering that, on account of the same opinion which the reformed show themselves prepared to tolerate in the Lutherans, they had condemned the Remonstrants and ejected them from their communion, always pretend that this was not a sincere offer of tolerance, but that some serpent lurked under it; and so they sought from thence a plausible excuse of rejecting the offer of the reformed. This I have shown was otherwise, in a prolix extract from the admonition of the divines of Wittenberg, to the Lutherans in Bohemia. Musæus has something similar: Quæst. Theol. de Syncretismo, p. 82: "When, in former years, these heads of doctrine were discussed in the Low Countries, between the Remon-

strants and Contra-remonstrants, the latter judged the received opinion of the reformed on these heads so necessary to be believed that, on this account, the Remonstrants were expelled from the Netherlands. It is wonderful that the reformed strive so greatly for syncretism in joining in with us notwithstanding the dissent which stands in the way with regard to these parts of doctrine; and yet are, nevertheless, unwilling to tolerate the Remonstrants in the communion of their church on account of the same dissent, but have expelled them from the Netherlands." And, p. 86. The dogma upon predestination, Paræus "judged to be plainly intolerable in the Remonstrants, on account of the multiplex absurdities which he there concludes are subversive of the very foundation of faith and salvation. And, nevertheless, he now judges this very dogma tolerable in the Lutherans, so that the dissent concerning the same may remain, the unity of faith, charity, and peace, still being preserved. Forsooth Paræus supposed the Remonstrants would easily propagate the truth of this doctrine in the midst of the Reformed Church, and that the invention of absolute predestination, and decree of reprobation, would be removed from the minds of men. Lest, therefore, the door to their doctrine should be opened, they were unwilling to tolerate this dogma in the Remonstrants, on account of the danger which threatened their own churches. But they think this dogma can be tolerated in us, because they see that we will not stand in the way of the Reformed Churches; but on the other hand, they may hope for some fruit from mutual toleration, to wit: that doors may be opened for propagating their own errors in the Lutheran Churches, especially in those places which are under a reformed magistrate, as are the churches of Hesse and the marquisate of Brandenburg. From this it is easily understood that fraud and treachery lurk under the syncretism thus far sought after." And, p. 98, after producing the judgment of the Synod of Dort concerning the Remonstrants, he thus concludes: "These things, if spoken by divine right, against the Remonstrants, on account of those five controversial articles, certainly preclude every way of arriving at concord between the Remonstrants and Lutherans, as long as they differ among themselves concerning the same controverted heads." See also "the irreconcilable Calvinism" of John Hulsemannus, professor at Wittenberg, p. 44 et seqq., et pp. 247, 248, 366. And "the admonition against syncretism," by Petrus Haberkornius, professor and superintendent at Giessen, Disp. iv, p. 75, et seqq. From these and other testimonies which everywhere occur in the works of the Lutheran doctors, it is established, that this, our condemnation by the Reformed Churches, when they offered collo-

quies concerning peace, was objected to them by the Lutherans; nor do I see that this solid objection can be avoided. John Duræus himself experienced this when he offered himself as a mediator between the Lutherans and the reformed. But it was objected to him by Balthasar Bebelius, professor Argentoratensis, that this was but an unseasonable attempt; "because those should be first reconciled among themselves who glory in the name of reformed—the Presbyterians and Independents, with the hierarchical bishops; Amyraldus, Tessardus, Dallæus, &c., with the Spanheims, Rivets, &c.; the Contra-remonstrants with the Remonstrants, condemned by your party on account of those very dogmas which are plainly, for the most part, ours also, or, at least, are less distant from your dogmas than ours are." While these things may be spoken most truly, I have understood, not without wonder, that John Duræus, who lived some years in the Belgic League, in "Consultationum Irenicarum προδιορθωσις," p. 116, responds to Balthasar Bebelius: "There is no need of a conciliation of controversies between the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, for the Remonstrants are admitted to the communion of the Contra-remonstrants, if they beseech this with a mild and modest mind, even if they retain their opinion upon the five articles defined in the Doric Synod." I have already proved the contrary of this from the decrees of the provincial synods and from the writings of other authors. It is, perhaps, to be supposed that very many of those who join themselves to the Contra-remonstrants, having deserted the Remonstrants, have not deserted the opinion of the Remonstrants in mind, but, nevertheless, they deny it with their lips, and so, having left the assemblies of the Remonstrants, the love of the truth impressed upon their minds, at the same time, begins to grow cold; and because they do this, for the most part, on account of worldly reasons, they do not desire, without cause, to seem to have seceded; they are gathering up arguments with which to make probable to themselves an opinion from which they have hitherto shuddered; until finally they become enveloped in error, and find what they seek. But in order that it may appear even more evidently that the Remonstrants were not admitted to the communion of the Contra-remonstrants, while their opinion was still maintained, I will refer to the most clear testimony of Maresius, written against the apologizing preface of Curcellæus, pp. 260, 261: "The Remonstrants are not simply invited anywhere in the Netherlands to celebrate the holy eucharist with us, still maintaining their own opinion of predestination, and then admitted after being invited; but they are

invited under a previous multiplex protestation concerning all the other rejected heads of Socinianism, which now flourish in your churches; concerning disturbing the peace on account of their own dissent, concerning the recognition of human corruption and inability to every good work without the grace of God; concerning giving praise to the alone grace of God as being sufficient for the beginning, progress, and perfection of our faith and every good work which can proceed from us; concerning our gratuitous justification by faith, according to the price paid by the merit and satisfaction of Chrisit; and concerning everything which happens to be of this character, by which they virtually forswear your Remonstrantism, and cut off all its sinews. Nor can that dissent which may be tolerated in the weaker members and audiences of the church with regard to the mystery of predestination, until they shall be brought, in time, to a fuller understanding of the subject, be so far admitted in teachers and pastors, by whose means error would be more widely spread, and strifes and contentions arise daily among their fellow-laborers." More tenets might here be enumerated, which, when taken in their true sense, are by no means denied by the Remonstrants; but when the Contra-remonstrants demand the confession of these tenets, taken in their sense, it is manifest that the opinion of the Remonstrants is forsaken by those whom they receive into their communion.

While, therefore, it is fixed by all these things that the Remonstrants could have no union with the Contra-remonstrants, unless they first denied their own opinion which they believed true, it is evident they were, by no means, guilty of a schism formerly made and thus far continued, although after their condemnation by the Contra-remonstrants, they had celebrated separate religious assemblies. This is easily proved, even from that very book of questions corrected so scrupulously by Voetius. For, on page 446 of that book, he lays down two cases, in which it is right to make a secession from any church. 1. When it is heretical or errs in the essentials of salvation, or exercises idolatrous worship. 2. When this or that error prevails in the church, though not in fundamental principles, of which we are compelled to be partakers if we remain in it, and so are not able to keep our conscience pure and unspotted. "QUEST. Is he who, in such cases, separates himself from the church, a schismatic? ANS. By no means." Therefore, the Remonstrants can hold separate assemblies without being guilty of the crime of schism, notwithstanding their offer of mutual toleration, since that is rejected, their opinion condemned as intolerable, and they themselves not admitted to

communion by the Contra-remonstrants, without the denial of their own opinion; because if they should join themselves, under this hard condition, to the Contra-remonstrants, they would become participants of error, if not expressly acknowledged, at least defended and propagated. L. W. P.

ART. VI.—*Sermons preached upon several Occasions.* By ROBERT SOUTH, D. D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. A new edition, in four volumes, including the Posthumous Discourses. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, No. 311 Market-street. Stereotyped by L. Johnson. 1844.

THE age of Charles the Second, like the Augustan age of Rome, was, at once, the most licentious and learned period of English history. Physical science had not yet, indeed, developed her wonderful resources, and for a very sufficient reason: the father of the inductive philosophy had too recently descended to his grave. Could that extraordinary genius shake off the slumbers of two centuries, and visit the laboratory of a modern chemist, or behold, on every hand, the astonishing progress of invention and discovery, he would see nothing more than the magnificent development of that salient principle for the assertion of which posterity are agreed to ascribe to him the honor. The master might wonder at the advancement of his pupils, and stand amazed to find himself a pupil among his own scholars. What Young, in one allusion, says of the Athenian sage, might, in respect of physical science, be said even of Bacon:

> "As wise as Socrates might justly stand
> The definition of a modern fool."

But in intellectual vigor, we are very sure, though Solomon himself seems to forbid the supposition, that the present cannot compare with the celebrated period in question. It was the remark of George the Third, and all the courtiers thought it witty, that "there were giants in those days." Allowing as much wit to his majesty as kings commonly possess, and leaving that, the text was as well applied to the great minds of the age of Charles, as it ever was to the huge bodily proportions of the Goliaths and Ogs of yore. In proof of this, it is sufficient to say that it was the age that produced among poets, the author of Paradise Lost; among allegorists, the inimitable Bunyan; and among lawyers, the learned

and profound Selden, and the savory name of Matthew Hale, the most of whom were prepared, at any moment, to step from the highest dignities of their profession to a distinction equally high among professed scholars or divines. Theology was, indeed, a favorite study. Statesmen and jurists delighted to explore its heights and depths, and return richly laden with the well-ascertained evidences, doctrines, and morals, of the sublimest of all sciences that can engage the attention of an immortal mind. How striking and painful in this particular is the contrast between the men of that day and the men of this! A modern statesman, judge, or lawyer, may be either a federalist or democrat, a whig or tory, but in religion he is nothing, or next to nothing at all. Brougham is an exception; but Brougham is an Englishman. Where shall we find another on this side of the Atlantic?

The pulpit was no less distinguished than the parliament, the bench, and the bar. Stillingfleet was but a boy of twenty-four when he published his immortal Irenicum, a work as odious to high-church bigotry, as its arguments are irrefutable by high-church logic. Three years after he sent forth a new edition, bound under the same cover with his Origines Sacræ, both works exhibiting a perspicacity of intellect and a profundity of learning equaled only by the great masters of his age. And there were Barrow and Bates, and Taylor and Tillotson, and Baxter and Burnet, and that walking library, the primate of Armagh, and many others, all of whose heavy folios are vast mines of theological lore, which, like the coal veins of their own wealthy isle, have furnished fuel for generations past, and will give light and heat to generations to come. Among these, and in the very front rank, we place the name that stands at the head of this article. Though deficient, as will be seen, in the moral comeliness and attractive graces that adorned his great cotemporaries, yet, in intellectual stature and giant strength he had no superior.

Robert South was born at Hackney, A. D. 1633. At the age of fourteen he entered the college at Westminster, as one of the king's scholars. Four years afterward he was admitted a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1654–5 took the degree of bachelor of arts. The same year saw the close of the Dutch war. Among the versifiers who congratulated the protector on the auspicious event, we find the name of our author. Whether he was really an admirer of the man whose terrible name made

"All Europe ring from side to side,"

and whom he subsequently vilified in burning invectives, in every

30th of January sermon, it is certain that he stood among the adoring crowd on that occasion. In June, A. D. 1657, he took the degree of master of arts, not, however, without some opposition from Dr. John Owen. The resentments of literary men are deep and abiding. An obstacle thrown in the way of a well-merited distinction is scarcely ever forgotten, and this circumstance may have turned the whole force of South's vindictive mind against the non-conformist parties, among whom Owen was pre-eminent. In 1658, during the protectorate of Oliver, he was admitted to orders according to the ceremonies of the Church of England, and ordained by a deprived bishop. On the 10th of August, A. D. 1660, the year in which Charles the Second ascended the throne, South was made orator to the university. This distinction was bestowed upon him in consequence of a sermon, entitled "*The Scribe Instructed*," preached before the king's commissioners a few days prior to his appointment. For his next honor he was indebted to the earl of Clarendon, who took him for his domestic chaplain, and had him installed prebendary of St. Peter's, Westminster, March 30th, 1663. At the earl's instance he was, during the same year, made doctor in divinity. In 1674, Lawrence Hyde, son of the earl of Clarendon, was appointed by the king as ambassador extraordinary to the king of Poland. He selected Dr. South as his chaplain to accompany him on his mission. The observations made during his sojourn abroad are given in an interesting letter, dated at Dantzick, December 16th, 1677, and addressed to Dr. Edward Pococke, himself one of the first of English Oriental travelers. Soon after his return from Poland, he was made rector of Islip, in Oxfordshire, a living of two hundred pounds per annum, one half of which, with a characteristic generosity, he gave to his curate, and the remaining half he laid out in educating and apprenticing the children of the poor.

In the year 1684 we find him one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. One day, at Westminster Abbey, he preached a sermon before the king, who sat beside the earl of Rochester, from Prov. xvi, 33: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing of it is of the Lord." The nature of the subject required examples illustrative of the reverses of fortune. He selected three, and introduced them as follows:—

"Who that had looked upon Agathocles first handling the clay, and making pots under his father, and afterward turning robber, could have thought that, from such a condition, he should come to be king of Sicily?

"Who that had seen Masaniello, a poor fisherman, with his red cap

and his angle, would have reckoned it possible to see such a pitiful thing, within a week after, shining in his cloth of gold, and, with a word or a nod, absolutely commanding the whole city of Naples?

"And who that had beheld such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell, first entering the parliament house with a thread-bare, torn cloak, greasy hat, (perhaps neither of them paid for,) could have suspected that, in the space of so few years, he should, by the murder of one king, and the banishment of another, ascend the throne?"

At the close of this sentence, the king, started from his propriety, broke into a fit of laughter, and turning to the earl, exclaimed aloud, "Ods fish, Lory, your chaplain must be a bishop; put me in mind of him at the next death!" Had the gratified revenge of the king fulfilled its promise to the sarcastic preacher, the text might have been illustrated by a fourth example, no less striking for the manner of it than either of the preceding, unless, indeed, some doubting "dissenter" might suggest that, in this case, the devil had quite as much to do with "disposing" of the bishopric as the Lord.

At another time when South preached before the king, the earl of Lauderdale sat in the same pew with his majesty. They both fell asleep; and the snorings of the noble earl soon disturbed the ear of the preacher. Indignant at the gross impropriety, and intending a severe reproof, he suddenly paused, and called out, "My Lord Lauderdale." The earl instantly rose, and looked toward the pulpit. South gazed at him for a moment, and then said, "Don't snore so loud, or you'll wake his majesty."

On the accession of James the Second, South was offered an archbishopric in Ireland, which he refused, having before resolved on a more private station in life. When James abdicated, or rather, was driven from the throne, we find that South, with all his devotion to the house of Stuart, took the oaths under William as readily as he had lauded Cromwell during the interregnum!

In the first year of William, one of the first-fruits of the revolution appeared in the act of toleration, an act which South most cordially detested. In the same year commissioners were appointed by the king for the settlement of a scheme of comprehension. The design was to meet the scruples of the dissenting interest by surrendering certain objectionable features of the liturgy, and allowing the exercise of a suitable discretion in regard to nice conformity. The project was favored by Tillotson, Burnet, Stillingfleet, Chillingworth, and others of moderate views, who saw clearly that the church could ill spare thousands of the ablest and most exemplary ministers in the nation, and hundreds of thousands of her best members who had been ejected by the odious act of uniformity of

1662. Had this scheme, so charitably conceived, been permitted a fair trial, there is but little reasonable doubt but the Church of England (always blind to her real interest) would, this day, embrace in her bosom tens of thousands who are for ever lost to her communion by its failure. The plan was stoutly opposed by the whole high-church party, and especially by the bishops, who denounced it with all the violence of the times. Dr. South, being a churchman of the "straitest sect," entered the lists against its friends with his usual acrimony.

"The chief design of some of them," says he, "is to assert the rights and constitution of our excellent Reformed Church, which, of late, we so often hear reproached in the modish dialect of the times by the name of little things, and that, in order to their being laid aside, not only as little, but superfluous. But, for my own part, I can account nothing little which has the stamp of undoubted authority and the practice of primitive antiquity, as well as the reason and decency of the thing itself, to warrant and support it. Though, if the supposed littleness of these matters should be a sufficient reason for laying them aside, I fear our church will be found to have more *little men* to spare than little things."

He also preached a sermon on the subject from Gal. ii, 5. An extract or two will show his views both of comprehension and toleration. The apprehended evils of comprehension are thus strongly set forth:—

"Men shall come into the national ministry full of their covenanting, rebellious principles, even keen upon their spirits, and such as raised and carried on the late fatal war. Then it will also follow, that in the same diocese, sometimes in the very same town, some shall use the surplice and others not; each shall have their parties, prosecuting one another with the bitterest hatred and animosities; some in the same church, and at the same time, shall receive the sacrament kneeling, some standing, and others probably sitting; some shall make use of the cross in baptism, and others shall not only not use it themselves, but also inveigh and preach against those who do: some shall preach this part, others that, and some none at all. And where, as in cathedrals, they cannot avoid the hearing of it read by others, they shall come into the church when it is done, and stepping into the pulpit, conceive a long, crude, extemporary prayer, in reproach of all those excellent ones just offered up before. Nay, in the same cathedral, you shall see one prebend in a surplice, another in a long coat or tunic, and in performance of the service, some standing up at the creed, the doxology, or the reading of the Gospel, others sitting, and, perhaps, laughing and winking upon their fellow-schismatics in contempt of those who practice the decent orders of the church.—I will give no countenance, says one, to the formalist; nor will I, says another, with

much better reason, give ear to the schismatic. All this while the church is rent in pieces, and the common enemy gratified; and these are some of the effects of comprehension."

The question of toleration, now happily no longer a question, our author discusses in the following style:—

"But from comprehension let us pass to toleration, that is, from a plague within the church to a plague round about it. And is it possible for the church to continue sound, or, indeed, so much as to breathe, in either of these cases? Toleration is the very pulling up the floodgates, and breaking open the fountains of the great deep, to pour in a deluge of wickedness, heresy, and blasphemy upon the church. The law of God commands men to profess and practice the Christian religion; the law of man, in this case, will bear you out, though of none, or one of your own choice. Therefore, a hundred different religions, at least, shall, with a bare face and a high hand, bid defiance to the Christian; some of which, perhaps, shall deny the Godhead of Christ, some the reality of his manhood, some the resurrection, and others the torments of hell. Some shall assert the eternity of the world, and the like, and all this by authentic allowance of law. Upon this footing it shall be safe for every broacher of new heresy to gain as many proselytes to it as he can; and there is none of them all, though never so absurd, impious, and blasphemous, but shall have proselytes and professors, more or less; and what a large part of the nation must this necessarily draw in! So that as number and novelty easily run down truth and paucity for a while, the orthodox part of the nation, the church, will quickly be borne down and swallowed up."

From these extracts, taken in connection with sundry references to what part the civil magistrate ought to bear in religious controversies, and the general bitterness that flows through his sermons against the Puritans, it is easily seen that South lacked nothing but the power and times of Bonner, to make him equal to that prelate in blood guiltiness.

In 1693 Dr. Sherlock, father of the bishop of London, by that name, wrote against the Socinians; but, instead of defending the Scriptural doctrine of the trinity, on its true ground, he ran into the opposite extreme of tritheism. South animadverted upon the book in his severest style. He sent forth his strictures under the following title:—

"Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, entitled, A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, &c., together with a more necessary Vindication of that Sacred and Prime Article of the Christian Faith, from his New Notions and False Explications of it; humbly offered to his Admirers, *and to himself the Chief of them.* By a Divine of the Church of England."

South's part in this controversy exceeded, in bitterness, anything he had ever written. An anecdote which grew out of this dispute is worthy to be inserted here: South, though bearing no good will toward Tillotson, was, nevertheless, desirous to know the opinion of his grace as to the merits of the controversy, and, accordingly, through a common friend, had the question proposed to the archbishop. Tillotson answered, that "the doctor wrote like a man, but bit like a dog." Nettled at such a remark, he sent word to the archbishop, that "he would rather *bite* like a dog than *fawn* like one." His lordship replied—and the repartee was triumphant, though Tillotson was not known as a wit—"that he had rather be a *spaniel* than a *cur*." Indeed, South seems to have been no favorite with the gentler spirits of his age. Burnet exhibits him, in a single sentence, as "a learned, but ill-natured divine." And Stillingfleet, alluding to his angry controversy with Sherlock, says that "he ever hated broils and opprobrious language, especially among the learned. It is a very odious and unseemly thing for men, who are undoubtedly renowned for knowledge and understanding, to insult and tear to pieces each other's reputation in their inhuman writings, with a canine fury, not unfitly compared to cobblers, sprung from the vilest dregs of the people, bespattering each other in lanes and alleys with dirt and dung."

Toward the Socinians he dealt, if possible, still heavier strokes than against his tritheistic antagonist; regarding them only as fit subjects for the block and the stake. Tillotson, as Wesley afterward, thought it no reproach to treat them with the respect due to men of letters, and, contrary to the polemical code, allowed them the credit of fair and dispassionate reasoners. "They have but one great defect, (they are the words of Tillotson,) that they want a good cause and truth on their side, which if they had, they have reason, and wit, and temper enough to defend it." "Now by way of contrast," says Dr. Jortin, "behold the characters of the same persons from the masterly and *impartial* hand of South:—'The Socinians are impious blasphemers whose infamous pedigree runs back from wretch to wretch in a direct line to the devil himself, and who are fitter to be crushed by the civil magistrate as destructive to the government and society, than to be confuted merely as heretics in religion.'" "Such," says Jortin, "is the true agonistic style, or intolerant spirit—such the courage of a champion who challenges his adversary, and then calls upon the constable to come and help him."

But little more is known of Dr. South from this period until his death, which occurred on Sunday, July 8th, 1716, in the eighty-

fourth year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a noble monument perpetuates his name. His will was one of the most extraordinary documents that ever a dying man left behind him. To several of his relations he made bequests, and at the same time reproached them for their disregard of him, adding that what he left them was more than they deserved; and true to his ancient prejudice against the non-conformists, he left the annual income from certain houses to be divided among several vicars and curates, who according to the will were to forfeit the same, "by preaching in, or going to any conventicle, or meeting of dissenters from the Church of England."

Leaving the life of our author, we proceed to consider this monument of his fame—a monument of such solid material that the marble designed to bear his name to posterity shall be less enduring, and far less significant of his greatness.

The two most striking features of these sermons are *simplicity* and *strength*. Here is nothing meretricious, no ornate flourishes intended to catch the worthless applause of that large class of the undiscerning multitude to whose sickly taste sound sense and sound words are alike unacceptable. Beauties there are without number, but nothing *flowery;* we nauseate the word, and use it only because it is so commonly used to describe that *Herveyan* species of style which no man of good taste can abide, and we had almost said no conscientious minister can use. Flowery it may be, and to some as pretty as the dahlia; but to others who prefer sense to sound, and fruit to flowers, it is not less offensive than the odor of that pride of the garden. We feel that we are extending our remarks almost to the borders of profanity by even suggesting the idea of arraying the sermon on the mount in the gaudy dress that commands the admiration of many; but the bare hint should overwhelm with confusion the man, who, pretending to be a minister of Christ, has so grossly departed from his example.

About the middle of the last century, one Harwod, (we are not certain that we name him rightly,) thinking to improve the style of the evangelists and apostles, published what he called "A Liberal Translation of the New Testament." A copy of this work fell into the hands of a friend of Dr. Johnson who lived in the country. Shortly after the doctor made him a visit, and one morning after walking in the garden, he returned to the parlor and took up a book. It happened to be the "Liberal Translation." Johnson opened on the eleventh chapter of John's Gospel, and coming to the thirty-fifth verse, he read as follows: "Jesus the Saviour of the world, over-

come with grief, burst into a flood of tears." "*Puppy*," exclaimed the indignant critic, and threw down the book in a violent passion; and had the translator been present he might have deemed himself fortunate if Johnson had not thrown it at his head. We would scarcely apply the hard name to any one, and yet too frequently the solemnities of the sanctuary have been disturbed by having forced upon us the idea of the little animal. In our more private moments, however, we have sometimes amused ourselves by fancying what a figure the grave apostle might have made in narrating his experience before Agrippa in the style of a modern theological exquisite. There is one point in the narrative where the sublime rodomontade of the speaker would doubtless have convulsed the sedate Roman through and through with laughter: "And at mid-day, O king! Yes, at mid-day, when he who rode the chariot of the sun looked from his flamy car toward the western bourn of this grassy globe, I heard a voice clear as the music of the Memphian statue when the golden light of morn first gilds its dewy locks, saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" A speech in such a style would neither have persuaded Agrippa to be a Christian, nor to think the apostle an orator. And yet this is no burlesque specimen of that disgusting rhapsody which constitutes the sole merit of some popular speakers, who if they were reduced to an allowance of solid food in proportion to the solid contents of their sermons, would shrink away to the skeleton-like dimensions of Calvin Edson himself. The lovers of such thin nutriment are assured beforehand that they will find in these volumes nothing to their taste. Such sublimities were far above, or rather far beneath, "the plain nervous style of Dr. South." Like Wesley, he held the pompous swelling periods of the French pulpit in utter contempt, and though personal pique might have pointed the sarcasm, he keenly censured the style of Taylor, which, with all its acknowledged excellences, was sometimes debased to mere prettyness. "In the style of the apostles," says South, quoting the words verbatim from Taylor, "we find no starched similitudes introduced with a '*Thus have I seen a morning cloud rolling in its airy mansion*'—nothing of '*the fringes of the north star*,' &c. No, these were sublimities above the reach of the apostles, who were plain men, and content to tell their hearers in plain words, that he who believeth shall be saved, and he who believeth not shall be damned."

It must not, however, be supposed from these remarks, that the sermons of our author are in that kind of plain style which excludes all ornament, or like that of Swift, which disdained the use of a figure. Far from it. Figures, similes, and classical allusions, at

once brilliant and appropriate, abound in almost every discourse, and yet are distributed with such accurate taste and judgment that attention never wearies and interest never declines. A writer who was cotemporary with South, we mean the satirical author of Hudibras, in his prose works becomes monotonous by the very excess of figure. Almost every thought is illustrated by a simile, and the unbounded profusion produces satiety bordering on disgust. The same remark applies to Gurnell and several others of that age. South, with better judgment, hit the happy medium between deficiency and redundancy. We shall give a specimen or two from the sermon on Gen. i, 27, where, throughout, the raciness of the thought is equaled only by the rich simplicity of the style. On the intellect of man, before it was "darkened and disgraced" by sin, he discourses as follows:—

"He came into the world a philosopher, which sufficiently appeared by his writing the nature of things on their names. He could view essences in themselves, and read forms without the comment of their respective properties. He could see consequences yet dormant in their principles, and almost pierce into future contingents—his conjectures improving even to prophecy. Until his fall he was ignorant of nothing but sin; or, at least, it rested in the notion without the smart of the experiment. Could any difficulty have been proposed, the solution would have been as early as the proposal. It could not have had time to settle into doubt. Like a better Archimedes, the issue of all his inquiries was the offspring of his brain without the sweat of his brow. Study was not then a duty—night watchings were needless. The light of reason wanted not the assistance of a candle. This is the doom of fallen man, to labor in the fire, to seek truth *in profundo*, to exhaust his time, and impair his health, and, perhaps, to spin out his days and himself into one pitiful controverted conclusion. There was then no poring, no struggling with memory, no straining for invention. His faculties were quick and expedite; they answered without knocking; they were ready upon the first summons. There were freedom and firmness in all their operations. It is as difficult for us who date our ignorance from our first being, and were still bred up with the same infirmities about us with which we were born, to raise our thoughts and imaginations to those intellectual perfections that attended our nature in the time of innocence, as it is for a peasant bred up in the obscurities of a cottage to fancy in his mind the unseen splendors of a court. But by rating positives by their privatives and other arts of reason, we may collect the excellency of the understanding then, by the glorious remainders of it now, and guess at the stateliness of the building by the magnificence of its ruins. All those arts, rarities, and inventions which vulgar minds gaze at, the ingenious pursue, and all admire, are but the relics of an intellect defaced with sin and time. We admire it now as antiquaries do a piece of old coin, for the stamp it once bore, and not for those vanishing lineaments and disappearing draughts that remain

upon it at present. And certainly that must have been very glorious, the decays of which are so admirable. He that is comely when old and decrepit, surely was very beautiful when he was young. An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise."

The reader, we are sure, will be pleased with another extract from this admirable sermon, to which our last remark is as applicable as to the foregoing. On the passion of joy, as it existed in Eden, our author discourses in this style:—

"It was not that which now often usurps the name; that trivial, vanishing, superficial thing, that only gilds the apprehension, and plays upon the surface of the soul. It was not the mere crackling of thorns, a sudden blaze of the spirits, the exultation of a tickled fancy, or a pleased appetite. Joy was then a masculine and a severe thing; the recreation of the judgment, the jubilee of reason. It was the result of a real good suitably applied; it commenced upon the solidities of truth, and the substance of fruition. It did not run out in voice or indecent eruptions, but filled the soul as God does the universe, silently and without noise. It was refreshing but composed; like the pleasantness of youth tempered with the gravity of age, or the mirth of a festival, managed with the silence of contemplation."

We could enlarge these extracts to almost any extent; but the above are sufficient to indicate the general style of the author. His ornament lies in a skilful combination of the plainest words; each of which seems to acquire a new dignity by the position which it is made to hold. Nothing can be plainer than the words of "Paradise Lost," and yet no mortal besides Milton could use them with such amazing effect. His description of the creation of the largest of land animals will illustrate our meaning. In a single line the unwieldly monster is represented as coming from the ground, and we almost involuntarily start aside from fear of being crushed by the living mass,—

> "Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
> His vastness."

Here every word is plain, but the combination of the whole forms a style worthy of the angel whom the poet's fancy represents as using the words. What Milton was in poetry, South was in prose; simple, majestic, and terrible. Even in the use of figure, where bad taste is sure to betray itself by clothing the thought in gaudy language, the style of South may indeed be more sprightly, but never varies from its rigid simplicity. In this respect, whether walking or soaring, he is immutably the same, always challenging our admiration not

for the color, but the strength of his pinions, and the magnificent heights to which they bore him.

We have said that strength is one of the chief features of these sermons. It is not too much to add that everything pertaining to their great author bore the same character. His understanding was strong. His prejudices were strong. His wit was strong. It was, therefore, natural to him to think, and speak, and write in the soundest words that the language can afford. Simplicity and strength, however, have no indissoluble tie. A style may be plain enough for an understanding unversed in literature beyond the contents of "Reading Made Easy," and yet weak and spiritless as the soft productions of a fine fashionable pulpit dandy, who enjoys the unenviable reputation of a *flowery* preacher. In the style of South these two first of qualities went hand in hand through every sentence. Take for example a passage or two selected from that terrible sermon on the wages of sin. The text is Rom. vi, 23. The first passage is remarkable as a specimen of the antithetical style. It is the introduction, and stands thus:—

"The two great things which make such a disturbance in the world, are sin and death; the latter both the effect and punishment of the former. Sin, I confess, is an obvious subject, and the theme almost of every discourse; but yet it is not discoursed of so much, but that it is committed much more: it being like that ill custom spoken of by Tacitus in Rome, *semper vetabitur, semper retinebitur.* But while the danger continues we must not give over the alarm; nor think a discourse of sin superfluous, while the commission of it is continued and yet the prevention necessary.

"In the words we have a near and a close conjunction between the greatest object of the world's love, which is sin, and the greatest object of its hatred, which is death. And we see them presented to us in such a vicinity that they are in the very confines of one another; death treading upon the heels of sin, its hateful, yet its inseparable companion. And it is wonderful to consider, that men should so eagerly court the antecedent, and yet so strangely detest the consequent; that they should pour gall into the fountain, and yet cry out of the bitterness of the stream. And lastly, which is of all things the most unreasonable, that a workman should complain that he is paid his wages."

The last passage is awful:—

"And thus I have finished the third and last general thing proposed to be handled from the words; from which, and all the foregoing particulars, what can we so naturally and so directly infer and learn, as the infinite, incredible folly which acts and possesses the heart of man in all its purposes to sin; still proposing to the sinner nothing but pleasure and enjoyment, advantage and emolument, from the commission of that which will infallibly subject him to all the miseries and

killing sorrows that humanity is capable of. Sin plays the bait before him, the bait of a little contemptible, silly pleasure or profit; but it hides from his view that fatal hook which shall strike through his heart and liver, and by which that great catcher and devourer of souls shall hold him fast, and drag him down to his eternal execution. The consequent appendant miseries of sin are studiously kept from the sinner's notice. His eye must not see what his heart will certainly rue; but he goes on pleasantly and unconcernedly, and acts a more cruel, inhuman butchery upon his own soul, than ever any self-murderer did upon his own body.

"I shall close up with that excellent saying of the wisest of men: *Fools make a mock at sin.* Fools they are indeed for doing so. But is it possible for anything that wears the name of reason to be so much a fool as to make a mock at death too? Will a man play with hell, dally with a scorpion, and sport himself with everlasting burnings? In every sin which a man deliberately commits he takes down a draught of deadly poison. In every lust which he cherishes he embraces a dagger, and opens his bosom to destruction.

"In fine, I have endeavored to show what sin is, and what death is, the certain, inevitable wages of sin; and so have only this short advice to add and to conclude with: he who likes the wages, let him go about the work."

Here is style, "glorious in its apparel, and traveling in the greatness of its strength." Every sentence is dreadful; and we know not which to admire more,—the terrific imagery employed, or the plain, direct, and nervous language of the passage.

It is well known that Mr. Wesley greatly admired the vigor of our author's style; and if in forming his own he had any model before him, it may be found in these sermons. Wesley, indeed, adopted some of the refinements introduced by the writers of the reign of Anne and the first George. He cast aside the awkward and clumsy construction of sentences by the old authors, and partially conformed to the more natural and graceful arrangement of cotemporary writers. He was more sententious than his prototype, and yet (it is no contradiction) less aphoristic. His conscience forbade him to sacrifice utility to elegance; and if therefore he did not equal the smoothness of Addison, it was because he would not part with the strength of South. Many passages might be given to show the striking similarity in this particular between these two great writers; but especially that remarkable one in the sermon on free grace, without which, says Southey, a life of Wesley would not be complete. The "Word to a Distiller," also, has nothing to equal it in the myriads of speeches which the recent temperance movement has called forth. Now the old preachers of the Methodist connection, both in England and this country, saw the effects of this plain dealing, and hasted to imitate

it as well as they could. Their shafts were not polished, but terribly pointed; and hence, while the regular clergy of the land as regularly put their hearers asleep, Methodism was achieving most glorious triumphs on every field.

But to return. The noblest productions of human skill have their defects. In the words of our author, "there are spots not only in the moon, but also in the face of the sun itself." And spots there certainly are in these first of pulpit performances. Great virtues are sometimes contiguous to great vices. If the style of South is always strong, his most ardent admirers must confess that at times he either seems to forget, or is totally reckless of, the distinction between strength and vulgarity; a defect this, which finds no adequate excuse in the common plea of the age in which he wrote. We deem it important to notice this fault, because these sermons will doubtless find their way into the libraries of hundreds of young preachers, who, in their undistinguishing admiration of the author, may, with a deficiency of judgment, copy the faults as well as the excellences, and perhaps admire the blemishes as the greater beauties. Vulgar language is always inexcusable. The arrow of truth needs not to be tipped with poison to give it a more killing effect. Style may be plain and vigorous, and yet equally distant from uncouth vulgarity on the one hand, and on the other from that wary and circumlocutory mode of attacking vice which makes no other impression, than that the speaker is either a very modest or a very timid man.

In a review of these volumes it would be unpardonable to pass unnoticed the author's satirical wit—a dangerous weapon at best, the wounds of which are virulent and festering. It is said that the best remedy for the bite of a viper is the raw flesh of the animal that inflicts it. Such is the only remedy that wounded pride sometimes seeks for the cruel ranklings of satire. Of all the modes of attacking either vice or error, we judge this the most questionable —deriving no countenance from the example of the apostles, either in their preaching or writings. Lucian might ridicule the absurdities of polytheism, but his wit drove no one from the altars of fancied deities, nor hindered the sacrifice of a single victim. The apostles, disdaining the wit of the world, went against the enormous idolatry in another spirit, and armed with other weapons, and their pathway was over the wrecks of mutilated images, and altars broken to the ground. Satire partakes essentially of the nature of a jest. It is conceived in the heat of a spirit kindled by humor, or quickened by resentment; and jesting, in any of its forms, is as unbecoming the dignity of the pulpit as it is subver-

sive of its usefulness. We doubt if Addison's mercurial satire against adultery ever broke the force of a single temptation. We doubt if Canning's ridicule of swearing ever arrested a single oath; or Swift's "Tale of a Tub" ever made a single convert from that most monstrous of theological absurdities—transubstantiation.

Of the *spiritual* character of these sermons it also becomes us to speak. The term, as applied to religious discourses, is now used almost exclusively to mean that kind of sermons which treat of Christian experience as distinguished from outward practice—of the secret exercises of the soul in passing through its penitential to its converted state, and all that is peculiar in the hidden life of the children of God. Such are the sermons of Wesley, which are as far above the cold morality that runs freezing from many pulpits, as the holy of holies was more sacred than the gate of the temple. In this sense of the word, South's sermons are deficient in spirituality. The great revival had not yet fully begun. The seeds of it were among the Puritans, and here and there, in defiance of persecuting blasts, the tree of life was seen blossoming for the future fruit. But the "knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins" was seldom preached, as little understood, and as rarely enjoyed. Wesley's early struggles are a sad proof of the general deficiency of distinct evangelical instruction on this vital point. It is not wonderful, therefore, that in all the volumes of South there is nothing to guide an awakened sinner in the direct road to this city of refuge. At the very time when these admirable discourses held the polite worshipers of Westminster in listening silence, a poor tinker in Bedford jail was slowly and painfully inditing a work which, in the above meaning of the term, imbodies more spirituality than all the sermons of our author, and nine-tenths of the religious folios of his age. In a larger sense, however, South's sermons are not wanting in spirituality. He searches the heart with a lighted flambeau, discovering all the secret springs of action, laying bare its hypocrisies, and dragging into broad daylight motives and influences which guilt dare not acknowledge to itself. He thoroughly understood human nature, and his pictures of the human heart are as exact as a Daguerreotype likeness taken on an unclouded day. The remark of Lord Lyttleton on the works of Shakspeare is equally applicable to the works of South: "If every human thing should perish except these books, a being of another order might learn from them what kind of a creature was man."

We have said that these discourses fail in an important point, none of them being adapted to the condition and wants of an

awakened sinner. In every other respect, however, they will be found a valuable help to a life of piety. The motives of religion are here exhibited in their most winning aspects. That single discourse on Prov. iii, 17, exceeds in power and real beauty anything we have ever seen; and that man must be far gone in iniquity whose heart is not touched with the loveliness of a pious life, and its immeasurable advantages over sin's most eligible state. It was the remark of Steele, that this sermon embraced everything on the subject that the wit and wisdom of man could bring together. The duties enjoined in the Holy Scriptures, not excepting those most repugnant to flesh and blood, are explained and urged with the author's usual clearness and force. The sermon on the love due to enemies—a precept which malice would falsely interpret, or ingeniously explain away—furnishes a sad proof that "the gospel requires more love to a foe than most men show to their friends."

But if these sermons are wanting in any respect, it is not in the boldness with which they expose and attack vice of every kind. We have already seen that South fell upon evil days. After Charles was brought to the block, and during the entire period of the protectorate, the public morals were everywhere improved. Sunday games were entirely abolished, and men either quietly remained at home, or were seen crowding in multitudes to the churches. Whatever may have been the precise character of the influence that produced this state of things, whether fanaticism or real religion, it is certain that the metropolis never knew a period of less public vice. But it was not lasting. Oliver died, and Richard soon resigned. Then came the restoration. It was the breaking of the horn of Achelous. The waters of licentiousness rushed foaming on every side. The passions of men, long pent up and struggling for vent, now broke forth in every form that could enfeeble, disgrace, and ruin a nation. Good men saw the danger, and gloomy apprehensions were entertained of the divine judgments. Their fears were soon realized in a succession of marine disasters, the fire of London, and the desolations of the wasting plague. It was time that the pulpit should scourge the vice which had so fearfully, and in so brief a period, brought the scourge of God upon the land. Many were faithful, but none more so than South; for whatever he might have been in politics, he was no time-server in morals. Timid spirits shrink from the hazardous task of rebuking sin when it glitters in cloth of gold, and a selfish regard to emolument or popularity will restrain others, who, under different circumstances, and before another

audience, would be the boldest of reprovers. The straightforward honesty of John the Baptist, which cost his life, and the indirect, but no less pointed, and yet more successful reproof of Nathan the prophet, are models of ministerial fidelity, such as, in similar cases, few have had the courage to imitate. Latimer lashed the personal vices of Henry the Eighth, and Bourdaloue faltered not in reproving the bloody author of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. South was equally faithful at Whitehall and Westminster. He spared no vice because it was found in high places; but in an age and before a court proverbially corrupt, he chastised with tremendous power the atheistic wit of my lord of Rochester, and the criminal intimacies of Charles himself with the beautiful Lady Castlemain, and the impudent but fascinating Nell Gwyn. His attachment to his king was far less ambiguously displayed by the reproof of that monarch's licentiousness, than by all his sophistical reasonings on passive obedience and non-resistance. Not Micaiah himself exhibited a firmer integrity before the sanguinary Ahab, than did South in the presence of the pleasure-loving Charles. The marvel is, how such a king could listen to such a preacher, and especially after having disgraced Burnet, and thrown his reproving letter into the fire.

Of late, multitudes of sermons, charges, and essays have been written on the subject of pulpit duty, nearly all going to show that a minister's whole business there is to preach Christ, and him alone. If it be meant that Christ is to be set forth as the only hope of sinners—his death as the availing means of their redemption—his spirit as applying the merit of that death in their actual conversion, and his example as the model of their lives, we receive it of course, and still regard it as nothing more than a mere truism in divinity. We fear, however, that the direction has been misunderstood, and that preaching Christ, or about Christ, in a loose, general way, has been found a convenient substitute for the hard duty of jeopardy one's popularity by exposing and denouncing, with becoming severity, the crying sins of the times. This is one of the worst errors of Popish pulpits. Everybody has heard the story of Clovis the Merovingian prince, who, after listening to the pathetic narrative of the crucifixion by the bishop of Rheims, indignantly drew his sword and exclaimed: "Had I been present, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries!" The result of such preaching on the mind of the barbarian king might have been a cordial hatred of all Jews, and a desire to revenge the death of the Redeemer on them, rather than on his own lusts. Instances are not yet infrequent of men who, in the

morning, have burned with devotion or melted with pity at the recital of the crucifixion, who, in the afternoon, have paid an equal tribute to gin slings, and ingloriously ended the day with a game of shillalehs. The teachings of many Protestant pulpits on this point are scarcely more effective. A young gentleman, who nicely conforms to every punctilio of fashionable attire, ascends the desk with each hair carefully adjusted in the neatest order, as though he had just come from under the hand of a French barber. He passes through the preliminary services after the most approved models of pulpit finesse, with the addition of some new nonsense peculiarly his own. He announces his text—a text which requires a discourse on the nature and benefits of the great atonement. His hearers are all attention. He begins and rambles on until he reaches the garden of grief. But first the brook Cedron—how can he pass that by? He describes it as a silvery stream noiselessly gliding within its banks, where the violet and the rose mingled their perfumes over its sweet waters; though, by the way, that same "sweet-gliding Cedron" was neither more nor less than the common sewer of Jerusalem, where dead dogs and cats, forgetting their ancient hostilities, flowed on in most amicable conjunction to the Asphaltic lake! Then follows the scene of Gethsemane. And now we hear of the damp dews and pale moonbeams, or, more classically, of "Cynthia's pale beam," that fell through the o'erhanging foliage on the paler face of the sufferer; though there is no evidence that there was not a mist upon the place as heavy as a Newfoundland fog. Too modest to say "*sweat*" before his hearers, he substitutes a harder word, and tells of great drops of bloody perspiration that oozed from every pore, while angels' eyes, for the first time, were bedewed with celestial tears; and in this sublime style concludes his discourse, adding faintly at the close, by way of application, that all this was suffered for us. The congregation is dismissed. "What a fine sermon!" says the swearer, as he goes unrebuked from the sanctuary. "Elegant!" says the robber of widows and orphans as he retires. "I never heard anything more pathetic in my life," says the midnight novel reader. "Most sumptuous!" exclaims the voluptuary, as he hastens home to enjoy a rich dinner, and spend the rest of the day in sleep. And thus the audience retire, pleased with the preacher, and better pleased with themselves.

And this is called preaching Christ! Verily, it is as much like it as a schoolboy's ode to the evening star is like Dr. Lardner's comprehensive lectures on the system of the universe. We hesitate not to say, that a chapter or an epistle from Seneca, if read

with some earnestness, would tell with infinitely better effect on the morals of any community.

We cannot close without a word in behalf of the publishers of these invaluable discourses. The enterprising partners, Sorin and Ball, have already done good service to the reading classes by laying before them, at a cheap rate, several of the long-established standards in theological literature. We confess that we had never expected to see an edition of South from the American press; but the courage of this active firm has agreeably disappointed us. Our old friend, casting aside his superannuated leathern costume, comes forth in a new dress, as beautiful without, as, in his green old age, he is full of the vigor of life within. And we shall be greatly deceived if thousands do not haste to make his acquaintance, and find as much pleasure in his company as we have long enjoyed, and of which we are never tired.

ART. VII.—*The Health and Longevity of Individuals devoted to Science and Literature, viewed Statistically—and the same Relative to the Rich and the Poor.*

LITERARY men, as a body, it may be safely averred, have a mean duration of life fully equal to those of any other vocation. Unfortunately, they are peculiarly subject to dyspepsia and its gloomy concomitant, hypochondrias, with a sluggish state of the digestive organs; but these are the diseases to which the sedentary, even when the intellect is little cultivated, are most liable. From the days of Aristotle, down to the present time, it has been a common remark, that literary men suffer peculiarly from a too constant exercise of the brain; but there would not seem to be, at the present day, much of truth in the assertion that "headaches, arachnitis, mania, melancholia, and particularly hypochondriasis, are its consequences." This, it is true, is in conformity to the notions of the facetious Burton, who, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," thus describes scholars: "They are most part lean, dry, ill-colored, spend their fortunes, lose their wits, and many times their lives." At the present day, the pursuits of the scholar are much more diversified; and as natural science has given birth, within the current century, to entirely new departments of study, so we find the student traversing the plain and valley, and scaling the mountain, in his botanical and geological excursions. It is doubtless true, however, that many literary men are endowed with great moral sensibility, in

connection with the energy which impels them to accumulate knowledge; and these, especially when sedentary in their habits, doubtless suffer from over-excitement of the brain. There may be some in whom the powers of the body, in consequence of natural feebleness and delicacy of the constitution, may be unequal to the support of the energies of the too active mind. Byron may have been of this temperament:—

> "A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the puny body to decay,
> And o'er informed the tenement of clay."

"Men of exalted intellect," says Pinel, a late distinguished writer on insanity, "perish by their brains, and such is the noble end of those whose genius procures for them that immortality which so many ardently desire." But even if self-immolation has been thus voluntarily incurred, especially if the victim is still in the years of early manhood, so honorable has the sacrifice been, in all ages, esteemed, that a solace in this melancholy pleasure has always been found by the mourning relatives. But this is an event certainly of rare occurrence.

In productive capabilities, no one has surely, in modern times, surpassed Sir Walter Scott; yet it is a matter of history, that he so economized his time, with the aid of a well-disciplined mind, that the pleasures of social and domestic intercourse were not less enjoyed by him than by those who have uninterrupted leisure. In reply to Captain Hall, who inquired of him how many hours a day he could write for the press with effect, he said: "I reckon five hours and a half a day is very good work for the mind, when it is engaged in original composition. I can very seldom reach six hours, and I suspect that what is written after five or six hours' hard mental labor is not worth much." To the question how he divided these hours, he replied: "I try to get two or three of them before breakfast, the remainder as soon after as may be, so as to leave the afternoon free to walk, or ride, or read, or be idle."

Among those in whom mental application is alternated with considerable exercise in the open air, as, for instance, civil engineers, few are unhealthy, if not of irregular habits, or addicted to high living. To ministers of religion, a similar alternation of study and exercise pertains. Like orators, public singers, actors, and those who play much on wind instruments, clergymen are liable to spitting of blood, diseases of the larynx, œdema of the glottis, and pains of the chest.

It may surprise not a few, when we say that the bronchitic affec-

tions, under which ministers of the gospel so frequently labor, are often due to the violation of a hygiènic law. The fact that the Creator planted a beard upon the face of the human male, thus making it a law of his physical being, indicates, in a mode not to be misunderstood, that the distinctive appendage was bestowed for the purpose of being worn. Besides, the Levitical law is just as explicit in forbidding the shaving of the beard, except in cases of disease, as in the requirement, "Remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy." Moreover, physiologically considered, these views are corroborated by experience; for diseases of the throat have, in many instances, been traced directly to the shaving of the beard,—the liability disappearing with its growth, and *vice versa*. Let all our ministers of religion, then, wear beards, for the Bible and nature are in favor of it; nor is the great Head of the church, Christ himself, ever seen in a painting without a beard; and it was said by the early Christian father, Tertullian, that to shave the beard is "blasphemy against the face."

Practitioners of medicine and surgery, as part of their time is devoted to study and part to professional visits, live apparently in circumstances favorable to extended life. Night-calls, it is true, are generally thought to be very injurious; but the accoucheur of thirty or forty years' experience is usually found to be as active and robust as those of any other class of the same age. Statistics, however, it will be seen, run counter to this opinion.

It would seem, from the imperfect comparisons that are allowable, that the ancient philosophers attained a greater longevity than the modern. In antiquity all our associations of wisdom are attached to the venerable and venerated head, covered with its silvery locks; but if difference of general longevity do really exist, there is also found an equal difference in the modes of life. Modern philosophers, unlike the ancient, who traveled from country to country, disputing and inquiring in open places, fix themselves to the desk; and they are, at the same time, less attentive to the laws of hygiène, such as the use of the bath, the due regulation of the appetite, and the taking of appropriate muscular exercise.

It is a curious fact that Lucian devoted a treatise to the subject of the enumeration of distinguished individuals of antiquity who attained the age of 80–100 years. Among the Greek philosophers, noticed by Lucian, who were at the head of their respective schools, are the following: Cleanthes, aged 99; Zeno, 98; Nestor, tutor to Tiberius, 92; Xenophanes, 91; Diogenes, the stoic, 88; Carneades, 85; Zenocrates, 84; Posidonius, 84; Critolaus, 82; Athenodorus, 82; Plato, 81; and Chrysippus, 81. Among the

historians, poets, and other writers, we find the following: Isocrates, who wrote his celebrated panegyric at 96, killed himself at 100, on learning the defeat of his Athenian countrymen at Cheronea; Cratinus, Philemon, and Epicharmis, all three comic writers, died each at 97; Timæus, at 96; Sophocles was choked at 95; Hypsicrates died at 92; Xenophon and Aristobulus, at 90; Anacreon and Stesichorus, both at 85; and Apollodorus and Eratosthenes, at 82. These are but a small portion of those enumerated by Lucian, being here selected rather on account of the familiarity of their names. He also enumerates a considerable number of kings and generals, who attained an extreme longevity.

There is a general impression that the duration of life among literary men is less than among philosophers; but there is a class of men in Germany who, devoting themselves, at an early age, to the exclusive pursuit of literature, are found to reach a great longevity. This accords fully with our own views, believing, as we do, that when the moderate pursuit of literature is accompanied by the impairment of health, it is the result of collateral circumstances. The tendency of literary pursuits, *per se*, is to diffuse cheerfulness, and, consequently, rather to prolong than to abbreviate life. Excessive application of the mind, like every other abuse or act of intemperance, is, of course, unwise; and every laborer in the field of literature should bear in mind the remark of Pope Ganganelli: "There is scarcely any book which does not savor of painful composition in some part of it, because the author has written when he should have rested."

It has been inferred by an English writer, Dr. Madden, from a comparison of the ages of learned men, that longevity is favored by the study of the arts and sciences, while in literary pursuits, in which the imagination is vigorously exerted, he thinks that there is a much greater wear and tear to the system. "For the purpose," he says, "of ascertaining the influence of different studies on the longevity of authors, the tables which follow have been constructed, in which the names and ages of the most celebrated authors, in the various departments of literature and science, are set down, each list containing twenty names of those individuals who have devoted their lives to a particular pursuit, and excelled in it. No other attention has been given to the selection than that which eminence suggested, without any regard to the ages of those who presented themselves to notice. The object was to give a fair view of the subject, whether it told for or against the opinions that have been expressed in the preceding pages. It must, however, be taken into account, that, as we have only given the names of

the most celebrated authors, and, in the last table, those of artists, in their different departments, a greater longevity, in each pursuit, might be inferred from the aggregate of the ages, than properly may belong to the general range of life in each pursuit. For example, in moral or natural philosophy, a long life of labor is necessary to enable posterity to judge of the merits of an author, and these are ascertained, not only by the value, but also by the amount of his compositions. It is by a series of researches and recasts of opinion that profound truths are arrived at, and by numerous publications that such truths are forced on the public attention. For this a long life is necessary; and it certainly appears from the list that is subjoined, that the vigor of a great intellect is favorable to longevity in every literary pursuit wherein imagination is seldom called on."

The following average duration of life and order of longevity, according to the mode of calculation laid down above, have been deduced by Dr. Madden:—

	Average years.	Average years.
Natural philosophers,	1494	75
Moral philosophers,	1417	70
Sculptors and painters,	1412	70
Authors on law and jurisprudence,	1394	69
Medical authors,	1368	68
Authors on revealed religion,	1350	67
Philologists,	1323	66
Musical composers,	1284	64
Novelists and miscellaneous authors,	1257	62½
Dramatists,	1244	62
Authors on natural religion,	1245	62
Poets,	1144	57

As these results are found in all books treating of this subject, we introduce them here chiefly with the view of showing the great error to which these averages are liable, prior to taking up the investigation of the question upon accurate statistical data.

The scale of longevity here given by Dr. Madden, it is evident enough, is based mainly upon the difficulty experienced in acquiring such a reputation in science or literature as would carry the individual down the stream of posterity. Hence it would be extremely absurd to regard these average ages at death as the longevity of this class compared with that of any other; and even as respects the different literary and scientific pursuits composing the class given above, a comparison is but partially allowable. Dr. Madden, as the result of his researches, is especially desirous of inculcating the opinion, "that the vigor of a great intellect is favorable to longevity in every literary pursuit wherein *imagination is*

seldom called on." Now, in calculating the probability of life in any class of individuals devoted to a particular pursuit, whether corporeal or mental, it is necessary to start from that period in life which is the average age of entering upon such occupation, as will be shown more fully in the following pages. Hence, as the imagination of the poet is more early developed than the mature judgment required on the part of the natural or moral philosopher, to secure him the reputation necessary for being selected as one of the above table, it follows that the average age at death is here no fair test of comparative longevity. The powers of imagination may be abundantly developed at as early an age as twelve years,* while it is seldom that a man obtains a distinguished reputation as a moral or natural philosopher under the age of forty. Some idea of the difference thus produced may be formed from the annual decrement of life, which, among 100,000 born in England, is, at the age of fifteen, 68,627, and at forty, 53,825; or, if we assume that a poet at twenty-five will have as much reputation as a moral or natural philosopher at forty, the following will be the results:—

	Age.	Expectation of Life.	
Natural philosopher,	40	27·14	67·14
Poet,	25	36·99	61·99
			5·15 years.

Here the difference in the expectation of life is upward of five years, and if the calculation for the poet were made at twenty, it would be almost seven years.

In the last registration of England, the inapplicability of the average age at death, in the investigation of the agency of occupation, rank, and profession upon health and mortality, is clearly demonstrated. "The numbers," says the registrar-general, "following different professions fluctuate more than the general population; the relative proportion of young and aged persons varies from year to year; certain professions, stations, and ranks, are only attained by persons advanced in years; and some occupations are only followed in youth; hence it requires no great amount of sagacity to perceive that 'the mean age at death,' or the age at which the greatest number of deaths occurs, cannot be depended upon in investigating the influence of occupation, rank, and professon upon health and longevity. If it were found upon an inquiry into the health of

* Our distinguished townsman, Mr. Bryant, wrote pieces which were published before the age of ten. At thirteen, a small volume of his poetry was published; and at seventeen he wrote that admirable piece entitled "Thanatopsis." Pope's "Ode on Solitude" was written at the age of twelve, and his "Ode to Silence" soon after.

the officers of the army on full pay, that 'the mean age at death' of 'cornets, ensigns, and second lieutenants' was twenty-two years; of 'lieutenants,' twenty-nine years; of 'captains,' thirty-seven years; of 'majors,' forty-four years; of 'lieutenant-colonels,' forty-eight years; of general officers, ages still further advanced—and that the ages of curates, rectors, and bishops; of barristers of seven years' standing, leading counsel and venerable judges, differed to an equal or greater extent, a strong case may, no doubt, be made out on behalf of those young, but early-dying cornets, curates, and juvenile barristers, whose 'mean age at death' was under thirty! It would almost be necessary to make them generals, bishops, and judges—for the sake of their health. The assurance societies are happily so considerate and liberal that they do not attach the slightest importance to the 'mean age at death,' but assure the lives of young men of all the professions at the age of twenty-four, upon the assumption that they will live thirty-eight, or, at the least, thirty-one years, and pay thirty-eight or thirty-one annual premiums on an average before they die; while they make the bishops, judges, and generals, who go to insure their lives at sixty, pay as if they would live but thirteen or fourteen years."

This is, indeed, a happy illustration; for, according to a return of the ages of four thousand eight hundred and sixty-six officers of the British army on full pay, in 1838, the cornets, ensigns, and second lieutenants, had an average age of twenty-one and three-tenths years, and the lieutenant-colonels, forty-seven years, while the first lieutenants, captains, and majors, had an intermediate average age respectively of twenty-eight and twelve-nineteenths, thirty-six, and forty-three and one-eighth years. As a still more absurd application in this respect of the mean age at death, the registrar-general states, that it has been somewhere used as a proof of the destructive effects of the employment of dress-makers. "If the inquiries," he says, "had been extended to boarding-schools, or to the boys at Christ's Hospital, the average age at death would have been found still lower." Now, as it appears that the majority of dress-makers are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six, and as it is said that, if they die after marriage, they are not designated thus in the register, the phenomenon admits of ready explanation. "This source of error," he adds, "and the increase of population will be found to affect the estimate of the influence of other occupations. That the lives of dress-makers are very much shortened by the severe hardships and ignorant mistreatment to which they are exposed, cannot be doubted; but false arguments injure instead of aid their cause."

Let us illustrate the error of Dr. Madden's comparative ages a little further by reference to Dr. Lombard's statistics of Geneva,* which comprise the period from 1796 to 1830, and embrace eight thousand four hundred and eighty-eight deaths; and of these deaths, as the object is to determine the influence of professions upon the duration of life, all are males of sixteen and upward.

Dr. Lombard presents, in the order of longevity, a list of forty-two arts, trades, and professions; and at the head of this category stand, first, magistrates, with an average age of 69·1 years; secondly, persons with a fixed income, having a mean age of 65·8 years; thirdly, Protestant clergymen, with a mean age of 63·8; and thus it descends to painters and varnishers, who have an average age of but 44·3 years. Although this shows, what is a fact, that the duration of life varies greatly among different classes of the population; yet it is easy to see that the average age at death is liable to very great error in investigating the influence of rank, profession, and occupation upon health and longevity, inasmuch as some of these are attained only by persons advanced in years, while other occupations are followed only in youth. As colonels and generals, as we have seen, have necessarily a much more advanced age at death than brevet-second lieutenants, and so of venerable judges and bishops compared with barristers and pastors, it requires no great sagacity to see why magistrates stand at the head of the list of longevity in Geneva.

If the republic of Geneva was like that of our own country, there would have existed a general movement of the population from the lower into the higher ranks of society. Thus we find in our own city of New-York that the shop-boy grows into the merchant, the alderman, and finally the mayor; and as these promotions are slow, as a general rule, it is not difficult to perceive, as the higher positions are attained by those only who have a long life, why the magistrates of Geneva, as just remarked, occupy the highest point on the scale of longevity. If health depended on being a magistrate, then were it an admirable hygienic improvement to make magistrates of the whole community; and hence, too, at least in a thriving country like ours, if the mean age of the wealthy and the indigent were made the criterion of the relative health and longevity of the lower and upper classes, the difference would obviously be exaggerated.

* De l'Influence des Professions sur la Durée de la Vie. Recherches Statistiques. Par le Dr. H. C. Lombard, Médecin de l'Hôpital Civil et Militaire de Genève.

If the professions, during the period under observation, are stationary, or if they all increase at the same rate, and the numbers at each age of life continue in the same proportion, the results will be conformable to truth. The danger of error lies in the circumstance, that if any profession, from favorable causes, increases in numbers, the augmentation is due to a disproportion of *young* men; and hence the mean of the ages of death, which would be diminished, would be due, not to the unhealthiness of the profession, but to the disproportionate number of young men.

Our object here is not to criticise Dr. Lombard, who does not forget to caution his readers against comparing the mean age at death of the magistrates with the various occupations, but to show the fallacy of Dr. Madden's mode of determining this question, and which is generally adopted.

It may be here stated that the mortality of no population, or of any class or profession, can be accurately determined without having the ages of the *living* and the *dying* at a given time, that is, an enumeration of the *ages of the living* out of which the deaths occurred at the several periods of life; and this is a relation which has never been ascertained for any country, except Sweden and England.

The data upon which our calculations respecting the *health and longevity of individuals devoted to science and literature* are to be based, consist of 719 members of three French academies, embracing the period from 1685 to 1840, and also of certain data collected by Dr. Casper of Berlin; but before proceeding to this part of the investigation, it may not be amiss to take some general views relative to the deductions drawn by Dr. Lombard at Geneva. We will thus be the better prepared to appreciate what follows.

As the average age of the 8488 male deaths at the age of sixteen and upward is fifty-five years, this is taken by Dr. L. as a mean term; and he consequently assumes that every profession, (which word is meant to include all occupations,) in proportion as the mean age at death of those belonging to it was higher or lower than fifty-five years, is favorable or unfavorable to longevity.

Dr. L., not content with merely giving an exposition of the influence of professions on the duration of life, continues his inquiry into the causes productive of these results; and these investigations throw much light upon some of the most interesting questions of hygiène. The leading points in this inquiry are, *the condition of being rich or poor, the influence of a liberal education, certain circumstances which abridge life by developing consumption, and lastly the accidents to which some workmen are exposed.*

As regards the influence of riches, or rather of easy circumstances on the duration of life, Dr. L. divides all professions into three classes. In one a certain degree of affluence is enjoyed, and in the opposite class, comprehending laborers and the most abject operatives, poverty prevails; while there is a middle class equally removed from comfort and misery. This classification must necessarily be somewhat arbitrary; but the practical knowledge of the population of Geneva possessed by Dr. L., doubtless enabled him to obviate the difficulties presented. A comparison of the tables gives for the three classes here indicated the same result, namely, that life is prolonged in those who enjoy riches and knowledge; the difference between the poor classes and those in easy circumstances being as much as seven years and a half, which is equivalent to one-eighth of the total duration of life.

But as the details of this subject are foreign to our present purpose, a few additional remarks relative to the general results must suffice. There is one other leading circumstance among the causes favorable to a prolonged existence, which is an *active life;* and the influence of this has been estimated by Dr. L. as equivalent to 1·4 years. Thus human existence, under the favorable circumstances of *affluence* and an *active life*, will be extended almost, on the average, nine years.

Among the influences unfavorable to the duration of life, is the want of the favorable circumstances just mentioned—the absence of ease and comfort, with little in the way of pecuniary resources, which, it has been seen, abridges human existence one-eighth. The second unfavorable influence is, the breathing of an atmosphere, as among many artisans, of mineral or vegetable vapors, which diminishes the mean duration of life almost five years. There are two other unfavorable causes, namely, violent deaths and a sedentary life, upon which it is unnecessary to enlarge, further than to present, in a tabular form, a summary of all these influences, arranged in two classes:—

1. *Influences favorable to Life.*

Affluence,	7·5 years.
An active life,	1·4 "

2. *Influences unfavorable to Life.*

Poverty,	7·5 years.
Mineral and vegetable vapors,	4·9 "
Particles suspended in the atmosphere,	2·5 "
Violent deaths,	2·3 "
A sedentary life,	1·4 "

In explanation of the question, how affluence prolongs life, Dr. Lombard refers to two influences, which have a mutual action on each other. The one, a sufficient supply of food and protection against all atmospheric vicissitudes, is entirely physical. The other, more elevated in its nature, is derived from a liberal education, by which man is induced to avoid gross excesses; and thus, while he leads a life more conformable to the laws of hygiène, he also is more prompt to take proper care of himself when his health becomes deranged.

One of the most powerful causes of mortality is, misery with its accompanying privations. The registration of England establishes this fact, which has been statistically demonstrated in other countries. Take any town in England, as for example, Liverpool, and we discover a most remarkable difference of mortality as regards the different classes of the population. Liverpool, 1840:—

No. of deaths.		Average age of deceased.
137	Gentry and professional persons, &c.,	35 years.
1,738	Tradesmen and their families,	22 "
5,597	Laborers, mechanics, servants, &c.,	15 "

That wealth may be justly assumed as a true measure of happiness, and indigence of unhappiness, was long ago demonstrated by M. Villermé, who showed statistically that the ratio among the poor is often twice as high; and taking the entire French population, the same comparison exhibits a duration of life among the poor twelve and a half years shorter. Consequently, while the probability of life at birth, in the one case, is but thirty years, it is, in the other class, extended to forty-two.

A confirmation of these results has been furnished by M. Benoiston de Châteauneuf, (whose data relative to the main object of this investigation we are about bringing before the reader,) in a paper, (*Annal. d'Hygiène Pub.*, tome iii,) entitled, "On the Duration of Life in the Rich and in the Poor." These results are based, on the one hand, on 1600 deaths of persons of the first rank, among which are 157 sovereigns or princes, composing ten crowned families of Europe, and eight other families, who, without bearing the name of king, reign under the different titles of dukes, grand-dukes, electors, landgraves, &c. This class represents the most elevated society, enjoying all the advantages of rank and birth, and all the privileges of power and of wealth. On the other hand, to represent the opposite class, who live in want, subjected to hard labor, pain, and anxiety, and finally die in hospitals, he took 2000 deaths from the civil registers of the state in the twelfth arrondissement

of Paris, the population of which consists of workmen of all kinds, sweepers, delvers, ragmen, day-laborers, &c. The result of these researches, in which the extremes of poverty and wealth are brought together, it will suffice to say, gives the fullest confirmation of the deductions already presented.

It is thus seen that the time-honored opinion, that poverty is conducive to longevity—that the rich are less favored by the blessings of health than the poor—finds no confirmation in statistical investigations. That the hardy and contented poor man is exempt from the diseases of the wealthy and luxurious, is but a poetic fiction. The day has passed by, when the excessive mortality of towns is to be ascribed, as is still done by the world at large, to the agency of *luxury*, as the chief cause. It is now statistically demonstrated, that not only has the poor man a much shorter tenure of life, but suffers more from disease, than his neighbor who possesses in abundance the means of sustenance. As moral and physical evil has a close relation, so also does misery bring in its train disease and death.

We are now prepared for the results obtained by M. Benoiston de Châteauneuf in his researches relative to the duration of life among "*Savans et les Gens de Lettres*."* His data consist of 719 members of the three French academies, entitled "Académie Française," "des Inscriptions," and "des Sciences," and extend over the period from 1635 to 1840.

If it is true, he says, that riches add to the number of our days, how much more must science, which is the truest riches, have the happy privilege of prolonging our existence! And the additional remark may not be out of place, that these three academies afford confirmation of the old opinion, that a man of letters has very rarely a son that succeeds to the talents of the father. On the contrary, as regards the sciences, it is not rare to find, among these academicians, as, for instance, in astronomy, botany, and other departments of natural history, illustrious examples, during the two centuries, in which the talents and the virtues of the father were transmitted from age to age.

Of the 1100 academicians, only 719 have been included in the tables of M. de Châteauneuf, as the requisite data for the calculations could be ascertained in these alone. Besides, all members who did not come under the names of philosophers or men of letters were excluded, and also all foreigners of every class, with the

* De la Durée de la Vie chez les Savans et les Gens de Lettres. Par M. Benoiston de Châteauneuf. *Ann. d'Hyg.*, tome xxv.

exception of such names as MM. de Humboldt, de Saussure, de Candolle, &c. The mean age of all these academicians, at the period of their election, was forty-four years and two months; and this age is to be considered as the period of their birth—their birth as academicians—after the same manner as general tables of mortality commence with 0.

But, in regard to this age, some difference is observed in the different academies. It is for

L'Académie Française,	46 years 2 months.
L'Académie des Inscriptions,	46 " 0 "
L'Académie des Sciences,	41 " 3 "

It thus appears that men of science acquire, at an earlier date than men of letters, that degree of reputation which secures an election as an academician; for, while science is characterized by something positively true and really useful, the productions of the mind, that is, works of taste, rarely obtain unanimous praise. Thus the discoverer of the laws of gravitation found a place, at the age of twenty-four, in the Royal Society of London, and the author of a new system of geology was chosen, at the same age, to a seat in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; while the immortal author of *Jérusalem Délivrée* received, after having passed his fiftieth year, the honors of a tardy triumph, and after he had seen the most learned body of Italy dispute with him his glory, and designate in his poem more of faults than of beauties.

The 758 members of the three academies who exist no more lived 52,188 years, which give to each one of them a mean duration of life of 68 years and 10 months; but, as in the case of admission which had a mean of 44 years and 10 months, this ratio varies in each of the three learned bodies. It is for

L'Académie Française,	69 years 3 months.
L'Académie des Inscriptions,	69 " 7 "
L'Académie des Sciences,	67 " 11 "

And the mean duration of an academician is, at

L'Académie Française,	23 years 1 month.
L'Académie des Inscriptions,	22 " 8 "
L'Académie des Sciences,	26 " 7 "
Mean,	24 " 7 "

It may be here remarked, that of 758 academicians, who together formed the mean age of 68 years and 10 months, 394, or more than the half, passed that epoch, and that of this number a third (145) passed still much further into the vale of years. Thus—

124 lived from 80 to 90 years,—and
21 " " 90 to 100 "

145

Repeating the results of the mean age of admission, which is 44 years and 2 months, and of the mean duration of the life of each member as an academician, which is 24 years and 7 months, we are now prepared to institute a comparison with the law of mortality established by Deparcieux from the lists of the French tontines from 1689 to 1696, which show that then, which was the period when some of these academicians were born, the expectation of life at the age of forty-four years or forty-five was equally about twenty-five years; but, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that the nominees of the tontines were selected individuals, who, as is well known, have a much lower mortality than the population at large. M. de Châteauneuf further compares the expectation of life among the academicians with some recent French tables by M. de Montferrand, which show an expectation at this age of not more than 24 years and 2 months. Thus additional confirmation is afforded of superior longevity among the *savans*. In the life-table given in the Fifth Annual Report of the registrar-general of England, based upon the census of 1841 and the registration of all the deaths, the ages of the living out of which the deaths occurred being enumerated, and which has consequently all the requisites of correctness, the expectation of life, at the age of forty-five, is 23·9 years; in Sweden and Finland, it is 22·1. In the large towns of London and Liverpool, as determined also in 1841, the expectation of life at the age of 45 is in the former but 20 years, and in the latter but 18, while in the more salubrious rural district of Surry, adjoining the metropolis, it is as high as 24 years.

Deparcieux also made some calculations relative to the members of the Academy of Sciences; and, assuming that the mean age of their admission to membership was 35 years, he gave them an existence of 65. M. de Châteauneuf likewise took the ages of a thousand *savans* at hazard, from the *Biographie Universelle*, all born in Europe, and in the eighteenth century; and their mean age at death was found to be 65 years and 10 months. This is certainly a marked confimation.

It is thus seen that upon the philosopher and the man of letters is bestowed a mature longevity, which is doubtless the result of habits of serious study and of profound meditation upon grave and elevated subjects; and this gives to his actions a calmness and

moderation which establish that harmony between the *morale* and the *physique* that is regarded by M. de Châteauneuf as perhaps the only condition of a long existence. It may, indeed, be now regarded as an established axiom, that literary pursuits, whether they require the exercise of the judgment or the imagination, are directly favorable to longevity. That genius is often accompanied with a corporeal system unusually susceptible to impressions, both internal and external, is no doubt true; but even here, as the evils that arise are dependent on collateral circumstances—a neglect or infringement of the hygiènic laws appointed by Divine Wisdom—they are not chargeable to the mental occupation. In addition to the causes before mentioned connected with vital statistics,—why the life of the poet should be the most contracted among those devoted to art, science, and literature, is, the circumstance of the early appearance of their productions, the celebrity of which leads them into a certain kind of society, where habits destructive to health are contracted. Besides, the excitability of their temperament is apt to lead them to indulge in ardent spirits; for example, Burns, Dryden, Pope, Collins, Byron, and—but we will not drag any further the frailties of genius from their "dread abode."

The following table* of female authors, who are exempt from these irregularities, though liable to the objections stated before, gives also a great longevity, the average being 71½ years:—

Names.	*Age.*	*Names.*	*Age.*
1. Lady Russel,	87	12. Mrs. Lennox,	84
2. Mrs. Rowe,	63	13. Mrs. Trimmer,	69
3. Lady M. W. Montagu,	73	14. Mrs. Hamilton,	65
4. Mrs. Centlivre,	44	15. Mrs. Radcliffe,	60
5. Lady Hervey,	70	16. Mrs. Barbauld,	83
6. Lady Suffolk,	79	17. Mrs. Delany,	93
7. Mrs. Sheridan,	47	18. Mrs. Inchbald,	68
8. Mrs. Cowley,	66	19. Mrs. Piozzi,	81
9. Mrs. Macaulay,	53	20. Mrs. Hannah More,	88
10. Mrs. Montague,	81		
11. Mrs. Chapone,	75		1429

But it is not the precious advantage of a long life alone that the culture of the sciences and of letters reserves for those who devote their existence to it; they find in it the sweet influence arising from honor and glory, which shed a halo even around the tomb.

We come now to the consideration of the vital duration of *medical men*—an interesting subject, which has been ably investigated

* Furnished by the London Quarterly Review.

by Professor Casper of Berlin.* His calculations are based upon 700 practicing physicians and surgeons, who are nearly all Germans, and from which he excluded all anatomists, veterinary surgeons, naturalists, and medical men engaged alone in literature. Assuming that the age of twenty-three years forms very nearly the mean of the period of life when the different professions are entered upon, he starts from this age as the epoch of professional birth, in the same manner as the tables of general mortality commence with 0. This table of the mortality of 624 medical men would seem to exhibit the sad certainty that they have a comparatively short vital duration; but if the influence of certain attending circumstances is duly estimated, the result of Professor C.'s researches will no doubt be shorn of much of its terror. Compared with the clergy, Professor C. found that medical men were short livers; for among 100 deaths, while 65 divines survived the sixty-second year, only 40 medical men reached that age. In a following table of ten professions, it will be seen that divines and medical men are in opposite extremes of mortality; but we will here first present Professor C.'s table of 624 deaths in town and country, in which he has deduced the following ages at which 1000 medical men and divines die:—

Between ages.	Medical men.	Divines.
23—32 years,	82	45
33—42 "	149	58
43—52 "	160	64
53—62 "	210	180
63—72 "	228	328
73—82 "	141	255
83—92 "	30	70
	1000	1000

The great liability to error incident to comparisons of this kind has been already shown. It may be, for example, that in Germany, while the clergy are poorly paid, and, consequently, stationary in numbers, the medical profession may have been rapidly increasing numerically; and hence, as the number of young physicians would be disproportionably greater than that of those advanced in years, the mean of the ages at death would not present a fair result. The lower average age at death shown by the mortuary registers would be due, not to the unhealthiness of the profession, but to the increased proportion of members at the younger ages. Again, if

* De la Durée Vitale probable chez les Individus qui exercent la Profession de Médecine. Par le Prof. Casper, à Berlin. *Ann. d'Hyg.*, tome xi.

we admit, which is doubtless the fact, that the clergy take orders later in life than the period at which medical men graduate, here is another source of error. Assuming that there is a difference of five years in these two epochs, it follows that the clergy have a greater expectation of life. Thus the mean duration of life of a profession is exactly expressed by the expectation of life at the mean age of becoming a member, that is, the average age of this last epoch. Hence, according to the table of the English male annuitants, calculated by Finlaison, the expectation of life at twenty is 38·4 years; and, consequently, 38·4+20=58·4 would be the mean age at death of persons entering, at that age, on a profession. On the other hand, if the age of entering is twenty-five, the mean duration of life, according to the same table, is 35·9+25=62·9. Thus a difference of five years in the age of entering upon the same profession, would cause a difference of four years and a half in the expectation of life.

It may be here mentioned that persons accustomed to contemplate fragments of life only—the proverbial uncertainty which marks individual existence—may not be disposed to put implicit confidence in these results. It is demonstrated, however, that the duration of life is submitted to laws as fixed as any other natural phenomena. Man's existence may extend to one hundred years or even more; but the doom of his death, though we know not the time nor the mode, is certain and irrevocable. As every human being, from the moment of his birth, carries in his bosom his own sentence of death, he has no guaranty from present circumstances to count the next hour his own; and this uncertainty, as regards a solitary individual of the human species, so well expressed in the burial service—"In the midst of life we are in death"—is extended, in the popular thought, to the community at large—to mankind viewed in the collective masses of nations. It is now demonstrated, however, that mortality is subject to a law, the operation of which is not less certain and regular than that of gravitation. It is proved by observation that, in the successive rise of generations, in the gradual development of their energies, and the consequent process of decay, mortality and sickness observe fixed laws—that they are always the same under the same circumstances, and only vary in proportion as the causes favorable or unfavorable to health preponderate.

The physiology of the animal economy intimates that it was formed to exist in healthy action during a period of threescore and ten years; yet, in consequence of a defective organization, whether hereditary or acquired, or from the immediate agency of sur-

rounding physical causes, every generation gives a certain ratio who fall sick at all ages, and of these a certain number die. The number of years that one thousand individuals, at the age of forty, for instance, have to live, may be predicted with a preciseness that cannot err more than a few months.

But to return to medical men. The great majority of statisticians concur in putting them high on the scale of mortality, as appears from the following table by Casper and Lombard, in which are given the numbers in one hundred deaths, in different professions, who have attained seventy years and upward :—

	Casper.	Lombard.
Clergymen,	42	46
Agriculturists,	40	27
Clerks of public offices,	33	36
Barristers,	29	42
School-masters,	27	—
Medical men,	24	33

The opinion that medical men, as a class, have a high mortality, notwithstanding examples of the attainment of extreme old age among them is not rare, is also entertained by Mr. Chadwick, who gives, for 1839, the following as the average age at death of the three professions in England :—Clergymen, fifty-nine ; lawyers, fifty ; and physicians, forty five.

Lastly, we shall present the results obtained from the ages at death of eight hundred and fifty medical men, who were distinguished writers and cultivators of medical science, compiled by M. Du Bois from the Dictionnaire Historique de la Medecine, par Eloy. This table, in which forty-two in one hundred attained the age of seventy years and upward, was adduced by M. Du Bois, in confutation of Casper's deductions :—

Table of the Expectation of Life, deduced from the Deaths of seven hundred and seventy-eight Medical Men, at forty Years of Age and upward, compared with the Tables of English and French Annuitants, the Tables of Sweden and Finland, of Liverpool and Stockholm.

Ages.	778 Medical Men.	Male English Annuitants. (Fenlaison.)	French Annuitants. (Deparcieux.) Male & female.	Sweden and Finland. Males.	Liverpool. Males.	Stockholm. Persons.
40	27·14	27·0	27·5	24·6	21	18·12
50	19·96	20·3	20·4	17·9	16	13·81
60	13·74	14·4	14·3	12·2	—	9·52
70	9·04	9·2	8·7	7·3	—	5·36
Expectation of life. 40	67·14	67·0	67·5	64·6	61	58·12

Contrary, perhaps, to all other results, these distinguished medical men enjoyed a vitality as high as the annuitants of England or France, which are selected lives; while, compared with the general population of Sweden and Finland, or with the cities of Liverpool and Stockholm, the latter are far surpassed. At forty years of age, the expectation of life with the medical men, as shown in the lowest line, gives a favorable comparative expression.

From a survey of the preceding investigations in their diversified details, it is sufficiently obvious that life is a very fluctuating quantity. "It fluctuates," as is well said by the learned Dr. Southwood Smith, in his "Philosophy of Health," "in different countries at the same period; in the same country at different periods; in the same country, at the same period, in different places; in the same country, at the same period, in the same place, among different classes; in the same country, at the same period, in the same place, among the same class, at the different determinate stages of life. Some few of these fluctuations, and more especially the last, depend upon the primary constitution of the organization in which life itself has its seat, over which man has little or no control. The great part of them depend on external and adventitious agencies over which man has complete control. Human ignorance, apathy, and indolence, may render the duration of life, in regard to large classes and entire countries, short; human knowledge, energy, and perseverance, may extend the duration of life far beyond what is commonly imagined."

It is thus also seen, that in every portion of the globe which man has made his abode, he is surrounded by noxious agents, by which the functions of his system are constantly liable to be deranged, and life itself to be extinguished; but these causes of mortality are resisted by a power inherent in man's constitution—the *vis conservatrix*, or, as it has been called, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. Now, according to the relative power of these two forces, the one destructive and the other conservative, must be the actual mortality; and as this conservative power becomes weak in certain states of the system, a delicate test of the presence and potency of the destructive agents is afforded. Such are more particularly the condition of the system among lying-in women, among infants, among the inhabitants of large towns as compared with those of the country, and among different classes of the same community. Consequently, the rate of mortality in every age and country among infants, the sick, and women in the parturient state, affords a measure of the relative degree of influence, as regards the whole population,

exercised by the two opposing powers—the *vis conservatrix* and the noxious agents surrounding man.

"The change that has taken place," says Dr. Southwood Smith, "in the condition of lying-in women during the last century in all the nations of Europe, cannot be contemplated without astonishment. The mortality of lying-in women in France, at the Hotel Dieu of Paris, in 1780, is stated to have been 1 in 15. In 1817, for the whole kingdom of Prussia, including all ranks, it was 1 in 112. In England, in the year 1750, at the British Lying-in Hospital of London, it was 1 in 42; in 1780, it diminished to 1 in 60; in the years between 1789 and 1798, it further decreased to 1 in 288; in 1822, at the Lying-in Hospital of Dublin, it was no more than 1 in 223; while during the last fifteen years at Lewes, a healthy provincial town, out of 2410 cases there have been only two deaths, that is, 1 in 1205. There is no reason to suppose that the mortality in the state of parturition is less at Lewes than in any other equally-healthy country town in England."

It further appears, if the accuracy of the data can be relied on, that within a century the progressive diminution of mortality in Europe, among the sick of all ages, has been equally marked.

That the mean duration of life has been extended with the advance of Christianity and civilization, is a well-known fact. In consequence of greater security in person and property, more certain returns in the various industrial pursuits, better and more abundant food, and other causes of a kindred nature, the civilized and Christianized countries of the present day give a higher average of the duration of human life than perhaps at any other period of the world's history.

Many examples might be adduced of countries, once well governed, and consequently prosperous and healthy, which, by a change of rulers, became a scene of desolation and of pestilence. A case in point is afforded by the altered aspect of Palestine, which, instead of having as formerly a crowded population dwelling in a "land flowing with milk and honey," is now almost a desert, possessed by the roaming and lawless Arabs. The same fate, with the loss of liberty, has awaited Greece and Italy. As their cities fell into decay, in the same ratio as poverty took the place of wealth, was vigorous health supplanted by disease, and thus also was the rural population diminished. Thus have the face of Italy, and in a corresponding degree its climate, as regards salubrity, been changed at three or four distinct periods. By the incursions of barbarian conquerors, her cities and villas have been more than once sacked and burned, these despoilers laying waste at the same

time her fields and vineyards; and to these causes of diminution of population were soon added famine and pestilence. The most highly-cultivated districts of ancient Italy, as for instance Latium, with her hundred cities, now present the dismal aspect of desolation. How melancholy are these changes! The very temples and groves dedicated to Hygeia and Æsculapius are now the chosen seats of malaria!

Similar examples of desolation, resulting from the same causes in other countries, might be readily adduced. In the history of Holland we have a noble instance of how a people, sustained by free institutions, have been enabled not only to triumph over the most discouraging circumstances of physical geography, but even to convert these very circumstances into so many sources of wealth. Were these stimulants to industry, however, taken away by the oppression, for instance, of domestic tyrants, we should soon have, in proportion as her dikes fall to decay, another example of desolation breathing pestilence, and as a consequence depopulation.

It is thus seen that history clearly establishes an inseparable connection between health and longevity on the one hand, and social order and good government on the other. The true sign of a real and permanent increase of population is, says Baron Humboldt, the increase of the means of subsistence; and hence we cannot but admit that an important truth is represented by the metaphorical expression of a political economist—"*Wherever there is a loaf added, there is a man born.*"

All investigations of this nature lead clearly to the irresistible conclusion, that if, in God's government of the affairs of men, there is one truth more plainly written than another, it is, that in proportion as civil liberty and virtue prevail, in proportion as the laws are just, securing the greatest good of the greatest number, and in proportion as the people are industrious and enlightened, will man be exempt from disease, his life be longer, and his happiness greater; and in view of the great mortality of the lower classes, in teaching the poor man how to be healthy, he will to the same extent be taught how to be virtuous, prosperous, and contented. These facts are, indeed, of the highest importance equally to the philanthropist, the philosopher, and the Christian; for, while health is improved and the mean duration of life is extended through proper hygienic measures, crime is, at the same time, diminished and prisons are emptied.

As the maximum of the happiness of the mass is to be sought in the maximum of individual happiness, and as the sources of happiness have their origin in the depths of man's physical organization,

it ought to be the leading object of all communities to reach the perfection of this physical condition. Indeed, according to the perfection or imperfection of the latter, if the regular course of life is interrupted by no accident, is its length or brevity. These two conditions exercise a mutual influence. If the physical condition is neglected, the mental powers cannot be fully developed; and the enjoyment of happiness, in truth, presupposes a certain degree of perfection in the physical organization. A sound physical condition is itself a rich source of enjoyment; while this very corporeal soundness is still further improved by a permanent state of enjoyment. Were these two conditions, then, always in harmony—a perfection of physical organization and a permanent state of mental enjoyment—human existence would always be extended to the utmost bounds compatible with original conformation. Longevity then is an object to be desired; for it is, as a general rule, coincident with happiness. Happiness without longevity there may be; but the converse—longevity without happiness—is not possible, inasmuch as long life is incompatible with the mental condition that necessarily accompanies bad health. If the mind is in a state of suffering, to maintain the physical functions in a natural and vigorous condition is impossible. Let our object, therefore, be to impart and receive the largest measure of the noblest, the most exalted enjoyment. Enjoyment, however, is not to be understood as the only aim of life; but so closely are happiness and longevity connected, that it is the only condition of life compatible with a protracted term of existence. Longevity, it may be repeated, is surely desirable, inasmuch as it infers a well-spent, happy life. How precious, then, as bad men seldom attain longevity, are the days of a good old man who has entered the vale of years with chastened feelings and matured experience:—

> "Age sits with decent grace upon his visage,
> And worthily becomes his silver locks;
> He wears the marks of many years well spent,
> Of virtue, truth well tried, and wise experience."

How exceedingly important, in the judgment of the Jewish legislator, was the attainment of longevity, appears, when, as the motive to every moral duty and every religious observance, he made the promise, THAT THY DAYS MAY BE LONG IN THE LAND WHICH THE LORD THY GOD HATH GIVEN THEE.

ART. VIII.—*Grammar of the Greek Language, for the use of High Schools and Colleges.* By Dr. RAPHAEL KÜHNER, Conrector of the Lyceum, Hanover. Translated from the German by B. B. EDWARDS, Professor in the Theological Seminary, and S. H. TAYLOR, Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover. Pp. vi, 604. Andover: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: Mark H. Newman. London: Wiley and Putnam. 1844.

WE heartily congratulate our readers, and all lovers of sound learning, on the appearance of this volume; and this not merely because it opens to all access to a Greek Grammar very much superior to those which have hitherto appeared in the English language, and offers a most valuable aid in the more thorough study of the Greek—such an aid as was to be found only in the German language—but also because it brings us assurance of the advancement making by our countrymen in the scientific study of language. We have an honest pride in claiming for our countrymen the credit of having put into an English dress the most scientific Greek Grammar which has yet been produced. It only remains for our colleges and universities to sustain the enterprising publishers, and we confidently look forward to the day when the grammar schools and academies will be supplied with elementary grammars suited to guide the learner in his first steps in the acquisition of the Greek language. This is not the first indication that a better spirit is abroad, and that we cannot longer be satisfied with the miserably meager things which passed under the name of Greek Grammars, such as Valpy's, Fisk's, and the like; nor even with the valuable but imperfect grammar of Buttmann, which, having accomplished its noble mission of good, must give place to others occupying a more advanced position. We shall now be able to put into the hands of our youth a grammar which cannot be mastered without not only securing a respectable knowledge of the language of which it gives the grammatical forms and the syntax, but, what is of more moment, giving a healthful exercise to the mind. This is a great gain: for with regard to the poor apologies for Greek Grammars which most of our colleges, and our academies almost without exception, have adopted and retained as the vehicles of grammatical instruction in the Greek language, one might know everything contained in them and yet have no really accurate knowledge of Greek, and be as ignorant of the science of grammar as of Chinese. We can now judge whether our colleges mean to plod on in the old way, or to bestir themselves, and make an effort

to keep pace with the progress of knowledge in this department by substituting copious and accurate grammars for the dull trash which too many of them have continued to countenance. We are glad that no school of higher grade can longer find an apology for wasting the time and means of youth in superficial and merely empirical teaching, and that we may hope to take out of the hands of the enemies of classical learning their most formidable weapon of attack. The English translation of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar was too copious and too expensive to be generally used in colleges, and was wholly unsuited to preparatory schools. It was adopted as a text-book in but one public institution in the country, so far as we are apprised, namely, the Virginia University, and there only for the graduating class. Rost's Greek Grammar, which has been translated in England, and deservedly has a very high reputation in Germany, has not been accessible to the American student unless conversant with German; and although it has very great merits, among which may be reckoned by some the simplicity of its classification, it is, at the same time, less satisfactory in its exhibition of the grammatical forms of words, and in the syntax gives a less complete view of the present state of grammatical science in this department. It seems to us that the translators have done a better service by selecting Kühner's Grammar to present to the American public, and that their offering should be thankfully accepted.

Of the execution of the translation we have not the means of forming so accurate a judgment as we could desire, having before us only the first edition of the original, from which the second edition used by the translators would seem to vary considerably. The task of translating a grammar written in German is attended with difficulty, from the fact that the German language is so much richer than the English in forms by which to express, without circumlocution, the more exact relations between thoughts, and that it admits so much more readily compounds, however new, which can be imitated in English only to a very limited degree. Besides, to most merely English readers, the more recondite doctrines of grammar, and the terms in which they are conveyed, are more or less novel, and forms of expression which, to one familiar with the German writings on philosophy, are easy and of obvious import, can hardly be rendered directly and literally into English so as to convey a clear and definite sense. The translator has to choose between two difficulties; either he must render the original less literally, or he must appear in a dress somewhat foreign, and adopt forms of expression which may offend the English reader's taste.

The translators have chosen the latter course, and by adhering closely to the original have sometimes admitted expressions which to many readers may seem obscure or harsh. We are not sure that it would not be better, in the general, to attempt no more than to seize the idea of the author, and aim simply to transfer it into the more usual forms of the English language. What is the obvious meaning of the term "principal sentence?" (§ 259.) In English we speak of the chief or leading as opposed to the subordinate member of a proposition; but the term "principal sentence" conveys quite another notion, and one not intended by the original. It may be hoped, however, that the careful student will hardly fail of apprehending the sense of the translated text, aided especially, as he will be, by the examples adduced in illustration. And, so far as we have found opportunity to examine the translation, we can commend it as furnishing as good a version of the original as the liberal mode adopted could be expected to afford.

The occasion of introducing to our readers a translation of a highly-valued grammar would seem to allow us the privilege of saying something of the absolute merits of the original work itself; and under other more favorable circumstances, namely, with less constraint than our narrow limits and the necessary character of this notice impose on us, we would willingly, though with much diffidence of our qualifications for it, address ourselves to the task. As it is, we will venture briefly to set down some things which our acquaintance with Dr. Kühner's Grammar has suggested to us. While we cordially concur in the general sentence of approbation which Dr. Kühner's grammars have met with, we have at the same time found in the Schulgrammatik, as well as in his Ausführliche Grammatik, what we conceive to be defects and errors worthy of note. Thus the foundation of the etymology is laid in the nature and relations of the sounds represented by the letters; and the explanation of these we expect to find in the definition of the two great classes of letters, vowels and consonants. The former are articulate sounds formed by the uninterrupted emission of the air through the vocal tube; and the difference between one vowel sound and another is made by the peculiar shape given to the vocal tube, and its compression or expansion at certain points: compare *a* and *o*, *e* and *i*. The latter are articulate sounds formed by the interruption of the air as it proceeds along the vocal tube; and the difference between one consonant and another is made by interrupting the air at different points, and with greater or less force: compare *b* with *c*, or *g*, *d*, *t*, uttered at the end of a syllable, as *eb*, *ec*, *ed*, *et*. Again, the liquids or semivowels are formed by a par-

tial interruption of the air sent through the vocal tube, as *l*, *m*, &c. It is seen at once, and from their very definition, why the vowels may be indefinitely prolonged in sound, the liquids somewhat, and the mute consonants not at all. From the nature of these sounds respectively result the laws of the prosody or the length of syllables, and from their relations to each other the laws which govern the interchange of letters made in passing from one dialect to another. Now what is said on this fundamental subject in § 3, 2, of the translation, viz.: "the sounds which are emitted almost without any action of the throat, tongue, and lips, and which proceed in the freest manner from the breast, are called vowels; the rest are consonants," appears to us wholly insufficient to convey any just ideas of the character of the sounds represented by the vowel and consonant signs. We can only advert here to the want of accuracy, or, to say the least, of completeness, in the definition of the hiatus, § 8; to the looseness of such statements as that *ν* is changed into *α*, (§ 18, 1,) both the fact and the explanation being inconsistent with acknowledged principles; to the constantly-repeated oversight involved in saying that the ρ in *βαθύῤῥοος* is doubled for the sake of euphony, when it is so manifestly an example of a letter written double for the simple reason that, the stress of the voice falling on it, it is doubled in pronunciation; to the improbable assertion that *τ* in *βλάπτω* is inserted merely to strengthen the consonant *π*, (§ 24, 1, (*α*),) and that the gen. *γενεος* is instead of *γενεσος*; (§ 16, 1;) to the carelessness of expression seen in the statement that *π*, *β*, *φ*, coming before *σ*, are changed into *ψ*, (§ 20, 1,) when it can only have been meant that these letters coming before *σ* unite with it to form the compound letter *ψ*; to the etymological legerdemain exhibited in showing that in *ἐννῡμι*—instead of *ἐσ-νυμι vestio*—the *σ* is assimilated to the following *ν*, and in *εἰμί*—instead of *εσ-μί*—*σ* is omitted, but *ε* is lengthened into *ει*, (§ 20, Rem. 3,) the fact being that in *ἐννυμι* the radix is *ἐ*, Lat. *ve*, and the termination *νυμι*, of which the *ν* being doubled in pronunciation by the stress of the voice is written double—compare *δείκ-νυμι*; and that in *εἰμί* the radix is *ε*, as in Lat. *e-st*, *e-sse*, the lengthening of *ε* into *ει* not requiring the assumption of a *σ* to explain it. Again, we can do no more than express our opinion that in § 27, on the quantity of syllables, a grammar which is philosophical as well as practical in its character, should have stated the ground of the rule as well as the rule itself.

Among the more difficult and important tasks of the grammarian must be reckoned the giving clear and accurate, and at the same time brief definitions. In this we cannot say that Dr. Kühner

has always been successful, nor that the second edition of the Schulgrammatik, as known to us in the translation, has always improved upon the first. Thus in § 38, adjectives are said to express a property, as great, small, &c. Now the name of a property, according to § 38, 2, (1), is a substantive; and so the definition of an adjective is the same as that of a substantive, and no distinction is made between them. And, in fact, an adjective so far as it is merely the name of a property or quality is a substantive, nothing more; and hence the familiar fact that when used in this sense alone it furnishes many abstract substantive nouns, as τὸ καλόν "the beautiful." But the peculiarity of the adjective noun is, that it names a quality as attached to an object—as its attribute; so that the word *small*, in the example *a small house*, not only names the property of *smallness*, but marks that it is attached to an object as its attribute. This distinction, attended, it is true, by a false definition of the participle, is given by our author at § 74, but without perhaps giving sufficient prominency to it. In the same way the briefer definition of the pronouns (§ 38, 2, (3,)) viz., that they are words which "refer to an object," is totally insufficient; and the fuller and more distinct definition given in § 86, 1, viz., that "Pronouns do not like substantives express the idea of an object, but only *the relation of an object to the speaker*," can hardly be said to be accurate, since the words, *I, thou, he*, are really the names of objects, standing it is true in peculiar relations, yet not the less on that account objects, and not mere relations. Again, verbs are said to be words which "express action," (§ 38, 5,) and in the fuller definition in § 102, 1, it is stated that "the verb expresses an action, which is affirmed of a subject."—Whether the affirmation of the action constitutes a part of the verb the definition does not tell us; and yet this is the only characteristic mark by which we can distinguish the verb properly so called from certain nouns, and attention to it as distinguished from the other element of the verb enables us to find a clue to guide us through the otherwise perplexing doctrines of the moods, tenses, &c. It is certain, from § 253, (b,) that our author recognizes with more or less distinctness the affirmation as that part of the verb which is varied by the moods; and yet he has failed to avail himself of this truth to elucidate satisfactorily the distinction between the moods, and the true character of the tenses. When the tenses are said (§ 253, (a)) to express "the relation of time of the predicate," we cannot but regret the absence of the clearness which is here requisite. Does the "time of the predicate" mean the time of action or of the affirmation? Certainly of the action: but if so, why not say it, seeing

that this point determined we shall be able to answer some otherwise perplexing questions regarding the use of the tenses. Further, the moods are said (§ 253, (b)) to express "the relation of the affirmation contained in the predicate to the subject," and in § 258, 2, it is stated that "the moods exhibit the relation in which a thought that is expressed, stands to the mind of the speaker." Neither definition, in our humble opinion, is satisfactory. The speaker or writer uses different moods or different forms, so called, according to the different manner in which he would have the hearer or reader understand him, as affirming the action or state contained in the verb—affirming or declaring it as something actual, he uses the indicative; as something which may or may not be, as an assumption, conjecture, and the like, he uses the subjunctive or optative; and when he would directly urge or enjoin it upon the hearer, &c., he uses the imperative. Now when it is said that the modes express the relation of the affirmation to the subject, or the relation of a thought that is expressed to the mind of the speaker, we are not sure that we recognize in this dress a simple and important truth. We are satisfied, after all that has been written on this subject, that the manner in which this important part of the grammar is presented is yet wanting in the clearness and simplicity of which it is susceptible.

Much as we find to commend in that part of Dr. Kühner's Grammar which is occupied with the forms of words, we would gladly see some things altered, or if we may be allowed, without the charge of presumption, to speak our mind freely, corrected. To point out all the instances which our acquaintance with the work has obliged us to note, would not be suitable to the limits of this notice; but we may mention a few by way of examples. The first declension has the root ending in *α* or *η*. If so, the nominative sing. has no ending, but is denoted simply by the root. Why, then, in the paradigm, print *δίκ-η*, *δίκ-ης*, &c., as if the root were *δικ*, and not *δίκη*, and as if *η* were the sign of the nominative; *ης* of the genitive, &c.? What is intended by the form *μν-ᾶ*? What is the root, and what is *ᾶ* (=*άα*)? The second declension has the root ending in *ο*, and the nom. sing. would, e. g., be *λόγο-ς*. What but confused notions can the student get from the form *λόγ-ος* as printed in the paradigm (§ 46,) and so of *λε-ώς* (§ 48)? The classification of the nouns of the third declension is such as cannot fail to commend itself to every attentive reader as greatly superior to that of Buttmann, Matthiæ, Rost, &c., and as answering in the main the requisites of a scientific classification. We would suggest, however, that the second and third classes (§ 52,) properly speaking belong

together, and should form but one. They have, for their common characteristic, admitting a very few exceptions, or rather throwing out some which have no place here, as *δᾶμαρ, λέων, ἥρως, αιδώς*, the ending of the root in the liquids *ν, ρ*. Such of them as have a short vowel preceding the radical ending lengthen it, the voice resting on the final syllable, or by way of compensation. This classification would, we think, be not only simpler and more consistent with general principles, but would relieve us from the necessity of assuming such monstrosities as rad. *αιδος*, gen. *αιδόσ-ος*; rad. *ἥρως*, gen. *ἥρωσ-ος*. We think it would be better to make *σέλας* (§ 52, 3) an exception to the general rule for neuters, rather than admit such a form as gen. *σέλασ-ος*.

The formation of the comparative and superlative is simplified, as compared with that commonly given, but is hardly to be justified throughout on etymological principles. We mention, in illustration, the statement that certain adjectives in *ος*, as *εὔδιος*, &c., after dropping *ος* insert the syllable *αι*, as *μέσ-ος*, comp. *μεσ-αί-τερος*; and that adj. in *ης*, gen. *ου*, shorten the ending *ης* into *ις*, e. g. *κλέπτ-ης*, comp. *κλεπτ-ισ-τερος*. Omitting other instances, we remark, that taking the general rule, the root is *μεσο*, and the regular comp. would be *μεσω-τερος*, from which the comp. *μεσαί-τερος* differs only in substituting *αι* instead of *ω* for the lengthened form of final *ο* of the radix; and that in *κλέπτη-ς* the rad. is *κλεπτη*, not *κλεπτ*, and the comparative *σ-τερος*, *σ* being inserted in the same way as in *δε-σμός*; and then the comp. *κλεπτί-στερος* varies from the common form by substituting *ι* for *η* at the end of the radix.

A few points in the formation of the verb we would have been glad to remark upon, but must confine ourselves to a few words respecting the augment and reduplication. Buttmann and others seemed to consider the reduplication as another augment: Kühner has consulted both accuracy and convenience in separating them entirely. Again, no distinction, so far as we are aware, had been before made between the signification of the prefix called an augment and that called a reduplication. Kühner has distinctly assigned to the reduplication the office of denoting completed action; and yet has omitted to mark the equally-obvious office of the augment to denote past time. We have long been struck by the omission of grammarians to notice this distinction. That no one may doubt its reality, let him consider, to say nothing of other proofs, the fact that the pluperfect in the indicative has both the reduplication and the augment, to denote both completed action and past time; and that the reduplication is retained in the optative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, and participles, all of which admit

the idea of completed action. We feel bound to add that Dr. Kühner has left little to be desired in regard to the forms, and generally in regard to the signification of the verb, which we are pleased to see occupying in the translation a place after, instead of before, the nouns, &c.

We find peculiar pleasure in commending the syntax of our author, which both in its details and in its classification has the merit of being based on scientific principles. Whether this classification be the best practically and theoretically which the subject admits of we cannot undertake here to examine, although we are free to express our opinion that it will assuredly give the student not only more just ideas of the relations between the various parts of a sentence than were to be found in the grammars published, but ideas which those grammars did not even attempt to present. Some may find the arrangement of the materials composing the syntax too complicated, but let not such judge hastily, remembering that the difficulty may arise from the mere necessity of a more thorough comprehension of the connection and mutual dependency of the parts composing a discourse, and not from anything needlessly complicated in the arrangement itself.

Of the details of the syntax, although we cannot agree with the author in some of his views, we feel authorized to speak in terms of the highest praise. No important usage of the language has, we feel assured, been omitted, and the explanations given are generally satisfactory. Even in the cases in which we would venture to differ from the author, we find the labor of research greatly lightened by a copious citation of examples under the appropriate head. To give an illustration or two of our remark: the accusative (§ 276) does not, we think, indicate "the object toward which the action of the verb is directed" (the *whither-case*, as our translators have it)—that is, the dative properly so called—but the object actually reached by the motion or action of the verb; and hence its various significations of amount of measure, result, or effect, &c. Nor, again, is the dative the *where-case*, this being utterly irreconcilable with other significations of this case, and appropriate only to the cases in which it performs the office of the Locativus of the Sanscrit Grammars, and should have this of another name, say that of ablative, following the Latin Grammars. The dative properly denotes the object aimed at by the action or motion of the verb. From this signification is to be distinguished that in which a case of the same form denotes the instrument, and which should be referred to a different head. To bring these totally different significations into one class, and give to them the same definition, is con-

trary to all just principles of classification, and tends to endless confusion. We prefer to follow Thiersch in making two cases of the same form, just as is done in Latin, calling one the dative, the other the ablative. The method which Kühner has adopted from preceding grammarians has led him into theories of the uses of the cases, and of the prepositions as connected with them, which we are obliged to regard as totally unfounded.

In conclusion, we have no other apology to offer for the more than usually-extended notice which we have taken of this work than the desire we had to testify our sense of its merits by presenting something more than a general expression of approbation. We ought to add that the work is exceedingly well got up, both as to the paper and type.

Art. IX.—*Critical Notices.*

1. *Life of Martin Luther. To which is prefixed an Expository Essay on the Lutheran Reformation.* By Rev. George Cubit. With an Appendix, containing a Chronological Table of the principal Events occurring during the Period of Luther's Life. 12mo., pp. 348. New-York: Lane & Sandford. 1844.

The subject of this book is, for its real grandeur, unrivaled among the subjects of merely human history. It has been so often touched by the greatest masters, that it requires uncommon courage to approach it, and uncommon talents to present it in its real greatness, and to surround it with its native splendors. Mr. Cubit, however, has not degraded his theme. This book is a spirited performance, and reflects honor upon the head and heart of the author. We have only time and space to say we hope this Life of Luther will be extensively circulated and read by our preachers and people.

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2. *Hyponoia; or, Thoughts on a Spiritual Understanding of the Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation. With some Remarks upon the Parousia, or Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and an Appendix upon the Man of Sin.* 8vo. Pp. 707. New-York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1844.

We have here a large and labored work upon the Apocalypse. We have not been able to see how the author (who for some reason conceals himself) has carried out his principles of interpretation. His plan is thus stated in the preface:—

"The Apocalypse has been generally supposed to contain a prophetic account of certain political and ecclesiastical changes in the

history of the visible church of Christ; instead of this, it is here taken to be an unveiling of the mysterious truths of Christian doctrine, with an exhibition of certain opposite errors—a revelation made by Jesus Christ of *himself*—an intellectual manifestation; corresponding with what is apprehended to be the Scripture purport of the *second coming of the Son of man*."

We have been accustomed to look with about equal doubt upon those expositions of the Revelation which give "a local habitation and a name" to all the symbols of the book, and those which, like our author, *spiritualize* them all. There may be much useful historical matter in the former class, and much clear Christian doctrine and excellent religious discourse in the latter; but which has found out the accurate meaning of the revelator, or whether both are not wrong, is quite another matter. We as yet are so blind as to coincide somewhat with Adam Clarke in the opinion, that the book of the Revelation is not yet understood by any human being living. There is in the work upon our table the appearance of learning and research, and for those who have a taste for this class of expositions of the prophecies it probably has strong attractions.

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3. *Christ our Example.* By CAROLINE FRY, author of "The Listener," "Scripture Reader's Guide," &c., &c. 12mo., pp. 285. New-York: J. C. Riker, 129 Fulton-street. 1844.

THIS is emphatically a *good book*. There is upon its pages a glow of holy fervor—the outbeamings of a divine spirituality—a blazing of the light of deep experience in the things of God. No pious mind can come into contact with the spirit and sentiments of this work without an increase of pious affections, and especially a longing to be more like CHRIST. When our publishers employ their capital in sending out into the world such books as "Christ our Example," they ought to be patronized by all evangelical Christians, and they will certainly meet with the approbation and blessing of the great Head of the church.

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4. *The whole Works of Robert Leighton, D. D., Archbishop of Glasgow.* To which is prefixed, a *Life of the Author.* By JOHN NORMAN PEARSON. With a Table of the Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects discussed; compiled expressly for this edition. New-York: John C. Riker.

WE are gratified at length to announce the completion of this important and long-desired work. Among our standard writers of the seventeenth century, probably not one ranks higher for his felicitous unfolding of divine truth than Leighton; and as there was no American

edition, the Commentary and Expositions of that renowned writer were beyond the reach of ordinary purchasers. Mr. Riker therefore has conferred a great favor upon the religious community by stereotyping this collection of Leighton's productions; which, we learn by the prefatory notice, is the only copy that includes all his known articles; being the collection of every disquisition and letter which are found in the last standard editions both of London and Edinburgh. It consequently comprises more matter than either of those copies separately. But the value of the present edition is greatly augmented by the additional facts connected with his life, as extracted from the Edinburgh edition; and, above all, by the enlarged indexes which he has procured for the whole series of commentaries, expositions, lectures, and sermons. In neither of the European copies was there a single reference to the multifarious topics on which the erudite author has discoursed; so that it was almost impossible to recur to any theme, however important and desirable, which the reader wished to reperuse. This deficiency has been supplied by indexes extending to thirty-one pages, which alone, to the possessors of the foreign copies, are worth more than the price of the whole work. The following is rather a rhetorical, but still a true view of the productions of this eminent divine:—"Leighton is great by the magnificence of his thoughts; by the spontaneous emanations of a mind replete with sacred knowledge, and bursting with seraphic affections; and by that pauseless gush of intellectual splendor, in which the intermediate letter is eclipsed and almost annihilated, that full scope may be given to the mighty effulgence of the informing spirit."

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5. *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* By Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo.

The person who has not carefully studied Butler's "Analogy of Religion" may be thankful that there is one book, at least, in which he will "meet with many things to which he has not before attended." It bears the indelible stamp of originality and perpetuity. The disquisition contains two parts—I. On Natural, and II. On Revealed Religion. The seven chapters of the first part comprise an exposition of the "*Future Life—the Government of God—and a State of Probation.*" The second part includes eight chapters on the "*Importance of Christianity—its peculiar System—the Evidences for it—and the Evidence of Analogy.*" To a reflecting student, this work is beyond all price; and ignorance of its contents is a proof of defect in theological acquirements. The illumination which Butler's "Analogy of Religion" sheds

is indispensable; and the disciples who have not surveyed the visible works of Jehovah and the doctrines of the gospel through Butler's mental telescope should instantly purchase his precious double reflector, that they may perceive the glory of God in the "great mystery of godliness," as well as in the wonders of the heavens.

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6. *The Obligations of the World to the Bible; a Series of Lectures to Young Men.* By GARDNER SPRING, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the city of New-York. New-York: J. S. Taylor & Co.

DR. SPRING'S Lectures on the Influence of the Bible were first published some four or five years since, and were then favorably received by the religious and literary public. The first edition having been some time since exhausted, the work had become scarce in the market, and hard to be procured. To meet the demand of the public, another edition is now issued. The work requires no recommendation among those to whom it is known, but we fear that it is not duly appreciated, because it is not more generally read. We could most heartily wish that a copy of it were in every family, and that it could be read and pondered by every person in our land. The learned author has done a good service in pointing out the world's indebtedness to this, the true source of real and substantial good to mankind. It is wise to direct the thirsty traveler to the fountain, where the waters are always pure, rather than to the more distant streams, where truth is mingled with human prejudices and the wisdom of the world. No one, we think, after reading these Lectures, can fail to be more fully persuaded of the transcendent excellence of the Bible, as a system of religious truth and moral discipline. To young men especially—the class of persons immediately addressed—this volume is an invaluable present, and it is to be hoped that very many may be led by it, not only to esteem the Bible more highly, but also to study its sacred pages, so as to fashion their characters by its spirit, and to order their lives by its sacred precepts.

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7. *Neal's History of the Puritans.* Edited by Rev. J. O. CHOULES. Harper & Brothers.

THE Harpers are doing good service to the cause of religious freedom by issuing, in a form so cheap and accessible, this standard history of a most heroic and devoted people. The importance of the great events in which they were engaged to the cause of truth can scarcely be estimated; and passing events show too clearly the necessity of making more familiar to the common mind the great princi-

ples upon which they acted, and the successive steps by which they succeeded in redeeming the church from its ancient and oppressive thraldom. The work is issued in numbers, each of which is sold at twenty-five cents.

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8. *The Works of Hannah More.* Harper & Brothers.

THE delightful and excellent miscellaneous works of Hannah More have just been published by the Harpers in a series of numbers, at a rate so cheap that we hope they will find their way into the hands of thousands throughout the country to whom they have been hitherto unknown. They are among the best productions of sanctified genius, and are admirably adapted to impress upon the mind the principles and truths of the Christian religion, and to recommend them to practice.

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9. *An Improved Grammar of the English Language, on the Inductive System: with which Elementary and Progressive Lessons in Composition are combined. For the Use of Schools and Academies, and Private Learners.* By REV. BRADFORD FRAZEE, some time Principal of Elizabeth Female Academy, Washington, Mi. 12mo., pp. 192. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. New-York: M. H. Newman. 1844.

WE have not had sufficient time to examine this grammar, to enable us to decide confidently upon its merits. The several particulars in which the author claims to have improved upon former grammars are truly important. He has thoroughly studied the philosophy of the language, and having been a practical teacher, has had ample opportunity to prove the defects of former systems, as the means of communicating the principles of the science to the learner. We hope much from this effort to make the study of English grammar agreeable, and to bring the acquisition of its principles within the reach of reasonable exertions.

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10. *Geneva and Rome.—Rome, Papal, as portrayed by Prophecy and History.* By S. R. L. GAUSEN, (of Geneva.) With an Introduction. By the Rev. E. BICKERSTITH.

11. *Faith and Knowledge.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE.

THE above are the titles of two little volumes, lately issued from the press of J. S. Taylor and Co., 145 Nassau-street, N. Y. Geneva seems indeed to be resuming her former strength and commanding position among the churches of Protestantism; and there is further cause of gratulation that her divinity, without suffering in any vital part, comes to us now divested of the offensive features of the Genevese theology of the sixteenth century. The first of the above-named works is the address of Professor Gausen, delivered before the Divinity School of

Geneva at its opening last year, exhibiting the character of Papal Rome, as the real Man of Sin, as portrayed in prophecy and illustrated by history. It is an ingenious and plausible exposition of prophecy as applied to the past career of the Christian church. The second, from the pen of D'Aubigné,—whose name has become a household word,—is a plain, but forcible exhibition of the relations of Christian faith and speculative divinity. Religion, as there set forth, is a burning spirit of life and power. Of this hidden life, faith is the immediate instrumental cause, while knowledge is imparted to the quickened soul by the illumined word and the indwelling Spirit. At a time when a religion of outward forms is intruding itself upon the church, such productions are called for, and cannot fail to exert a salutary influence. We hope these little volumes may be widely circulated and generally read. They are well adapted to the wants of the more advanced members of sabbath schools, and should be in every sabbath-school library.

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12. *A Pictorial History of the United States, with Notices of other Portions of America.* By S. G. Goodrich, author of Peter Parley's Tales. For the Use of Schools. 12mo., pp. 354. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, and Samuel Agnew. 1844.

This is one of a series of historical works which the enterprising publishers are bringing out in the same style. We can say nothing to add to the high reputation of the author as a writer of books for schools—this is well known to the public. All we can say at present is, that the work is neatly and beautifully executed, both as to its matter and form. We have no doubt but the enterprise will be duly appreciated, and amply rewarded by an enlightened public.

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13. *The Conservative Principle in our Literature. An Address before the Literary Societies of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, Madison County, N. Y. Delivered on Tuesday Evening, June* 13, 1843. By Wm. R. Williams, Pastor of the Amity-street Baptist Church, New-York. 18mo., pp. 135. Second Edition. New-York: Lewis Colby. 1844.

We are exceedingly pleased with this production. It is a bold and truthful exhibition of the vices and perils of our literature, and of the true conservative principle. The style, though not remarkable for smoothness, is perspicuous and forcible. We could wish this timely admonition might produce its appropriate results.

Errata.—On page 380 of the July Number, (Vol. IV,) in the first paragraph, fifth line—third paragraph, eighth line—and in the fourth paragraph, seventh line, insert *ἡ ἔχουσα* before *βουλείαν*.

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